WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 370 | 11 January 1985

Smash the Imperialist War Drive!

Reagan's First-Strike War Plans

Taylor/Sygma

Aviation Week & Space Technology

Pershings (above) and "Star Wars": components of U.S. first-strike plans against Soviet Union. Right: Reagan's ray gun, artist's conception of chemical laser spacecraft.

Defend the Soviet Union! Oust the Kremlin Bureaucracy— Forward to Lenin's Program!

JANUARY 7—When Ronald Reagan talks about "disarmament," the Russians better reach for their SS-20s. Reagan has opposed every U.S./Soviet arms control agreement to date. He has *doubled* Pentagon spending over the last four years, and launched the United States on a $1.5 *trillion* high-tech arms buildup. In December 1983, the U.S. unilaterally escalated the arms race by stationing Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe, threatening the Soviets with nuclear "decapitation" in eight minutes. He threatens to militarize outer space under the guise of the "Star Wars" plan known in Pentagonese as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). And now Reagan wants to "negotiate" reductions in (Soviet) land-based missiles while giving a free rein to (American) space weapons, while "investigating" invented Soviet "violations" of the SALT II treaty the Americans refused to ratify!

To lure the Kremlin to the bargaining table, last fall Washington proposed "umbrella talks" covering strategic nuclear arms, intermediate range missiles and space weapons. But on the eve of the "talk about talks" which opened in Geneva today, White House officials leaked word that Secretary of State Shultz was instructed to "spurn any Soviet proposal to negotiate limits" on space weapons (*New York Times*, 3 January). The SDI is "not a bargaining chip" Reagan's national security adviser Robert McFarlane announced. No wonder Soviet leader Chernenko complained bitterly about U.S. "deception" and warned that "Star Wars" plans urged by militarist forces could create an "irreversible situation." Foreign minister Gromyko must feel pretty foolish sitting there negotiating about nothing with the gang that vows to destroy the Soviet "evil empire" with their "ET" laser weapons.

Adding insult to injury, the U.S. put together a "peace" delegation to Geneva which is about as interested in disarmament as Adolf Hitler. Virtually all of them (including Shultz) are members of the ultraright Committee on the Present Danger, the cabal which helped torpedo the 1979 SALT II agreement. "Arms control" negotiator Nitze practically invented the arms race back in 1950 when he discovered the mythical "bomber gap" (followed a decade later by the equally nonexistent "missile gap"). Kenneth Adelman had trouble getting confirmed as head of the arms control and disarmament agency in 1983 because he wouldn't even label the effects of nuclear war "horrible."

While the Reaganites are playing on the Kremlin's yearning for "détente," U.S. war plans are going ahead full steam. SDI, they tell us, is just "research" at this point, and who can oppose scientific advance, especially for "defensive" weapons. Yet the Pentagon provocatively announces it will launch a militarized space shuttle flight this month, and plans to test an anti-satellite (ASAT) weapon in the spring. Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy is running "exercises" right up against the Soviets' most vital military areas as part of a "forward strategy." And NATO has just adopted an ominous doctrine of the offensive, for "deep strikes" inside the Soviet bloc in a European conflict. Liberal critics complain that it all doesn't "make sense," that it's not "necessary" for American defense. But the Reaganauts aren't interested in defense: they're going for the Big One—a nuclear first strike against the Soviets.

It's very good of the Russians to talk to the Americans. But they should be telling Reagan: "You want star wars? We'll give you galactic wars! We asked you not to deploy your missiles eight minutes from Moscow, but you did it anyway. So screw your treaties. For decades you've been trying to drive the Soviet Union to economic ruin with an unbridled arms race. Now the shoe is on the other foot. Go ahead, make our day—develop your "Star Wars"

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Red Army Mops Up CIA's Afghan Feudalists 7

Kurdish Workers in the Iraqi Revolution of 1958-59

1 Novemher 1984

To the editor:

The Spartacist greetings to a recent Kurdish conference in Central Europe ("For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan," *Workers Vanguard* No. 362, 14 Septemher 1984) state: "While there are many Kurdish workers, most are working outside of the geographical regions with a predominantly Kurdish national identity"; and "the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora." This may well he true today due to the policy of "Arahization" of Kurdistan conducted hy Iraq's Ba'athist regime. According to the hook *People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan* (1980), edited hy Gerard Chaliand, more than 200,000 Kurds have been removed from the strategic oil region of Iraqi Kurdistan. Historically this was not always the case, however. Communist-led Kurdish workers concentrated in these oil fields played a vital, if contradictory, role in the revolutionary period following the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958.

Iraq, like most of the states of the Near East, is an artificial creation of the post-World War I imperialist partition of the Ottoman Empire. Under the Ottomans Iraqi Kurdistan was the *vilayet* (administrative division) of Mosul. Victorious Britain incorporated Mosul into a common state with the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra hoth to gain control of this petroleum-rich region and to give its newly created Iraqi protectorate something resemhling a viahle economy. Until recently Kirkuk province in the heart of Iraqi Kurdistan supplied 90 percent of Iraq's oil production. Even with the development of the Basra fields in the south, during the late 1970s Kirkuk continued to supply more than 70 percent of the country's petroleum output.

July 1958: Baghdad masses hail downfall of British-backed monarchy.

Around the oil fields of Kirkuk there developed a militant, Communist-led proletariat that was in its majority Kurdish. As Uriel Dann wrote in *Iraq Under Qassem* (1969): "The thousands of workers at the oil installations, the majority of whom were Kurds, had nurtured a local communist branch with a fighting record unrivalled in Iraq." However, this Kurdish working class was recruited directly from the agrarian and nomadic mountain people who were (and still are) governed by feudal and tribal rulers and custom. Although militant, the class consciousness of this proletariat was rudimentary. As the July 1959 Kirkuk massacre demonstrated, membership in the Iraqi Communist Party, which was at best equivocal about Kurdish self-determination, did little to break Kurds from nationalism.

The ICP was not only the most proletarian of the Stalinist parties in the Near East, it always had a large number of members from national and ethnic minorities who played an important and often leading role in the life of the party. In the period up to the 1958 revolution, Kurdish Communists spearheaded the revival of a party decimated and driven underground by the savage repression of the 1940s. Hanna Batatu, in his exhaustive study, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq* (1978), notes that during 1949-55 every general secretary of the ICP was Kurdish, as was nearly one third of its central committee, and the party was run from Kurdistan rather than Baghdad.

This period was marked hy a significant rise of class and national struggle, fueled hy the infamous U.S.-hacked, anti-Soviet Baghdad Pact between Britain, Iran, Iraq and Turkey. While resented by all sections of the region's oppressed, for uniting the principal enemies of the Kurds it was particularly hated by them. On the other hand, the Soviet Union's generous treatment of its own small Kurdish minority and its support of the short-lived Kurdish Republic of Mahahad in Iran after World War II gave it enormous prestige in Kurdistan, so that in the 1950s even Kurdish nationalist parties claimed to be "Marxist-Leninist."

Thus the entire Kurdish nation and especially its urhan working class enthusiastically welcomed the 1958 revolution, which was made as much against the Baghdad Pact as against the corrupt, decrepit and repressive British-hacked monarchy. The unstahle bonapartist regime of General Qassem, leader of the 1958 revolution, sought at first to consolidate its rule hy relying on the ICP, which though small was the unehallenged leader of the Iraqi working class, hoth Arah and Kurdish. Instead of pursuing this rich opportunity for proletarian revolution, the ICP suhordinated itself to Qassem through the "United National Front" with three hourgeois parties (soon joined hy the Kurdish nationalists). The hetrayal of the Iraqi revolution was ordered directly from the Kremlin, in the name of cementing the "Spirit of Camp David" with Eisenhower (whose answer to the 1958 revolution was to land 10,000 Marines on the coast of Lebanon). Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher noted at the time:

> "Khrushchev refused to countenance a communist upheaval in Baghdad, afraid that this would provoke renewed Western intervention in the Eastern Mediterranean, set the Middle East aflame, and wreck his policy of peaceful coexistence."
>
> —reprinted in Deutscher, *Russia, China and the West* (1970)

The contradictory role of the Communist-led Kurdish proletariat in this period was demonstrated by the events in Mosul of March 1959 and the Kirkuk massacre in July of that year. At the heginning of 1959, Qassem's rejection of "pan-Arab" unity with Nasser and his modest land reform program created an unholy alliance between the old reactionary classes and the Nasserites, who plotted a right-wing coup. The coup was to begin with an army revolt in Mosul. Anticipating this revolt, the ICP called a mass rally: from all over Iraq 250,000 youth, many armed, flocked to Mosul. The ICP was able to unite Kurd and Arab soldiers against their officers; the poor laborers of the Muslim Arab quarter were augmented by Kurdish tribesmen and Armenian peasants who swept in from the countryside. The coup was suppressed, and the popularity and revolutionary opportunity of the ICP grew to its height.

This makes the Kirkuk massacre of July 1959 all the more tragic. In the aftermath of the 1958 revolution the ICP concentrated in its hands control of many local governments, militias and even army garrisons. The largely Kurdish ICP branch in Kirkuk used this control to escalate a squahble over the celebration of the first anniversary of the revolution into an intercommunal hloodbath, particularly directed against the Turkomans who made up much of the city's commercial and middle classes. One month later in a central committee plenum called to deal with the consequences of the Kirkuk massacre, the ICP in referring to its own membership was forced to condemn "the dragging of bodies, torture of detainees, looting and trespassing on the rights and liberties of citizens."

The Kirkuk massacre was a tragic turning point for the ICP and the Iraqi working class. It generated an enormous erosion of support for the ICP and Qassem used it as a pretext to repress the Communists. The revolutionary opportunity was squandered, and with it the opportunity to forge a class-conscious Kurdish proletariat. Leadership of the oppressed Kurdish toilers reverted to sheiks, khans and mullahs, as the subsequent Kurdish national revolt demonstrated. For that revolt, led by mullah Mustafa Barazani, was as much in defense of feudal relations in the countryside as it was against the Arab chauvinism of Baghdad. In 1958-59, the proletariat of this divided nation, carved up by four oppressive capitalist states, lost a unique opportunity to be the vanguard of social emancipation, not only for the rest of Kurdistan, but for the entire Near East.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

TROTSKY

LENIN

Marxist Newspaper: The Collective Organizer

In "Where To Begin," written in May 1901 and later expanded as What Is To Be Done? *Lenin explains the role of the Marxist press in building the proletarian vanguard party.*

A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser.... With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a permanent organisation will naturally take shape that will engage, not only in local activities, but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence those events. The mere technical task of regularly supplying the newspaper with copy and of promoting regular distribution will necessitate a network of local agents of the united party, who will maintain constant contact with one another, know the general state of affairs, get accustomed to performing regularly their detailed functions in the All-Russian work, and test their strength in the organisation of various revolutionary actions.

—V.I. Lenin, "Where To Begin" (1901)

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Framed-Up Black Panther Behind Bars Since 1969

Free Geronimo Pratt!

America's foremost class-war prisoner, former Los Angeles Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, has been behind bars for 15 years for a crime he did not commit. Even from the hellhole of six years *of solitary confinement, Pratt vigorously pursued every available legal avenue to expose the FBI/LAPD/COINTELPRO frame-up of which he was a victim, fighting for his freedom. Now retired FBI special agent Wesley Swearingen, formerly of the Los Angeles office, has come forward to say straight out, "Pratt was set up" (see WV No. 366, 9 November 1984). On January 21, U.S. District Court magistrate John R. Kronenberg will hold a new evidentiary hearing in L.A. regarding this racist frame-up.*

The racist imperialist American state first tried to murder Pratt on 8 December 1969 in a pre-dawn raid and massive bombardment by hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos on the Los Angeles Panther headquarters where he lived. Only four days earlier a similar FBI/cop raid in Chicago murdered Panther militants Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds. The state then tried to silence and break Pratt by chains and bars. But Pratt remains unbroken and committed to the principles of black freedom. The silence has been on the part of fake-leftists who once courted the Panthers in the heyday of 1960s radicalism. Pratt's cause must be made a vital issue for all working people, the oppressed and every genuine defender of democratic rights. We reprint below a statement by black socialist and Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Andrews.

Bering/SF Chronicle

Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin.

Here are a few words about Geronimo Pratt, a Black Panther Party member in prison for over a decade. In the early 1970s I attended Pratt's trial, including the day the FBI COINTELPRO conspirators obtained their conviction. Pratt's innocence was clear to anyone who had the slightest interest in justice. I remember at the time how the prosecuting attorney did his damndest to whip up a Southern-style lynch mob atmosphere against Pratt in particular and the Panthers in general. It didn't matter that Pratt did not murder the Santa Monica schoolteacher, that one witness's description of "two light-skinned blacks had been seen in the area" could not possibly have been Pratt, that solid evidence was amassed by Pratt's attorneys to show that he was in the Bay Area at the time—none of this mattered. And could not have mattered.

The racist capitalist rulers were busily orchestrating one of this country's most violent, racist, terrorist vendettas to wipe out the Panthers. And in Pratt's trial capitalism's human refuse was paraded in court, including one Julio [Butler, an FBI informant who lied about it at the trial], who claimed that Pratt had "confessed" or some bullshit. The bourgeois state was determined to get Pratt and to "teach" active, surviving black militants a lesson or two. This was painful to watch because in the courtroom the racist cops were numerous, happy and smiled a lot, while Pratt's supporters were few. I thought then, "Why has the left abandoned Pratt and the Panthers? Why?"

I can't describe for comrades how much joy I felt when a few years ago we took up the fight for Pratt's freedom. This was so long overdue, and we brought Pratt's case to the attention of the American and international working class through our organ, the *Workers Vanguard*. You see, this was sort of personal, because I knew that this could have happened to me. As was the case throughout the trial, Pratt's demeanor suggested that he knew what the class enemy had in store for him. It was clear to his friends as well as his enemies that he stood for revolution in the belly of the beast.

The working class must give its all in securing the immediate release of Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner, who has been rotting, suffering and wasting away in the bourgeoisie's jails for 15 years for the "crime" of being a fighter for black liberation, although lacking the necessary revolutionary program to secure it. It is our task to champion his freedom, to bring it to the attention of the working class for the purpose of militant action leading to the release of Geronimo Pratt. ■

Asylum for South African Militant!

The Reagan administration is trying to deport black Howard University student Thembekile ("Twiggs") Enoch Xiphu, a determined fighter against racist apartheid, to the dungeons and torture chambers of South Africa.

Twiggs has been an active member of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) for more than a decade, having joined Steve Biko's South African Students Organization (SASO) in 1973. In his hometown of Port Elizabeth, Twiggs was a leader of student resistance to apartheid. Following the Soweto rebellion and student strikes in Port Elizabeth, and one month after Biko was murdered by South African security police, in October 1977 Twiggs was seized by the cops (including one of Biko's murderers). He was held incommunicado and in solitary under South Africa's draconian National Security Laws, and taken daily for interrogation and torture to the very building where Biko was murdered.

Twiggs was released in December 1977 but subjected to close surveillance until he was forced into exile in neighboring Botswana in June 1978. In January 1979 he came to the United States as a scholarship student at Howard University, where he continued his anti-apartheid activity as the chairman of the BCMA in the U.S. and a founder of the South African Students Committee (SASCO). Last September Twiggs chaired a united-front anti-apartheid protest at the South African embassy which SASCO, BCMA and the Spartacus Youth League helped organize and which also included representatives from the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) and the Howard University Student Association. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service authorities have continuously denied Twiggs' requests for political asylum and have tried to deport him, even before he finishes his studies, back to racist South Africa or to its Botswana client state where refugees from apartheid terror are routinely kidnapped by Pretoria.

The following telegram was sent January 2 by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Richard R. Spurlock
District Director, Dept. of Justice
U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service
Baltimore, MD

Halt proceedings to deport Thembekile Enoch Xiphu to racist South Africa where he faces imprisonment, torture and murder at hands of blood-drenched apartheid regime and grant this fighter for black freedom and human dignity political asylum.

Partisan Defense Committee

Union Locals Back Appeal for British Miners

Striking miners up against Maggie "Iron Lady" Thatcher's despised Tory regime are now in the tenth month of their battle. It is a fight in which the workers of the world have a big stake. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is hanging tough, despite massive police violence and Thatcher's "starve them back to work" tactics. In an attempt to provide urgently needed international labor solidarity and financial assistance, the Partisan Defense Committee launched a $25,000 "Aid to Striking British Miners' Families" fund drive.

The PDC campaign aims to raise the bulk of contributions from the American trade-union movement; the PDC has contributed $5,000 itself and is assuming all administrative costs. As one union official in Washington, D.C. put it when he learned of the fund-raising efforts: "If Thatcher gets away with it, it'll be that much easier for Reagan and his union-busting." A member of the Spartacist League/Britain, comrade Eibhlin, spoke to numerous unionists in New York and the San Francisco Bay Area, giving eyewitness accounts of the strike in Britain and urging that the labor movement here "dig deep for the miners." In addition to contributions from the NYC Transport Workers Local 100, individual members of the TWU and Tunnelworkers Local 147 have given hundreds of dollars. In Canada, the PDC assisted a miner from Bates Colliery, Northumberland in appealing to United Auto Workers Local 303 near Toronto which voted to send $100 to the Bates Hardship Fund and to continue the same donation each month until the end of the strike.

After their two-month strike in San Francisco, members of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2 passed the hat for the British miners and collected over $200, most of it at the local's Christmas party. Donations have also been received from AFSCME Local 2477 in Washington, D.C., UFCW District 442 in Atlanta, AFSCME Local 12 (University of Iowa), Communications Workers of America Local 4309 in Cleveland and AFSCME Local 2733 in Ann Arbor. A PDC social in Boston, attended by a number of workers of Irish ancestry who have special hatred for the British rulers, was able to raise nearly $300 in an evening.

Since the initiation of the fund-raising campaign, *WV* readers have donated generously. As Reagan prepares his second inauguration with a call for non-union entertainers to perform *gratis*—a trivial but symbolic provocation and insult to the labor movement—his British counterpart is hell-bent on smashing the courageous miners. All of labor must be hell-bent on seeing the miners *win*. As comrade Eibhlin put it:

> "It really is in the interest of every trade unionist of no matter what country to make sure that this type of union of maybe 200,000 members doesn't go down the way that PATCO went."

Victory to the British miners' strike!

To mobilize for the fund drive in your area, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. ■

How the FBI Tried to Get Us Kicked Out of the SWP

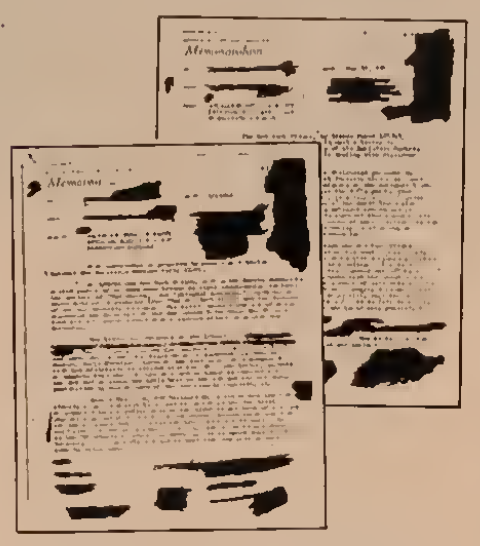
COINTELPRO "Dirty Tricks"

Only in 1971 when anti-Vietnam War protesters broke into an FBI field office in Media, Pennsylvania were the first documents on the FBI's decades-long COINTELPRO disruption program within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) brought to light. Among these extensive operations were the Bureau's efforts to exacerbate factional divisions within the SWP and hopefully to foment the expulsion in 1963 of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), the predecessor of the Spartacist League. In response to our requests for files under the Freedom of Information Act, the FBI never acknowledged the existence of these COINTELPRO documents. We obtained copies of these files by purchasing them from the SWP during that organization's suit against the FBI.

This is one piece among many of our party's history as told in a warped and perverse fashion in the files of the secret police. As Marxists, we understand that we will never get the real story of what the FBI has done to us until the victorious proletarian revolution liberates the documentation. But in upcoming issues of *WV* we look forward to examining for our readers the tip of the FBI "dirty tricks" iceberg which can be glimpsed in the ultra-expurgated materials which we have. Such material should be of great interest to all opponents of the capitalist spy agencies' witchhunting assaults on democratic rights, and to the many people, ranging from the parents of SL members to the lawyer supporters of various of our opponents, who have congratulated us on the recent successful settlement of our landmark suit against the current FBI "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" (see "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984).

We begin by considering the FBI's disruption campaign against the left where it targeted us as the SWP's Revolutionary Tendency in the early 1960s. Poisonously, the FBI injected itself into the internal political disputes of the SWP. Substituting Castroism and vicarious enthusing over black nationalism for revolutionary Trotskyism, the SWP slid rightward on a course which would and did ultimately finish it as a revolutionary party. A left opposition, the RT, arose which tempered solidarity with the Cuban Revolution with criticism of its Stalinized leadership and raised a Marxist call for organs of proletarian democracy; which counterposed to the SWP's abstention in the civil rights movement a class-struggle intervention in order to win the best militants to Marxism. As the factional heat within the SWP intensified, the FBI saw an opportunity.

Field offices and headquarters became embroiled in a fevered debate on what to do to whom first (anonymous mailing to the minority, or to the



FBI-style "Freedom of Information."

party leadership?) It goes without saying that the central issues being debated in the SWP were quite beyond the FBI's comprehension and, of course, there was never any question here of investigating anything "criminal." But, it was an opening for "disruption," and an attempt to "neutralize" both the SWP and RT. Throughout the operation the FBI credits itself absurdly and disproportionately for the effect of its "dirty tricks" on the political fight and the anti-democratic expulsion (for which the SWP leadership gets credit, with help from one Tim Wohlforth).

A taunting letter was sent by the FBI in June 1963 to SWP national secretary Farrell Dobbs, purporting to be from "An Old Timer" complaining about what he considered to be soft treatment of the minority ("You're getting shoved around by a minority group of punks..."). The letter was sent after debate within the FBI in March and April over plans to send an anonymous mailing to the RT encouraging a split with the SWP and formation of a separate organization. Those plans were scrapped in favor of the letter to Dobbs because, according to the FBI's New York Office,

> "There is some question, however, as to how widespread we could expect the disruption to be in the SWP if...a few minority members receive an anonymous mailing. Based on past experience, no communication is apt to cause any of these individuals to renounce Trotskyism...
>
> "The NYO has doubts that much could be said to a minority follower against the SWP majority which would increase his wrath sufficiently to have a major disruptive effect."

When the RT was suspended and later expelled, the FBI congratulated itself heartily, noting that its mailing to Dobbs "may have incited the SWP leadership to take more firm action to get rid of its minority leaders."

In April 1964 COINTELPRO agents sent faked letters to *Spartacist*, the publication of the expelled RT. A brief excerpt of the first of these appeared in *Spartacist* No. 2 (July-August 1964) because we had received independent confirmation of the information provided by the FBI's phony "Insider" letter. But then we began to receive letters maliciously slandering SWPers, including materials calculated to defame the SWP on grounds of financial malfeasance in Southern black defense work. Such vicious accusations reeked of FBI disinformation and we immediately alerted the SWP. As *Spartacist* editor James Robertson wrote in a note to an SWP leader, George Weissman, sent with a copy of this slanderous material:

> "We seem to have landed on somebody's 'hate the SWP' list. You people running the party have given us good reason to despise you for your witchhunting expulsions. But we don't go for libel either, so we are keeping you informed of this stuff."

The FBI also succeeded in the early sixties in planting a number of such malicious slanders in the bourgeois press, defaming black SWP leaders and candidates for public office. "The failure of the SWP to attain influence in the Negro civil rights movement may be in part attributable to disruptive activities taken by the New York Office," boasted Hoover's finest. They did real damage to the SWP, but they exaggerate their effect grossly. In fact the SWP's failure was essentially a failure of politics and program. Abandoning Trotskyism to uncritically tail any black leadership from King to Malcolm X, the SWP could provide no independent pole of revolutionary leadership in the civil rights movement. The task of upholding revolutionary integrationism and proletarian class struggle against the dead ends of liberal pacifism and nationalist separatism fell to the Spartacists. In pursuing that task, we became a target both for the SWP leadership, in the throes of centrist degeneration, and for the spies of the imperialist state.

We publish below some appropriate excerpts from the files of the FBI's "Counterintelligence Program" (COINTELPRO):

17 April 1962
SWP Disruption Program
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

"This program was initiated by Bulet 10/12/61 [letter from Bureau headquarters]...for the purpose of causing disruption within the SWP and making the public aware of the true nature of the SWP....

"While there is no specific tie-in with other programs, this program is on occasion tied in with operations being carried out under the Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program in that the SWP is utilized when the opportunity presents itself to disrupt CP activities."

28 March 1963
Director to New York:

"The suggestion of the Detroit Office ...that anonymous letters be mailed to the two factional groups within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been considered. It is felt that such anonymous letters would not have the desired over-all effect that is sought in operations to disrupt the SWP.

"In the event any information of a

FBI Forgers at Work

In early April 1964 the FBI sent the Spartacist group a letter purporting to come from an SWP member, signed "The Insider." A fragment of this FBI forgery was published in Spartacist *No. 2 (along with other letters, like the one from SWPer G.L.). At the beginning of May an obvious piece of FBI disinformation against the SWP was received by us, which* Spartacist *editor Jim Robertson immediately forwarded to the SWP with the note reproduced at right.*

New York, N.Y.

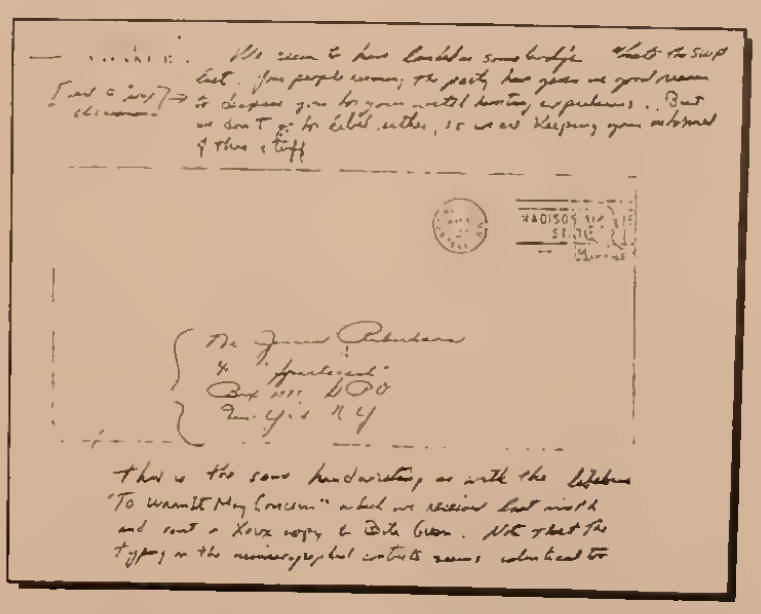
. . . The first number of the "Spartacist" was such a dreary, neurotic, ultra-sectarian, paranoid and unreadable thing that I was almost glad such dreary people had been thrown out of the party. . . .

Comradely regards,
G.L.

New York, N.Y.

I saw "Spartacist" and it opened my eyes. I'm too much committed to get out and join you, but believe me there are more than a few of us inside supporters. You may be interested to learn . . .

Comradely,
The Insider



[Sent to George Weissman] We seem to have landed on somebody's "hate the SWP" list. You people running the party have given us good reason to despise you for your witchhunting expulsions. But we don't go for libel either, so we are keeping you informed of this stuff.

This is the same handwriting as with the libelous "To Whom It May Concern" which we received last month and sent a Xerox copy to Berta Green. Note that the typing on the mimeographed contents seems identical too.

derogatory nature comes to the attention of your office, suitable recommendations regarding the utilization of such information in a disruption program operation should be submitted...."

7 May 1963
New York to Director:

"There is some question, however, as to how widespread we could expect the disruption to be in the SWP if...a few minority members receive an anonymous mailing. Based on past experience, no communication is apt to cause any of these individuals to renounce Trotskyism...the most that could be expected would be to exacerbate the already raw nerves exposed when one faction clashes with the other.

"Upon serious consideration the NYO [New York Office] has doubts that much could be said to a minority follower against the SWP majority which would increase his wrath sufficiently to have a major disruptive effect.

"The NYO considers that an anonymous communication to SWP headquarters as suggested in relet [referenced letter] might be more effective since it would get to the hands of the leadership, those in a position to take serious action. With the goal of engendering a split in the Party, a letter such as the following might be sent to FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the Party, implying softness in dealing with dissident members:

"Dear Farrell:

"As one who left the Party in the 'big split of 1953,' please let me tell you what a laugh I get over the 'uneasy alliance of 1963.' I have recently learned that Tim Wolfurth is a real buddy with Jerry Healy and they share a political line that's about stealing the Party out from under you. This is really ironic when you think back to the Cochranite minority of 10 years ago. The Cochranites were forced out of the Party because they had a different point of view and exchanged a few of these with Pablo. This was supposed to rid the SWP of 'unprincipled wreckers.' So where are we a decade after the big purge. You're getting shoved around by a minority group of punks who can't compare with the knowledge, and, yes, principle of Clarke, Cochran and their minority of 1953.... Farrell, I am glad I am out. I look forward to 'laughing on the outside' next time I meet my new minority friend and hear more about your troubles.

An Old Timer"

16 May 1963
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

"The purpose of this letter is to prompt Dobbs to deal harshly with the minority faction during the convention with the definite possibility that the minority faction would be driven out of the SWP."

17 May 1963
Director to New York:

"Authority granted to anonymously mail the communication to Farrell Dobbs.... Every precaution should be taken to insure that the Bureau does not become known as being responsible for this communication."

31 March 1964
New York to Director:

"One phase of the NYO SWP Disruption Program has been to use the factional developments in the Party as a means of demeaning the leadership and demoralizing the membership....

"The NYO then sent an anonymous letter chiding the leadership for accepting from this minority what others had been expelled for in the past. Following this, administrative action was begun which culminated in the expulsion of five faction leaders....

"This has had a very disruptive effect on the SWP. Within the Party, there are rumblings of discontent in several branches of the SWP because of the 'undemocratic' expulsions. On the other hand, the expelled faction leader, JAMES ROBERTSON, has brought the struggle to public notice. He has issued a publication, 'Spartacist,' bitterly attacking the SWP leadership and has been quoted in the public press describing details of his expulsion....

"The Bureau's approval is requested therefore to furnish ROBERTSON brief items of information he might be expected to use against the SWP, purportedly from a Party insider who is in secret sympathy.... ROBERTSON can be presumed interested in any faction developments on the international Trotskyist scene detrimental to the interests of the SWP....

"Consideration has been given to furnishing the SWP leadership information on WOHLFORTH's secret trip [to visit Healy in London], on the assumption that this would be grounds for expulsion. It is felt, however, that WOLFORTH is of greater value for our purposes at this time, operating as an fifth column within the SWP."

7 April 1964
Director to New York:

"Authority is granted for the New York Office to furnish James Robertson with the information as emanating from a Party insider in secret sympathy with Robertson...."

15 April 1964
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

"The over-all value of the program has been demonstrated on various occasions. It is recalled that the SWP owned and operated Mountain Spring Camp at Washington, New Jersey, was raided on 9/1/62 by New Jersey State Police and Agents of the New Jersey Alcoholic Beverage Control Board. Four SWP members were indicted for selling alcoholic beverages without a license. The SWP Political Committee on 5/3/63 voted to sell this property as no longer being suitable to SWP needs. Murray Zuckoff, Newark SWP Organizer, stated, 'The raid broke the back of the camp.' Three of the SWP members arrested in connection with the operation of the Mountain Spring Camp received fines in the amount of $200 each on 1/30/64....

"In December, 1963, five leaders of a minority faction within the SWP, known as the James Robertson faction, were expelled from the organization. The New York Office [FBI] had directed an anonymous letter to the SWP leadership chiding them for tolerating this minority faction when other leaders had been expelled in the past for less censurable activities. This inference of weakness is believed to have been partially responsible for the expulsions. Considerable dissension within the Party has resulted.... This situation is furnishing other excellent opportunities to widen the split between the SWP leadership and minority factions and is being pursued."

15 April 1964
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

"On 4/8/64 the New York Office, with prior Bureau authority, mailed copies of an anonymous letter to eight individuals, including the editors of 'The Worker,' the 'National Guardian,' Negro author James Baldwin, a reporter from 'The New York Times' [Peter Kihss] and two leaders of the SWP minority factions [Robertson and Wohlforth]. The letter accused the SWP of having organized the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) as a fund raising scheme rather than a sincere effort to assist the defendants.

"The letter was prepared by the Laboratory [deleted].... The letter, purporting to emanate from the WWP [Workers World Party], was designed to cause disruption within the SWP and to widen the split between the SWP and the WWP....

"George Weissman, SWP National Committee member who was closely associated with CAMD, was in Monroe during the trial. He reported to the police that he was alone in the home of a Negro physician on 2/26/64 when two armed Negroes forced their way into the house, bound and gagged him and broke into a wall safe. An estimated $10,000 to $15,000 was taken. The incident was reported in the 'Charlotte Observer' of 2/27/64. It is noted that the CAMD treasury was reportedly depleted at that time....

"The New York Office has proposed a follow-up to the above anonymous letter by mailing Xerox copies of the clipping from the 'Charlotte Observer' to the same eight individuals.... New York also proposes enclosing the following poem with the clipping to add further spice:

Georgie-Porgie, down in Monroe,
Found himself alone with the dough.
Called the cops, and what did he say?
'Bad guys came and took it away'."■

Congratulations on Victory Against FBI

The 30 November 1984 settlement of the Spartacist League lawsuit against the current FBI witchhunters' "Guidelines" won an important admission from the government: Marxists are not terrorists. In our last issue of WV *we published some of the messages we have received stressing the importance of this victory from civil liberties lawyers, unionists, fighters for black freedom and even an occasional left spokesman. We continue here with some more of these letters.*

A Most Significant Victory

The Partisan Defense Committee's suit against the FBI and the Attorney General challenging the Guidelines of Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations was extremely important to litigate. The victory is most significant.

It is important to serve notice on the government that such attempts to label opposition political groups as "criminal conspiracies" involved in "terrorist" activities when no evidence exists to justify such accusations will not be tolerated. The FBI has been involved in such activities for years, and will no doubt continue unless they are held accountable for such actions whenever they engage in them.

We sincerely hope that your lawsuit will serve to deter the FBI and other law enforcement agencies from making irresponsible accusations about the nature and work of political organizations.

Sincerely yours,
John W. Roberts
Executive Director,
Civil Liberties Union
of Massachusetts

Marxists Are Not Criminals

Congratulations!

The Spartacist League's legal victory against the Attorney General and FBI is an important victory for everyone who defends democratic rights. As a long-time supporter of the socialist cause I am delighted to see the FBI forced to concede that Marxism does not equal "violence," "terrorism" or a criminal enterprise.

James Weinstein
Editor, *In These Times*

America's State-Supported Terrorism

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has no business putting labels on political organizations. This is because the FBI has shown itself incapable of seeing *actual* terrorist activity when it is going on right under its nose.

A case in point is the current wave of (to date) twenty-five arson and bombing attacks directed against abortion clinics. According to the December 5, 1984 Los Angeles *Times*, FBI Director William H. Webster has decided that these attacks do not fall within the FBI's definition of "terrorism." Thus, the FBI has decided that these attacks do not warrant priority attention.

Nevertheless, the fact that the FBI has been compelled to back off of its characterization that the Spartacist League "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time" represents a victory for the democratic rights of working people.

Walter Lippmann, Chair
Human Rights Committee,
Local 535 SEIU

FBI Destroyed the Black Panthers

I want to offer my support to the Spartacist League in its successful legal victory against the F.B.I. This is a victory for all of us who are concerned about the growing threat to civil liberties and democratic rights, particularly as the Reagan administration begins its second term.

We who remember the tribulations that accompanied McCarthyism, who remember the lives shattered and destroyed by F.B.I. "dirty tricks," who recall the disruption of civil rights organizations and virtual destruction of groups like the Black Panther Party, must fight against all attempts by the government and its police agencies to make political opposition a "crime."

The successful conclusion of your lawsuit is a part of that fight, but we all know that the struggle to preserve democratic rights is an on-going one.

Keep up the fight!

Very truly yours,
John George
Chairman, Alameda County
Board of Supervisors

A Blow Against Racism and Oppression

Congratulations to the Spartacist League for this victory. This is a victory for all those people who are fighting against apartheid, racism and oppression, and more struggles of this sort will have to be continued to be won.

Bill Hampton,
Brother of murdered
Panther leader

First Amendment Rights

The victory won by the Spartacist League is important not only for it but for all persons who believe in the Constitution of the United States. I congratulate the League in its victory and hope that it will help the fight of all individuals and organizations to maintain their full first amendment rights.

Ben Margolis
Attorney

Abortion Clinic Bombings: Reaganite Terrorism

Late Christmas Eve 1984, bombs ripped through three medical offices in Pensacola, Florida, blowing up the only facilities outside of hospitals where women can obtain abortions in that city. And on New Year's Day, another blast blew up an abortion clinic in southeast Washington, D.C. Altogether at least 29 centers were hit by arson and bomb attacks last year, and *hundreds* of violent incidents have been reported. It's pure luck no one has yet been killed. Yet the Federal Bureau of Investigation has given "low priority" to investigations of these deadly attacks on women's rights. FBI director William Webster outrageously claimed the abortion clinic bombings do not constitute "terrorism" in the government's definition of the term because they were not committed by an "organized group" (!) which publicly took responsibility for the action and the firebombers do not aim to "overthrow the government." Of course not! These vicious terrorists are *Reagan's* people, after all.

Morris/Washington Post

Deadly wave of "right-to-life" terror-bombings hits abortion clinics across country. Above: Wheaton, Maryland clinic devastated in November.

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms official Tom Hill said, "...our investigation doesn't point to a nationwide organized conspiracy." The government has effectively pronounced its benediction on this right-wing terrorism. Left-wing columnist Alexander Cockburn (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 December 1984) commented: "If the administration very obviously reserves 'terrorist' as an epithet for socio-political violence it dislikes, then the conclusion must be that there are forms of socio-political violence—such as the anti-abortion bombings—that it views in a tolerant and even sympathetic light, and which it refuses to denounce." Far from denouncing the attacks on abortion rights, Reagan refers to abortions as "murders," and indeed the bloody-minded "right-to-lifers" label women seeking them as terrorists! Planned Parenthood official Thomas Webber blasted Webster's remarks: "If we saw in this nation, hospitals being similarly victimized, nursing homes being victimized, legal aid offices, churches and synagogues being victimized, we would have a national campaign to ferret out those responsible" (*New York Times*, 6 December 1984). Instead, the feds are not so secretly applauding.

This escalating wave of right-wing terrorist attacks on abortion clinics is threatening the basic right of women to safe, legal abortions. Since the Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973, right-wingers have demonstrated against it—but lately, and especially in the last year, these "pro-life" fanatics have turned to arson, death threats, vandalism, bombings and personal harassment. Throughout his term in office Ronald Reagan has maintained a thundering silence on this *real* violence faced by women seeking to exercise their right to a safe and private abortion, while he continues to foam at the mouth against imagined "state-supported terrorism" threatening America. On January 3, nodding to mounting public outcries, he issued a token protest against the bombings as "anarchism." He won't call the bombings by their right name—terrorism—because these are *Reagan's* terrorists, carrying out Reagan's program, targeting poor and minority women.

Banning women's right to abortion was, along with school prayer and how to kill the Russians, a No. 1 political question in the recent presidential elections; Reagan and Mondale oozed pomp and piety as they debated whether women's fundamental right to abortion is "murder" or "just" a mortal sin. They debated how those millions of American women who have had abortions should be punished: should they be dragged into court and condemned for Murder One (Reagan's line) or "merely" exposed to the moral condemnation of society and preachers' threats of burning forever in hell (the Democrats' response)? One thing's for sure: should the Reagan reactionaries get their way and an amendment to the Constitution is passed banning *all* abortions, there will be a lot of dead and mutilated teenagers who in desperation end up with their bellies ripped open by back-alley butchers. On whose hands will *that* blood be?

The infinite cruelty of Reagan's hypocritical defense of this "kind and gentle land" in his debate with Mondale about abortion can be partly charted in the pain and terror "his" terrorists of the far right are inflicting right now on women. His "kind and gentle" friends of the Moral Majorityite persuasion have dynamited, firebombed, devastated birth control clinics across the country, kidnapped doctors, made death threats (including against Supreme Court justice Blackmun, who approved the 1973 legalization of abortion), harassed teenagers and working-class women seeking abortions. Patients have received threatening phone calls from religious fanatics who track them down: one clinic receptionist was chased through a shopping mall by a maniac screaming "stop murdering babies," while another arrived home to find her pet cat decapitated. Five to six death threats *per day* are received at abortion and family planning clinics nationwide. The *National NOW Times* quotes 177 violent incidents as of September 1984 alone. Indeed, as American Civil Liberties Union official Wesley Watkins charged Reagan: "Trickle-down works! The rhetoric of intolerance at the top creates a climate of violence at the bottom" (*New York Times*, 20 November 1984).

These right-wing terrorists can't wait. They want to implement the Reaganite/Moral Majority program to stop abortion *now*, never mind the niceties of the law. Pro-life "Non-violent" Action Project co-founder John Cavanaugh-O'Keefe said to the *New York Times*: "Any pro-lifer that does not feel the urge to respond to the violence of abortion with violence has lost all feeling for anything." Moral Majority vice president Cal Thomas justified the bombings in an article entitled "Bombing Abortion Clinics: It's Violent, but Why Not?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 27 November 1984).

Already at least one clinic has closed as a result of an attack, while the National Abortion Federation has been operating out of a makeshift office since July, when its Washington offices were bombed. Meanwhile, International Planned Parenthood, the world's largest private birth control organization, has announced a 30 percent cut in its budget due to the withdrawal of $17 million by the American government. The Reagan administration declared last summer that it will no longer fund any organization which performs or actively promotes abortions. Inevitably, this loss of funding will lead to more unwanted pregnancies, more back-alley butchers.

In the recent period Congress has passed legislation denying federal employees coverage for abortions under their medical insurance plans; this legislation applies to the entire federal workforce of hundreds of thousands, including all the underpaid women clerical workers and all armed forces personnel and their families. Medicaid recipients cannot use Medicaid for abortions—which means they simply can't afford them.

It's no surprise to Marxists that the feds won't do anything to stop attacks on women's rights. The NOW feminists won't get anywhere with their pleas to federal agencies. They went all out for Mondale and Ferraro, Cold War hawks whose only response to this reactionary barrage was to mouth a few pieties about "choice" while condemning abortions—as if the millions of ghetto women who can't afford expensive legal abortions have any. It was under Democrat Carter, after all, that the Hyde Amendment banning federal funds for abortions under Medicaid was passed, while he coldly told poor women, "There are many things in life that are not fair."

In fact the feminist movement as a whole has bought the Moral Majority anti-sex line: their main concern these days is to stop the "violence" (sic) of pornography! The self-proclaimed champions of women's rights try to trample on the First Amendment rights of everyone, while American women are facing daily terror! Recently liberal civil libertarian darling *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff castigated women for being "selfish" for seeking abortions for "mere convenience." Today the left wing of the women's movement seems by default to be Planned Parenthood, founded by socialist Margaret Sanger, which has initiated a national campaign against the terrorist attacks. To its credit, Planned Parenthood has also advertised its services widely against the fears spread by Reagan's attempted enforcement of the Squeal Rule, which would have required birth control clinics to notify the parents of young women under 18 that they had received contraceptives.

What's necessary is *labor action* to stop the terrorists. As we said in *Workers Vanguard* No. 361 (31 August 1984): "The only thing that's going to stop these supposedly 'god-fearing' reactionaries from spreading their murderous attacks against poor and working women is to put some *real* 'fear of god' into them: next time they try to firebomb and maybe murder some scared kid trying to get out of a bad fix, they ought to be met by a strong workers defense guard protecting women's rights!" It's urgently in the interest of the working class to fight for free abortion on demand and free, quality health care and birth control. The wives, sisters and daughters of the ruling class will always be able to get their abortions, legal or not: in this country, the rich buy their rights. The workers must fight for theirs! Defend Planned Parenthood! For labor action against Reagan's nightriders!■

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Extend Social Gains of Bolshevik Revolution!

Red Army Mops Up CIA's Afghan Feudalists

Crown

Hail "Red Thunder": Soviet Mi-24 "Hind" helicopter gunship on patrol in Afghanistan.

Ever since the Soviet Red Army moved into Afghanistan on 27 December 1979, the U.S. ruling class has portrayed that just mission against CIA-backed feudalists as "Russia's Vietnam." The imperialists wistfully hoped the USSR would become involved in an endless no-win war that would drain its defenses and open up the formerly Muslim area of Soviet Central Asia to Islamic counterrevolution and capitalist restoration. But it's clear five years later that the Red Army has put the reactionary mujahadeen (Islamic tribalist warriors) on the run. Moreover, the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks and other Central Asian troops who make up a large portion of the Soviet force, far from being attracted to the Koran and the *chadri* (veil), correctly see themselves as liberators of the oppressed Afghan masses. Even so-called Red Army "deserters" (soldiers captured by rightist guerrillas, force-fed heroin and transported to the West for propaganda purposes) are voluntarily going home.

So as the fifth anniversary of the Soviet intervention came last month, the imperialists had little to crow about. Instead, in countless newspaper articles, TV specials and "human rights" reports, the Soviet army was accused of every genocidal crime the U.S. war machine made famous in Vietnam, from "carpet-bombing" to "free-fire zones." (Interestingly, this time around they didn't have much to say about "yellow rain," the CIA slander which everyone now knows was so much bee shit.) Reagan took the occasion to warn the Kremlin that Afghanistan was still "a serious impediment to the improvement of our bilateral relations" and ordered a doubling of U.S. "covert" aid to the Islamic reactionaries to *$280 million per year*—and that's just the tip of the iceberg. Democratic Party "doves" like Congressman Boland threw in their two cents about supposed Soviet human rights violations. And, of course, all this served to divert attention from the real atrocities committed by America's allies—particularly by the monstrous racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

Reagan and the Democrats don't give a goat's fart for the "independence" of 17 million Afghans living on a pile of rocks and barren dirt. The main issue in Afghanistan is Red Russia, and they know it. The American bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies have never accepted the loss they suffered in 1917, when the Bolshevik Revolution tore one-sixth of the globe out of their hands and laid the foundations for a planned economy based on collectivized property. They want it back. Lashing out against so-called "Soviet expansionism in Afghanistan," Democrat Jimmy Carter kicked off Cold War II with a five-year, trillion dollar military spending program. Reagan has carried this program onward and upward—and perceptibly closer to World War III. American working people must fight Reagan's mad terror campaign against the USSR, which they are paying for with busted unions, lowered living standards and the escalation of racist discrimination and violence. Despite its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the Soviet workers state embodies massive economic and social gains for the international proletariat. Defend the Soviet Union against the imperialists' war drive!

The Spartacist League welcomed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan with the slogan: "Hail Red Army!" As we wrote in *Spartacist* No. 29 (Summer 1980):

> "For revolutionary socialists there is nothing tricky, nothing ambiguous about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to mass illiteracy. And to say that imperialist support to this social scum is out in the open is the understatement of the year.... The gut-level response of every radical leftist should be fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army."

Virtually the entire "left" from Maoists to fake-Trotskyists fell in step behind Carter and Reagan demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops and recognition of Afghanistan's right to self-determination. But there is no Afghan "nation" and there never has been. The petty-bourgeois nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power in 1978 amidst an incredibly backward society with virtually no industry (not a single mile of railroad track, for example) and a multitude of tribes over which no previous government had ever completely established its authority.

The Red Army's arrival in December 1979 meant that, as we wrote, "the liberation of the Afghan masses has begun!" ("Hail Red Army!" *WV* No. 247, 11 January 1980). The troops were originally sent in to bolster the beleaguered PDPA regime, whose moderate reforms had outrun the meager social forces available in the country to institute them. (There was no Afghan proletariat to speak of.) To talk today about "self-determination for Afghanistan" is to condemn the Afghan masses, particularly women draped head to toe in heavy muslin, to a barbarous existence under the mullahs, tribal *khans* and landowners. The armed might of the Red Army poses the possibility of Afghanistan achieving not only the social gains of the bourgeois French Revolution, but of the proletarian Bolshevik Revolution as well.

UPI

Tall tales and veils: Afghan reactionaries report to boss at the White House.

Mopping Up Feudalist Reaction

Over a year ago the imperialists were forced to admit that, for all intents and purposes, the Soviet/PDPA forces had won the civil war. An article by *New York Times* military "expert" Drew Middleton (26 December 1983) reported that the reconstituted Afghan army, originally plagued by desertions, was carrying out the bulk of the fighting against the imperialist-armed guerrillas, and that no more than the equivalent of one Soviet division was involved in combat. The Soviets were in control of all the population centers and had managed to close off the Wakhan corridor in the northeast, through which China had been sending arms for the rebels. The Red Army had averaged only an estimated 1,000 deaths per year, overwhelmingly from disease rather than combat.

During 1984 the Soviets scored a major advance in mopping up what remained of the reactionary resistance. Several successful offensives were mounted against mujahadeen pockets in the interior of the country, most importantly driving the U.S.-backed guerrillas out of the Panjsher Valley north of Kabul. Reports in the Western press portraying a downtrodden populace universally despising the "Russian invader" are belied by such things as the effective intelligence network the Kabul government has managed to build. One French journalist who traveled with the rebels moaned, "In some northern areas, no sooner had we settled into a small village for the night than it was bombed or rocketed. They seemed to know where we were" (*Newsweek*, 3 December 1984). And the *Chicago Tribune* (16 November 1984) quoted one rebel official as saying: "The war has been deadlocked up until now, but we are beginning to lose the population.... If this continues, we may eventually lose the war because there will be nowhere for the Mujahedeen to hide."

These days even NATO analysts warn against uncritically accepting reports emanating from Peshawar and New Delhi about rebel victories and Soviet atrocities (like the carpetbombing of crops!). Here's a rule of thumb concerning the claims of Soviet casualties inflicted by an Afghan tribal chieftain: throw out 95 percent of them as patently false, and divide the rest by a hundred times the number of wives he has.

Even before Reagan jacked up American aid to the Muslim counter-revolutionaries, they were getting more than $1 million per day in military goods from the U.S., China, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Germany and Japan. Yet they had barely scratched the Soviet armor. Instead, when the ten or so guerrilla groups weren't busy blowing each other away, they were carrying out random terrorist attacks on the Afghan population itself. These neanderthals love to scalp a Red Army officer when they get the chance, but more frequently their targets are the civilians who frequent hotels, bars, theaters, airports, and schools which violate the guerrillas' "self-determination" by teaching little girls to read! These supposed "freedom fighters" have destroyed 1,800 schools in the last five years and killed *hundreds* of teachers in the name of Ronald Reagan's "free world."

Another French journalist, Jacques Abouchar, traveled into Afghanistan last year with a band of rebels. When Abouchar was captured by the Red Army the imperialists erupted in indignation. Yet when the Soviets freed Abouchar, the *New York Times* (24 November 1984) denounced this act as a "deprecation of Afghan statehood"!

continued on page 10

U.S. Anti-Soviet Provocations

Drumbeats of War

It takes more than weapons to make war, and ever since coming into office the Reagan administration has been hard at work whipping up anti-Soviet war fever. Their favorite tactic is provocation—most spectacularly the dispatch of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 to overfly supersensitive Soviet military installations on Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin island on 31 August 1983. When Soviet air defense forces shot down the unidentified intruder, the U.S. launched a worldwide hysteria campaign against the "evil empire." KAL 007 was followed by a long string of additional U.S. war provocations.

• November 1983: In the Atlantic Ocean, 500 miles off the coast of South Carolina, an American sub-hunting destroyer struck and disabled a Soviet nuclear submarine.

• 20 March 1984: A Soviet tanker was damaged by a CIA-laid mine in the harbor of Puerto Sandino, Nicaragua.

• 24 March 1984: The 80,000-ton U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* deliberately rammed a nuclear-armed Soviet sub in the Sea of Japan.

• 2 April 1984: The U.S. frigate *Holt* sideswiped the Soviet carrier *Minsk*, broken down in the South China Sea. The *Minsk* tried to warn off the approaching U.S. ship by firing numerous flares, but the Americans ignored the warnings.

• 20 April 1984: A heavily armed U.S. Cobra helicopter gunship intruded several kilometers into Czechoslovak airspace before being chased off by MIG pilots using rockets and guns.

• 11 August 1984: Reagan said in a radio voice test that the bombing of Russia begins "in five minutes." The "joke" reverberated around the world, and three days later a Soviet command unit in the Far East reportedly declared a wartime alert, causing Japanese forces to respond. Fortunately the Soviets called off the alert after 30 minutes.

• 30 November 1984: The U.S. sent the nuclear-powered carrier *Nimitz* and the cruiser *Arkansas* to within five miles of Cuba, to bring back a disabled Navy-chartered spy ship caught in Cuban waters.

• Mid-December 1984: Two U.S. carrier battle groups conducted "exercises" within 50 miles of Vladivostok, the hub of Soviet military defenses in the Pacific, leading the Soviets to launch a defensive alert scrambling at least 100 Soviet jet fighters. The *New York Times* (19 December) paraphrased a U.S. official describing this as "the kind of alert the Russians would launch if their defense controllers thought Soviet military installations were about to be attacked."

U.S. officials regularly attack Soviet "paranoia" about imperialist encirclement and the threat of American attack. If you had been sitting on the hot seat in the Soviet defense ministry for the last 18 months, you might be "paranoid" too. Reagan & Co. are preparing war on Russia. When they are ready they will invent their "Gulf of Tonkin incident," in the Gulf of Fonseca off Nicaragua or the Sea of Okhotsk or wherever. The terrorist provocateurs are entrenched in the centers of power in the White House and the Pentagon. We say: U.S. hands off the world! ■

U.S. Air Force

U.S. fighter plays chicken with Soviet reconnaissance plane. Don't mess with the Russians!

War Plans...

(continued from page 1)

schemes like crazy, and we'll develop our countermeasures at 1/1000th the cost. You threaten surgical strikes against Nicaragua if they get MIGs? Okay, by those rules something bad ought to happen to the countries where you stationed Pershings. It can be arranged."

The imperialists will never disarm, just as they have never accepted the elimination of capitalist rule over a third of the globe. If Chernenko & Co. don't sell out anything at Geneva it may be because Reagan won't give them the chance. But the Stalinist bureaucrats' pipedreams of convincing the imperialists to beat their swords into plowshares represent a grave danger to the remaining legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Soviet Union has indeed survived until 1984, but faced with imperialist madmen who seriously discuss the possibility of Armageddon in their lifetime, the only way to secure the gains of October is to extend the revolution throughout the world. Defend the workers states through proletarian political revolution—Clean the compromisers out of the Kremlin—Forward to the program of Lenin!

If West European rulers are more than a little nervous about Reagan's scripts, it is because they fear their countries are the theater in which the trigger-happy cowboy in the White House plans his spectacular last round-up. *For now* they seek to spread counterrevolution by "peaceful" means, undermining the Soviet bloc from within as with their support to Polish Solidarność, the favorite "union" of union-busters Thatcher and Reagan. But behind the carrot of trade is the appetite to "roll back" the conquests of the Red Army, which smashed the Hitler-Nazi regime 40 years ago; witness the imperialist outcry last summer against the 1944 Yalta agreement, and West German chancellor Kohl's revanchist remarks which rightly upset the Kremlin (and the Poles!). Peace in Europe cannot be achieved by sanctifying the status quo of a divided Europe. The Trotskyists fight for a revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a Soviet Socialist United States of All Europe!

Imperialist America, the organizing center of the anti-Soviet war drive, is the number one enemy of the working and oppressed people of the world. In the United States as in Europe, anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. Solidarity with South African blacks fighting apartheid, with Central American workers and peasants facing the threat of U.S. invasion, means breaking with both capitalist parties, fighting for concrete working-class action against the U.S. rulers. While the Democrats and Republicans tried to outdo each other in flag-waving fervor during the recent elections, American labor, blacks, poor and aged are all under the gun of Reagan's war. Only workers revolution at home will smash the insane imperialist war drive by smashing the imperialist system itself.

"Star Wars" and First Strike

The administration's intentions were spelled out a couple of years ago when parts of war secretary Weinberger's 1984-88 "Defense Guidance" were leaked to the press, calling for the U.S. to "prevail" in a "protracted" nuclear war. The document also called for "plans for the first-use and possible follow-on uses of TNF" (theater nuclear forces) in a "limited nuclear exchange" such as over Europe. It also urged an all-sided weapons buildup, including space-based weapons systems, and warned against signing treaties and agreements which might "foreclose opportunities to develop these capabilities and systems." So Reagan is pushing every conceivable high-tech weapon, from the B-1 bomber to the MX missile, which could be thrown at the Soviet Union. And meanwhile the U.S. deployed the supposedly pinpoint-accurate Pershing 2s and hard-to-detect cruise missiles in Europe, wrecking disarmament talks then underway.

In March of 1983, Reagan delivered his "Star Wars" speech promising middle-class white America that it needn't worry—if they only spent $400 billion or so to deploy high-tech space weapons, the U.S. could be completely shielded from Soviet retaliation. And it would be paid for by a tax cut combined with taking school lunches away from ghetto kids. This plan was cooked up by Dr. Edward Teller and the "High Frontier" crowd of New Right nuts whose goal has been to "win" a nuclear war. The "great communicator" pitched it as the ultimate "peace" proposal, to protect people and render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." But virtually every reputable scientist who has looked into it has labeled "Star Wars" extremely dangerous and destabilizing. It is that and much more: this "defense" system is worthless *except* as part of a "pre-emptive" strike.

The "Star Wars" scheme envisions a "layered" defense, using several weapons systems to zap Soviet missiles and their warheads while in flight. Among the publicized weapons under development are space-based lasers, particle-beam weapons and kinetic energy "rail" guns flying on orbiting battle stations. The technical problem is that nobody can come up with a method to guarantee the destruction of hundreds of missiles during the very short (three minutes or less) boost phase. The problem is multiplied in the mid-course and descent phases when thousands of warheads and decoys have separated from their missiles. The Soviets would have numerous, and relatively inexpensive, countermeasures available, such as putting reflective coatings on their missiles, multiplying the number of decoys, etc. A "leakage" of only 1 percent in the shield would mean the failure of the whole system, since it only takes a few nuclear warheads to devastate a country. And the scheme doesn't even take into consideration the threat from subs, low-flying cruise missiles and bombers. The cost of launching sufficient numbers of battle stations would run into the hundreds of billions of dollars.

Sovfoto

The late Soviet defense minister Dmitri Ustinov.

As an umbrella against surprise attack, "Star Wars" is truly a hare-brained scheme. But as part of a first strike it makes a lot of (twisted) sense. The Union of Concerned Scientists' detailed study on *Space-Based Missile Defense* (March 1984) notes that an attacker with thousands of missiles could readily smash through any conceivable defense shield, but ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems "might perform with some effectiveness against a poorly coordinated and weakened retaliatory strike." "One can readily appreciate," concluded the UCS analysis, "that the Soviet Union might view an American BMD as part of a larger US effort to acquire a first-strike capability." And that is exactly what the Kremlin concluded. Four days after Reagan's speech, then Soviet leader Yuri Andropov replied:

> "In fact the strategic offensive forces of the United States will continue to be developed and upgraded at full tilt and along quite a definite line at that, namely that of acquiring a first nuclear strike capability. Under these conditions the intention to secure itself the possibility of destroying with the help of the ABM defenses the corresponding strategic systems of the other side, that is of rendering it unable of dealing a retaliatory strike, is a bid to disarm the Soviet Union in the face of the U.S. nuclear threat."

Even the article by McGeorge Bundy, George Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith ("The President's Choice: Star Wars or Arms Control") in the ultra-establishment *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1984/85) concluded that while "our government, of course, does not intend a first strike," nevertheless "we are building systems which do have what is called in our own jargon a prompt hard-target kill capability, and the primary purpose of these systems is to put Soviet missiles at risk of quick destruction. Soviet leaders are bound to see such weapons as a first-strike threat."

Thus the scheme would destabilize the current rough balance of terror by vastly encouraging the U.S. to strike first. Simply to defend themselves, the Soviets would be forced to accelerate their production and deployment of offensive missiles in order to guarantee that their second strike could penetrate the U.S. BMD arsenal. And they will have to develop their own ASAT weaponry to destroy the U.S. battle stations and other satellites. In a period of political crisis the pressure to launch on warning would be overwhelming as the Soviets face pressure to "use them or lose them."

In practice, though, the only aspect of ballistic missile defense systems which appears to be within reach of present technology is a limited defense in the terminal phase. "Star Wars" is becoming strikingly similar to the early 1970s ABM systems. "There are some intermediate steps which have intermediate utility," Undersecretary of Defense Fred Iklé hinted at a secret Senate committee meeting last year. And Weinberger has said that indeed SDI might have a "transitional phase"

involving point defense of U.S. missile silos. However, the 1972 ABM treaty sharply limited the number of ballistic missile defense clusters to two each for the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This was a tacit admission on both sides of the futility and danger of ABM defense. Now the U.S. is saying the ABM treaty may have to be "revised"—"in other words, broken" as even the *New York Times* (30 December 1984) admitted.

Space Shuttle Provocation

No war plans are complete without muzzling the press, and the Reagan administration threw down the gauntlet in mid-December when the Defense Department provocatively announced that the next shuttle mission scheduled for January 23 would contain a "secret" military payload, and anyone who even "speculated" about its content would be subject to a Pentagon investigation. This was clearly no way to keep a secret, and indeed when the *Washington Post* blew the whistle a couple of days later it merely stated what everyone who followed the subject had already figured out. Surprise, a new SIGINT (signals intelligence) spy satellite was to be sent into geo-synchronous orbit placing it in stationary position above western Russia.

With 30 secret military missions already scheduled for the next five years, the Pentagon's purpose was to get the press to keep its mouth shut. And, ominously, at first everyone went along. Even the *Post* emphasized that it deliberately withheld some details for "national security" reasons, which didn't save it from being denounced by Weinberger for giving "aid and comfort to the enemy," the classic witchhunters' phrase for treason trials. Indeed, the administration is trying to establish legal precedents for prosecuting journalists under espionage laws. The test case is the Justice Department's prosecution of naval intelligence analyst Samuel Loring Morison, grandson of the famed naval historian, for providing a reconnaissance satellite photograph of a Soviet aircraft carrier to *Jane's Defence Weekly*, a house organ of Western intelligence agencies, of which he is the American editor.

It's no wonder they want to muzzle the press: the media had uncovered a gigantic hoax. The public had been led to believe that the space shuttle, unlike "evil" Soviet space missions, is intended for purely peaceful, scientific purposes. But the 20 December 1984 *New York Times*, in the middle of an article about the "secret" military payload, casually mentioned "the shuttle's spacious cargo bay, whose dimensions were specifically designed for military missions." The next day the *Times* revealed in detail how the Pentagon's enormous space budget enabled it to take over the shuttle. A recent report in *Aviation Week* (5 November 1984) was even more sensational, reporting that the Pentagon already has a pool of 25 military astronauts, independent of the civilian NASA space agency, to fly military space missions. "Star Wars" is a lot closer than you think.

Anti-Soviet Madman in the White House

Quite a few establishment figures and even some of Reagan's staunchest defenders have begun to worry about his reckless offensive strategy. Other NATO heads of state, including British prime minister Thatcher, French president Mitterrand and West German chancellor Kohl have expressed their "deep reservations" about U.S. development of space weapons. Listening to some of the Reaganauts in the Pentagon reminds one of French chief of staff Joffre's "strategy of the offensive" which managed to get tens of thousands of French youth slaughtered in the early days of World War I, repeatedly throwing them against the devastating fire of entrenched German machine guns. In the nuclear era, however, the Reaganauts' war madness can have cataclysmic results for humanity.

PBS

Soviet missiles in Red Square: When Reagan starts talking "disarmament," reach for the SS-20s.

Take the case of Reagan's secretary of the navy, John Lehman, a 41-year-old Young Americans for Freedom type never involved in naval operations, who has laid down a strategy of "forward defense." Lehman says that in wartime the Pentagon is going to send its expensive ($3 billion plus) nuclear aircraft carriers right into the lair of the Soviet bear to attack the Soviet naval fleet in its home base of the Kola Peninsula. Military analyst William Lind called it a scenario for the "ride of the Valkyries" in a recent (1 January) TV documentary in the *Frontline* series on "The Battle for the Norwegian Sea," saying U.S. carriers would be sitting ducks for Soviet subs and land-based bombers. This didn't daunt Lehman, however, who claimed the advantage of "*knowing* Soviet capabilities at sea because we're rubbing up against them *every day*, everywhere in the world.... We know how good they are, we know we're going to win."

Former CIA director Stansfield Turner calls this "forward strategy" a "mistake of historic proportions," and claims that not one admiral supports Lehman. The navy chiefs are probably having nightmares about being sent into a repeat of the 1916 battle of Jutland (or Skagerrak), in which the entire force of German battle cruisers was sacrificed in a suicidal charge at the British fleet, which smashed the German ships in a hurricane of fire. The Germans called it a "death ride," and the kaiser's surface fleet didn't venture out again for the duration of the war. The sinking of the U.S. navy would do far more for the cause of world peace than any treaty, but it's not what the brass had in mind for their ships.

After two years of controversy among military leaders of the Western imperialist alliance, last November U.S. general Bernard Rogers, supreme commander of NATO forces, pushed through a new strategy named "Follow-On Force Attack." FOFA involves plans for "deep strikes" into the Soviet bloc to destroy Soviet rear echelons with high-tech weapons. It is the application to Europe of "Air-Land 2000," a doctrine developed by the U.S. General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth for "offensive tactics." According to U.S. Operations Manual FM-100, the fundamental precept of Air-Land battle is that: "The offense is the decisive form of war, the commander's only means of attaining a positive goal or of completely destroying an enemy force." Shades of General Joffre! West European leaders worried that this would rip off NATO's mask as a "defensive alliance." Criticizing West European leaders for having a "Maginot Line mentality," Rogers and other American military planners argue that "emerging technology" (appropriately dubbed "ET") gives the West the capability to strike at the heart of the Warsaw Pact with non-nuclear forces. However, the "Rogers Plan" does not reject previous NATO policy of first use of nuclear weapons.

"ET," "Star Wars," "Air-Land Battle": the Reagan regime's nuclear policy is the distilled essence of Silicon Valley, Orange County and the Pentagon, concocted by an aging YAFer dressed up like Darth Vader in a video games parlor. Half of the fabled U.S. "emerging technology" doesn't work (the Pershings which regularly miss their targets, the Sergeant York gun which does best against outhouse exhaust systems, the Assault Breaker system which can hit some tanks that don't move)—and the other half doesn't exist. No one buys the administration's pretense that it is talking about defense. What worries rational imperialist planners, however, is not that Reagan wants war but that he may screw it up and lose badly.

Some of the more responsible statesmen, like veteran diplomat George F. Kennan, for instance, are genuinely afraid that Reagan might blow up the world. In a column titled, "World War I; Then, II; Then..." (*New York Times*, 11 November 1984), Kennan recalled that the first imperialist world slaughter was prepared by:

> "...new vainglorious dreams of total war, unconditional surrender and the total victory that was supposed to make all things possible.
> "And we of this age? How about us?"

This from the famous "Mr. X," the architect of the anti-Soviet Cold War. Let no one forget that Kennan's co-authors McNamara and Bundy were the war criminals who ordered the ("conventional") slaughter of millions of Indochinese. In reality, the nuclear "freeze" movement led by Democratic "doves" like Senator Edward Kennedy is only a slicker program to prepare the bipartisan drive toward war on the Soviet Union. The money saved, wrote Senators Kennedy and Hatfield in their book *Freeze!* (1982) "could be spent... to improve the readiness and reliability of our conventional forces." As in the Rogers Plan!

From KAL 007 to Geneva

In order to fob off the blame for shredding the 1972 ABM treaty, the Reaganites, with a cynicism rivaling Goebbels, have invented a list of supposed "Soviet violations." Top on their list is the unfinished phased-array radar located at Abalakova (near Krasnoyarsk) in Siberia, which Washington claims could be used for ballistic missile defense. There is overwhelming evidence that the U.S. launched the provocative KAL spy mission into Soviet airspace, overflying the Soviet Union's most sensitive Far Eastern military facilities, in coordination with an American "ferret" spy satellite, to test the capabilities of the new Siberian radar (see "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984). And now the White House provocateurs dare to accuse the *Soviets* of "violations"!

In the fall of 1983, at the height of the imperialist propaganda blitz over KAL 007, as the U.S. (with the agreement of its NATO allies) was preparing to deploy Pershings in West Europe, Soviet defense minister, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, who died last month, declared that the USSR was "displaying truly Leninist self-control":

> "No 'preemptive strike' will help the strategists on the other side of the ocean to avert a devastating retaliatory strike. Nothing will save the aggressor from retribution if he uses nuclear weapons in a first strike against the Soviet Union and its allies....
> "We do not seek nuclear superiority, but neither will we allow the US administration to use nuclear blackmail to conduct a policy of strength against us."
>
> —*Pravda*, 19 November 1983

Or as the then chief of staff of the Soviet armed forces, Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, put it: "Retaliation will be inevitable in all cases." But a sound military defense is only the beginning of the defense of the revolutionary conquests embodied in the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state.

With good reason, Soviet leaders have not been overly optimistic about the upcoming Geneva talks. Communist Party general secretary Chernenko called for "radical" arms reductions, but *Pravda* commented pessimistically in its New Year's edition, "We have no illusions." Unfortunately, the history of the Stalinist bureaucracy shows an overabundance of illusions in "peaceful coexistence," "détente" and other code words for achieving a live-and-let-live deal with the imperialists. As Marxists we understand that the capitalists will never accept the Bolshevik Revolution. Defense of the gains of October can only be secured by extending proletarian revolutions, particularly into the imperialist heartlands. This was the task undertaken by the Communist International under V.I. Lenin and continued by Leon Trotsky, founder of the Soviet Red Army, in his struggle for the Fourth International.

We do not begrudge the Kremlin its efforts to stave off the tremendous costs of a space arms race. But a treaty with the imperialist U.S. rulers will no more guarantee defense of the Soviet peoples against imperialist intervention than did Stalin's pact with Hitler. What's needed is a return to the policies of Lenin and Trotsky, the policies of proletarian internationalism and world socialist revolution. In his "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932), Trotsky wrote that:

> "The pretense of 'disarmament' has and can have nothing in common with the prevention of war. The program of 'disarmament' only signifies an attempt—up to now only on paper—to reduce in peacetime the expense of this or that kind of armaments... The question of disarmament is one of the levers on the arena of imperialism in which the new wars are being prepared. It is pure charlatanism to attempt to distinguish between defensive and offensive machine guns, tanks, airplanes. American policy is dictated in this also by the particular interests of American militarism, the most terrible of all.... Petty-bourgeois pacifism, which sees in a 10 percent, or 33 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the 'first step' towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and asphyxiating gases....
> "Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war."
>
> —*Writings of Leon Trotsky (1932)*■

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Peter Kihss: A Journalist with Integrity

Peter Kihss, for many years ace reporter on the *New York Times* metropolitan desk, died December 28 of a heart attack at the age of 72. We of the Spartacist League had contact with Peter Kihss extending over 20 years and we always got a fair shake from him. Which is more than we can say of the bourgeois press generally, including in particular his employers at the *Times*. Noting how the press uncritically peddles government smears against the left, we have had occasion to refer to "the Fourth Estate, the world's oldest profession." Peter Kihss was different—he was that rare species, a journalist with integrity, who thought the truth was "fit to print." And for that we honor him.

The *Times* (30 December 1984) obituary was a retrospective of Kihss's career covering almost half a century. "He was, by nearly every standard of American journalism, an ideal reporter," wrote Robert McFadden, noting his thoroughness, tenacity and objectivity, as well as the speed and grace of his prose. McFadden recalled the time Kihss literally picked up Mayor Fiorello La Guardia and shook him, saying "Four hundred thousand readers of *The World-Telegram* want to know," when hizzoner threatened to throw the reporter down the City Hall steps for asking embarrassing questions. He remembered that Kihss faced down a hostile crowd of racists when he was covering the enrollment of the first black student at the University of Alabama. He didn't have much to say about Kihss's activities as an active member of the New York Newspaper Guild, though. Kihss's retirement notice noted that during the 1950s McCarthy period he had most of the big local stories on the "Communist and Nazi" beat. And A.J. Liebling in his collection of essays on *The Press* (1975) contrasts Kihss's factual reporting on the Alger Hiss case to the sensation-mongering of his editors at the New York *Herald Tribune*.

We didn't know Peter Kihss well, but on those occasions when we intersected we found his reporting accurate and intelligent. Kihss wrote a substantial story in the *New York Times* (8 March 1964) on the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency, predecessor of the Spartacist League, from the Socialist Workers Party. Based on an interview with *Spartacist* editor James Robertson, he noted that the SWP stood accused of expelling members solely "on the basis of opinions" for the first time in its history. Kihss indicated the political basis for the expulsions, quoting the first issue of *Spartacist* attacking the SWP for "surrender of all Marxist responsibility toward the Cuban Revolution through abasement as an uncritical apologist for the Castro regime." He

New York Times

Peter Kihss
1912-1984

also noted the RT's objection to the SWP's "will-o'-the-wisp chase after Black Nationalism" in the U.S. Kihss's care in reporting was shown by the fact that between the early and late editions of the paper he added news of additional expulsions of RT supporters and a quote from Myra Tanner Weiss denouncing the purge. Those who read Kihss's piece would know more about the expulsion than readers of the SWP's *Militant*.

The *Times* obituary says Kihss wrote "dispassionately" on a wide range of topics. A lack of passion is hardly our standard of journalistic excellence, but in our experience at least, Peter Kihss's commitment to "objectivity" was not an excuse for slanting the story against those who challenged the established order. We recall the assassination of Malcolm X, where Kihss wrote a page one news story noting the black militant's "gift for bitter eloquence against what he considered white exploitation of Negroes," and that "Malcolm's new movement emphasized self-defense even with weapons" (*New York Times*, 22 February 1965). While Kihss was hardly sympathetic to Malcolm, his account sharply contrasted with the *Times*' rabid editorial vilifying this courageous tribune of black freedom as "an extraordinary and twisted man, turning many true gifts to evil purpose," and virtually blaming Malcolm for his own death: "...his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence...marked him for notoriety, and for a violent end."

Later that year, Kihss covered the "Harlem riots" of July 1964—in reality a cop riot touched off by the police killing of a young black man and directed against militant efforts to organize the ghetto around tenants committees. Kihss reported how the FBI and the mayor's office were trying to blame everything on "Communists" and "fringe groups" who allegedly incited violence, but he also went out and got what the "reds" like Progressive Labor's Bill Epton had to say. Where most journalists didn't recognize the existence of anything to the left of the reformist CPUSA, Kihss reported on a garment center rally of the Harlem Solidarity Committee including speakers from PL, Workers World and Spartacist.

Many years later, in September 1981, our paths crossed again at the offices of Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers. The UFT hosted a press conference for a representative of the Polish "union" Solidarność who was setting up a New York office (with the help of the "CIA socialists" of Shanker's SDUSA crowd). The Spartacist League demonstrated outside the UFT headquarters with signs including: "Reagan Smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarność!" and "Social Democrats and the AFL-CIO Front for CIA in Poland, Too!" This led the *Wall Street Journal* (29 September 1981) to write an ominous editorial denouncing "a respectably-sized group of demonstrators [that] was organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialism it allegedly represented." The house organ of American finance capital warned, "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" American labor leaders' fronting for Washington "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching," and threatened that if they persist in this "very dirty business...they should not be allowed to do so easily."

Kihss covered the Solidarność press conference, and stopped to observe our demonstration. The *New York Times*, which purports to be the newspaper of record in the United States, found the SL demonstration to be no news. Kihss's draft had, however, reported on our protest and on 29 September 1981 he sent us a courteous note lamenting this censorship: "I did think you warranted mention." He enclosed a copy of the story as written, which ended: "In the street, 50 pickets from the Spartacist League, a Trotskyist Communist organization, chanted and carried signs to charge that 'Solidarity has become an instrument for Ronald Reagan's drive to "roll back" the social and economic gains of the Russian Revolution'." When we ran into him at another event, he apologized again, adding that the *Times* has "almost a policy of not covering demonstrations" unless you're about to take power. As top reporter on the metro desk he had run into this barrier time and again.

We gather this wasn't the first time Peter Kihss had expressed dissatisfaction with hatchet jobs on his copy. The *Times* Op-Ed page this January 1 published a remembrance by Sydney Schanberg who recalled that Kihss proudly called himself "just a reporter." Kihss, he said, once described an editor as "someone who separates the wheat from the chaff—and sees to it the chaff gets into the paper." Schanberg added that Kihss "quit" a few times after bitter jousts with editors, but he won "a basketful of awards" during his 49 years as "just a reporter": "in an era when the press came under increasing criticism for arrogance and carelessness, Peter Kihss was an exemplar of accuracy and fairness."

American journalism is a deservedly maligned profession. "The press is free," as it is said, "for them that owns one." Not much has changed since H.L. Mencken wrote his scathing diatribes against not only the "journalistic streetwalkers" but the majority of newspapermen who were "ignoramuses, and proud of it": "It is this vast and militant ignorance, this widespread and fathomless prejudice against intelligence, that makes American journalism so pathetically feeble and vulgar, and so generally disreputable" ("Journalism in America," 1927). Peter Kihss, however, was not "just a reporter" but an *honest* reporter. He didn't write for the "boobcisie" but for intelligent people who care for the truth. Sadly a man such as he is a voice in the wilderness in the world of capitalist commercial enterprise. ■

Red Army Mops Up...

(continued from page 7)

Apparently the anti-Soviet warmongers would have preferred that Abouchar's story remain locked up in Kabul. When he got home Abouchar wrote that "between the Afghan Communists and the ayatollahs, the former might still be preferable.... The men of the principal resistance movement...are religious fanatics. They send a shiver down the spine" (quoted in the *Nation*, 15 December 1984).

Soviet intervention is pulling Afghanistan into the 20th century. Schools and factories are being built. More than a million Afghans have been taught to read and write. Thousands of youth are being given a chance to study in Soviet universities. Mineral deposits of copper and uranium have been discovered and are being opened up for development. A key index of social progress is the position of women, who are being liberated from the *chadri*, educated and slowly integrated into the workforce. Last summer a reporter for *India Today* (31 July 1984) encountered five 15-year-old girls, armed with rifles and belonging to a "civilian brigade to defend the revolution," in a village near Kabul:

> "They spoke fervently and passionately about their revolution and what it meant for young women in Afghanistan: it meant 'an education, freedom from the veil, freedom from feudalists who want to keep us down,' said Khalida. 'We do not want to become the fourth wife of a 60-year-old man, existing solely for his whim and pleasure'."

At the same time, the PDPA government of Babrak Karmal has sought to piece off the opposition by reinforcing some of the most reactionary features of Afghan society. In particular, Karmal has *strengthened* the government's ties to those among the Islamic clergy who have not taken up arms against the regime: not only are the mullahs' tithes and landholdings exempt from taxation, seizure or redistribution, but the mullahs themselves are supported by state stipends. Compulsory education has been replaced by an "optional literacy program for women," and Karmal criticized the land reform decreed after the "April (1978) Revolution" for "resorting to force for implementing land reforms" (*Kabul New Times*, 12 March 1984). But only through force will the feudalists' resistance be crushed. The task of the bourgeois revolution remains far from completed in Afghanistan.

Today Afghanistan is only just emerging from the Middle Ages, literally. The government is implementing the economic plan for the year 1363 (by the Islamic calendar) while convening a "grand jirgah [council] of the scholars and spiritual figures of the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan]" at the Intercontinental Hotel in Kabul! Yet Afghanistan's likely future can be glimpsed north of the border in the Soviet Central Asian republics, where the Red Army waged a decade-long civil war in the 1920s and '30s to defeat the tribalist Basmachi. In these backward areas, the workers state led by the revolutionary Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky was able to eliminate the veil and the bride price, secure land to the tiller, and break the

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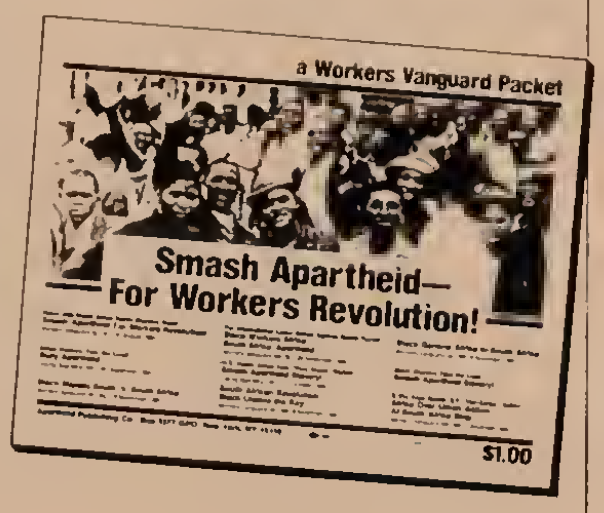

"Subway Vigilante"...

(continued from page 12)

paper" in this city) ran fund appeals—"Guardian Angels Vow Cash Aid to Vigilante"—and reported $100 checks rolling in from retired cops. Curtis Sliwa of the Guardian Angels claimed Goetz as one of their own, and began collecting bail money in the trains. The "Angels" are the people who go around terrorizing subway passengers in the name of fighting petty crime. And U.S. imperialism's most disreputable black pimp Roy Innis came forward to "defend" the gunman—about what you'd expect from people who recruited black mercenaries for the CIA in Angola.

The haughty *New York Times* is probably the only newspaper in the world that could write an article about the IRT shooting and never mention the race of the youths, as they did the first day! But the popularity of the "subway vigilante" has them sufficiently worried that the *Times* (4 January) editorial made an "unauthorized disclosure," finally conceding that pervasive crime in the subway "generates fear that a system millions must ride has slipped out of control" and called on the city to beef up the numbers and the quality of the transit cops. This is a grotesque joke. Nobody thinks the cops are going to protect them. And the *Times* wouldn't even admit up until now that it *was* "Fear City" on the trains—it took a racist nut to pose this issue sharply.

Everybody knows the cops are never there when you need them—the classic case is Kitty Genovese, stabbed and murdered while nobody heeded her screams for help, and many others since then. Of course, the transit cops do kill people—but not those in the act of committing crimes. No, they specialize in shooting turnstile jumpers, or graffiti-painters such as young black artist Michael Stewart bludgeoned to death at Union Square last year. To make it explicit, the *Times* editorial calls for stepping up arrests for "quality-of-life offenses"—this means war not only on black youth, but tens of thousands of homeless, the bag ladies, the derelicts dumped out on the streets from the mental hospitals and welfare hotels who now call the subway home—one of the most tragic stories of human waste in New York.

The bourgeoisie's response to crime is to strengthen its own repressive apparatus while disarming the population. The *Times* (28 December 1984) predictably editorialized for gun control: "Where guns are outlawed, as in New York City, only outlaws have guns. But that is still better than everyone having them. As the subway shooting demonstrates, the 'decent citizen' armed with a gun may all too quickly become the criminal." This is the sanctimonious posturing of hypocrites secure in the knowledge that the armed bodies of state repression exist precisely in order to protect *their* lives, *their* institutions, *their* private property and corporate investments. The NY city council law against carrying long arms in public was zipped through to prevent Malcolm X from carrying a carbine—he was assassinated shortly after. But *New York Times* publisher "Punch" Sulzberger, who has his own armed guards and rides around town in a chauffeur-driven limousine, was in 1980 one of the 550 civilians with a pistol permit.

AP

Slogan spray-painted on FDR Drive. In racist America, vigilantism targets blacks.

It is precisely these limousine liberals with their sermonizing about gun control—a patently worthless measure which abuses only innocent citizens—that drive people into the arms of the vigilantes. One could sympathize with Goetz's frustration over his attempt to get a handgun license. He went through the wringer of bureaucratic investigation/interrogation like a good citizen and was rejected anyway. Even to get the less-restricted keep-at-home license you have to pay $75, submit pictures of yourself and three full sets of fingerprints, then wait six months while everybody from the FBI to the state bureau of mental health looks into your past. In the end the applicant ends up feeling like a criminal. But Marxists, and the U.S. Constitution, hold that everyone has a right to bear arms. As the saying goes, "God created men and women, and Colonel Colt made them equal." And gun control is first and foremost directed *against blacks*.

Suppose the subway gunman was black and the youths had been white. Murdoch's *Post* wouldn't hail him as a hero, but he's got every damn right to defend himself too. As a black NYC transit worker at the Coney Island yard said, referring to a black transit worker bludgeoned to death by a racist mob in 1982, "If Willie Turks had had a piece, he'd be alive today." Last week right-wing populist Barry Farber remarked on his WMCA radio talk show how courageous blacks saved a lot of lives back in the '30s and '40s. On the weekends some of the white crackers would get liquored up and talk about going over to "nigger town" to "get them some." But after a few minutes someone would remark, "Hey Clem, it's getting dark. Those Negroes have guns, and they know how to use them." That was the biggest deterrent to lynching there was. It sure as hell wasn't the local sheriff.

The condition of black people in Reagan's America is increasingly desperate. In the wake of the 1960s civil rights struggles, the Johnson administration tried to put the lid back on the exploding ghettos by pumping in a few million dollars in the bogus "war on poverty." Today the re-election of Ronald Reagan is a blatant assertion that there will be no attempts to improve the situation of the black masses. Black people, at the bottom of American society, the last-hired, first-fired reserve army of labor who are considered expendable in hard times, are simply written off. Essential services are slashed, school lunch programs canceled, Medicare curtailed. In New York the privatization of public facilities has reached the point that big-time realtor Donald Trump announced that seating at the projected new city sports stadium will be sold as "condos." How soon until seats in public schools are sold to the highest bidder?

So it's election year in New York. The mayor is once again busily whipping up racist sentiment, just as he did in 1977-78 when he made the death penalty the centerpiece of his "Fear City" campaign. Ed Koch is a man who makes his mark going around verbally abusing blacks with his spit-in-the-eye racism while others turn the mayor's words into action. After lecturing New Yorkers that they will not be permitted to take the law into their own hands, he tried to shore up the Queens racist vote by refusing to make Martin Luther King's birthday a city holiday. In the days following the subway shooting there is an ominous atmosphere abroad. The general mood on the street is one of vengeance, that vigilantism works. And the fact that the lumpen population of urban America is overwhelmingly black and Hispanic produces the dangerous intersection of anger over crime in the streets with the poisonous racism which permeates this society.

A decade ago, at the time of Koch's first election campaign, we wrote in our article "Fear and Violence in NYC" (*WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977):

> "Communists are not bleeding-heart liberals who preach 'Christian concern' for the brutalized lumpen criminals marauding through the streets and subways, killing, maiming, raping and robbing hapless citizens. When the burnt-out rubble of the South Bronx begins to resemble Dresden after World War II, it is to be expected that the vast ghettos will produce depraved human beings, as the 'Empire City' slides into the barbarism of decaying capitalism. It is intolerable that such 'human garbage,' as Marx described the criminal elements of the lumpenproletariat, can terrorize the public at will.
>
> "Ultimately the solution to spiraling crime rates is abolition of the capitalist system which breeds poverty and crime. In the meantime, it is a just and elementary reflex that the whole population (not just the well-heeled, cops and criminals) have recourse to firearms to seek protection from this hideous social irrationality....
>
> "While upholding the right of individuals to effectively defend themselves, we strenuously oppose any kind of vigilantism, which could only become a racist pogrom. Gun-nut groups and ultra-rightist types who rail that the cops are too soft on 'crime in the streets' are the advance elements of a fascistic movement. We do not call upon the working masses to implement the bosses' racist 'law and order.' But in a time of revolutionary upsurge—a dual power situation—a racially integrated workers militia, with recognized authority among the ghetto masses themselves, would certainly deal firmly and justly with lumpen violence....
>
> "It is profoundly dangerous and demoralizing to keep the population, white and black, in a constant state of helpless fear: such desperation spawns fascist mobilizations and racist vigilantes, as shown by the enormously enthusiastic response to the movie 'Death Wish.' Marxists must struggle against the monopolization of the means of violence in the hands of the bourgeois state while asserting the right of the working people to defend themselves, as Malcolm X said, by any means necessary." ■

---

power of the mullahs. Now the standard of living in the cities of Soviet Central Asia is reportedly higher than in Moscow!

Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to Afghanistan!

Contrary to imperialist propaganda, the Afghanistan intervention has broad popular support in the Soviet Union itself. The *New York Times* (3 December 1984) reported:

> "... it is clear that the war is not resulting in the domestic backlash that the Vietnam War stirred in the United States. In talks with people around Moscow, both young and old, no sign emerges of a discontent that could force Kremlin leaders to bring the boys home soon. 'I don't know if you would call this a popular war,' a Moscow scholar said privately. 'But certainly it is not an unpopular war. ... More or less, it's a popular war,' he said. 'People say: "Aha, the Americans wanted to grab Afghanistan. We'll show them".'"

A Moscow novelist said: "We see how poor the Afghans are, how dirty.... Our boys give them pieces of sugar, and they have never seen sugar before. We are bringing them a better way of life."

During the summer of 1919, as the revolutionary wave was receding in central Europe, Trotsky noted that the Red Army (which he led) could pave the way for extending the Russian Revolution to the East, beyond the boundaries of the former tsarist empire:

> "We have up to now devoted too little attention to agitation in Asia. However, the international situation is evidently shaping up in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal.... Naturally, we had had in mind even earlier on the need to assist the revolution in Asia and had never abandoned the idea of revolutionary offensive wars."
>
> —*The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 1 (1917-1919)

The plan was stillborn, as the Red Army was forced to marshal every last man and weapon to defend the young workers state from foreign intervention and internal counterrevolution.

Trotsky's Red Army was an instrument of revolutionary policy; its role was to defend the Soviet state and assist the development of international working-class revolution. The bureaucratic caste which seized power in the mid-1920s is interested not in revolution but in peaceful coexistence with the imperialists. Soviet aid is as capable of propping up oppressive regimes (such as Mengistu's Ethiopia) as overthrowing them. Nevertheless, faced with a direct imperialist military threat the Kremlin's defensive intervention in Afghanistan opened up the possibility of replicating the social transformation that took place in Soviet Central Asia six decades ago.

Only a workers political revolution can restore the Soviet state and its army to their internationalist, revolutionary mission. And our goal of socialist revolution in the imperialist countries takes on a sharp urgency at a time when Reagan & Co. rattle their H-bombs for the sake of overthrowing the gains of the Russian Revolution. Once more we hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Smash Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The NYC "Subway Vigilante"

Ronald Reagan's election was supposed to be a celebration of the "New Patriotism," new confidence in "America standing tall," where anybody can make it big who just has the will to "go for it." But coming on top of the deepest depression since the 1930s, there is an undercurrent of fear and desperation in the country focused on the ghettos of America's inner cities. Here is the utter hopelessness of a generation of minority youth who, with black unemployment even in the present "recovery" still running over 40 percent, are condemned to a life in these mean streets, trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty, drugs and crime. In this deeply race-divided society, the ghetto is also the focus of the fears and fantasies of the white population which feels preyed upon by a menacing criminal underclass. The New York subway is one of the flashpoints of intersection.

In the absence of any mobilization for social struggle, the desperation of black youth has produced a wave of teen-age crime around the country. In Detroit, even with a vicious anti-youth curfew and police riding roughshod on the streets and in the schools, more than 220 kids were shot in street violence during 1984. In Chicago, where 133 youth were killed last year in gang-related violence, there's been an outcry for "more cops" following the shooting of a talented black high school basketball player. But nobody thinks the cops will protect them. And they can't stand feeling helpless. It was a 37-year-old white rider of the IRT No. 2 subway train in NYC who struck a chord among the population, locally and nationally, by pulling the trigger last month on four black youths who tried to rip him off.

Within 24 hours after the incident, the NYPD phone hot line logged more than 500 calls supporting the "subway vigilante." The story of the IRT gunman had an explosive impact in a society where the basic right of self-defense is intimately bound up with the scourge of racial oppression, where there is no future for blacks, where everyone who walks the streets or rides the subways feels up against the wall. Marxists are not "bleeding heart" liberals who close their eyes to the reality of lumpen crime. We say that everyone's got a right to defend himself, and death to vigilantism! If every subway rider carried a piece, the trains might look kind of weird for a couple of days. But there'd be a lot less harassment, a lot less fear, and it would go a long way toward breaking down the racial divisions in this country.

Maass/Photoreporters

Bernhard Goetz

If there are eight million stories in the Naked City, there is a common thread

WV Photo

"Anti-mugging zone" on NYC subways: Fear and desperation breed racist vigilantism.

running through them all: it's "Fear City" every day on the New York City subway. You take your life in your hands every time you go down in the tunnel, waiting there on filthy platforms reeking of piss, hugging a pillar so some punk won't push you onto the tracks. At night people huddle together in the official yellow-lined "anti-mugging zones" hoping for protection in numbers. When the train finally comes, you cram into the center car with the conductor, avoiding eye contact by reading the subway ads which warn women riders to keep their gold chain necklaces well hidden. And you pray nothing's going to happen, because there's never a cop when you need one (they're off peddling dope, beating turnstile jumpers to a pulp or getting shot with their own service revolvers). So just before Christmas, when they heard that a man who was being mugged took out a gun and *blew the motherfuckers away*, the New York subway-riding public cheered.

Liberals like *Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin tried to put the popularity of the IRT vigilante down to simple black vs. white hatred (see "Color Us White and Brutal on this Black Day," *Daily News*, 31 December 1984). But the applause for plugging muggers was pretty nearly universal, *particularly* among black working people who loathe lumpen criminality. Black women were strongly for the gunman. Even black teenagers hanging around the playgrounds remarked they felt safer on the trains. Ghetto residents are the most frequent victims of the mugger. Driven out of the labor market, jobless, for the kids on the street survival becomes a "hustle," crime a way of life. The most pernicious effect of capitalism is to force blacks and other minorities into the lumpenproletariat which then becomes fuel for the racists. Lumpenization is the heart of "Fear City" and racism is the blood it pumps.

While liberals prattled about gun control, racist forces seized upon the vulnerability and defenselessness of the population to whip up an atmosphere of vigilantism, hailing the "IRT Avenger." Rupert Murdoch's tabloid gutter press, the *New York Post*, has gone on campaign footing to turn gunman Bernhard Goetz into a vigilante hero, headlining, "Vigilante's Untold Life Story," "Vigilante Vowed: I'll Get Them, Sooner or Later," "Grilled Like a Criminal, Not Hero, He Clams Up." A giant sign was spray-painted on the FDR Drive, "Power to the Vigilante! N.Y. Loves Ya!" In racist America, just as the cry for "law and order" translates into stepped-up police attacks on oppressed minorities, so vigilantism must become a license to terrorize and murder black people. Vigilantism will turn into an extralegal prop for the cops; writ large it is not simply a lynch mob but a fascist movement.

"Death Wish" on the IRT Express

It was 1:45 p.m. on a Saturday afternoon, December 22, on the No. 2 express train southbound from 14th Street to Chambers in lower Manhattan. A group of four black kids came up to a slim blond white man wearing glasses and began to work the classic New York shakedown. They asked for the time, they asked for a cigarette, they asked if he "had $5." According to the youths, the man replied, "Yes, I have $5 for each of you," then pulled out a nickel-plated .38-caliber revolver and methodically shot each one—one of them head on, one in the side, two in the back. He fired a fifth time at one youth who was not yet down, only stopping when he ran out of bullets. He calmly walked up to the conductor, said they "tried to rip me off," jumped off the train, walked down the tracks and disappeared.

It was practically like a scene out of *Death Wish*, the popular movie where Charles Bronson starts blasting muggers and rapists off the streets and subways after his wife is beaten to death and his daughter viciously raped. In real life, Bernhard H. Goetz is probably closer to playwright Brian Garfield's image of the New York architect-turned-vigilante than Bronson who played it like a Dodge City macho-man. The comparison was inescapable. The *Daily News* (2 January) wrote:

> "One minute he was Everyman, his 90-cent ride beneath the streets interrupted by the sort of fear that is familiar to those who daily enter the dim, predator-and-prey world of the subway system.
>
> "With four gunshots Everyman became the Lone Ranger, the Avenging Angel...."

Russell Baker in the *New York Times* (5 January) dubbed the mood in the city "Waiting for Wyatt."

In subsequent days, while the cops searched for the gunman, the four South Bronx kids lay in hospital beds. Three of them appear to be fully recovering, while the fourth remains paralyzed from the waist down, due to the bullet which damaged his spinal cord. Three of the four youths had minor arrest records—petty larceny stuff like stealing $14 from video-game machines and possession of marijuana, while a fourth is facing an armed robbery charge. The press made a big deal about "sharpened screwdrivers" supposedly found in their pockets, but police reports later clarified that the screwdrivers were "sharp" only in the sense that they were new. One of the kid's brothers said they used them for breaking into video-game coin boxes. In the middle of the afternoon on a car full of passengers, maybe all they had in mind was getting something for free. But they picked the wrong guy.

After he gave himself up, a picture of Bernhard Goetz emerged as a solitary electronics whiz, a loner-turned-vigilante who was reportedly traumatized by the experience of being mugged and slammed round by three black kids who tried to snatch valuable electronics equipment he was carrying, back in 1981. After that, Goetz applied for a gun permit, went through the bureaucratic rigamarole, but was turned down. He seems to have become some kind of law-and-order freak, living in a luxury apartment building right off the sleazy drug center of Union Square and 14th Street. A neighbor says Goetz was involved in torching a newsstand on 14th and Sixth a year ago, because it was "an eyesore." Neighbors also said Goetz had been removed from the board of directors of the building's co-op for making "bigoted remarks." Goetz probably could get off pleading temporary insanity. The description by one of the kids he shot squares with this: "The white guy just snapped and broke off" (*New York Post*, 7 January). Or he may not be charged at all.

Death to Vigilantism!

Murdoch's *Post* (which a *Times* editorial referred to as "the Australian

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 371 X-523 25 January 1985

Racist Scab Inauguration

Reagan's America: Going for War

Iacono/Time

Chauvinist fever at L.A. Olympics war games helps prepare for real war against Soviet Union.

National Archives

For Class Struggle— Down with Both Capitalist Parties!

They planned a giant extravaganza of patriotic glitz: four solid days of stars-and-stripes waving, fife-and-drum bands marching to celebrate Ronald Reagan's supposed "mandate" for all-sided social viciousness. "Standing tall" for the "new patriotism," they had their out-of-town tryout last summer at the Los Angeles Olympics war games (dubbed "America Uber Alles" by some disgusted sportscasters). Now blond and blue-eyed "All American," non-union youth would be high-kicking and practically straight-arm saluting under the glittering eagle stage at the Washington Ellipse, frantically singing "You're Livin' in America, the Home of the Dream!" It almost seemed like Reagan's media advisers were trying to stage a *Triumph of the Will* pageant—something like Bonzo and the Beach Boys bring you the Nuremberg rally on the Potomac. Luckily the elements intervened to spare us this horror show. As has been noted, Reagan would have had a larger TV-viewing audience if they'd sworn him in on the 50-yard line at half time during the Super Bowl.

Inaugural '85 was supposed to be different; 1981's celebration of the "new luxury" was considered too exclusive, too "upscale" to really bring in the youth who voted for Reagan in record numbers. But the specifically youth events last weekend mostly were snowed out, or fizzled out. And the New Right rulers, dripping in diamonds, sipped California champagne and danced the nights away under the silver chandeliers as Frank Sinatra and the "rat pack" crooned for conservatism. Meanwhile it was 1984 in 1985: war is peace, rearmament is disarmament, poverty is prosperity. In his inaugural address, the Great Prevaricator talked of nuclear arms reduction while vowing to carry out a militarization of space that promises first-strike "Star Wars" in our time. With a straight face, the man who has run up unheard-of $200 billion budget deficits talked of making it unconstitutional for the government to spend more than it takes in. Mr. Cutbacks spoke of an "economy of opportunity" as unemployment for minority youth is higher than even the depths of the Great Depression.

It wasn't all pomp and pomposity, though. There was a deliberate attempt to pump up a "security" frenzy over the inauguration. The parade was described as the ultimate "terror opportunity," as U.S. officials played *Day of the Jackal* for real. Ten thousand troops mobilized, 140,000 invited guests to be scrutinized by metal detectors, concrete anti-vehicle barriers put up around national monuments, manholes welded shut and mailboxes removed along

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Anti-Abortion Fanatics Hail Their Chief, Ronald Reagan

Defend Abortion Clinics!

JANUARY 22—In Brockton, Massachusetts, one of the largest private clinics in the country providing abortions has announced that abortions will no longer be performed there. "We do not make this decision of our own free will," said the January 18 statement by Goddard Medical Associates; "acts of terrorism around the country and the constant harassment of our patients and ourselves have forced us to make this decision." The following day, a bomb threat forced dozens of patients at the Manhattan Eastern Women's Center out into the freezing street. The women, angry and frightened, some groggy from anesthetic, pulled their coats on over the blue paper hospital gowns, helpless victims of a concerted campaign of terror by anti-woman bigots and religious nuts who intend, whatever it takes, to overturn women's right to legal abortions.

Across the nation, abortion clinics are under a state of siege. In the scores of firebombings and hundreds of other attacks, it is pure chance that no one has yet been killed. But death is written all over the "right to life" campaign of terror, as vicious reactionaries seek to drive working-class and poor women back to the rusty coat hangers in the back alleys. The anti-abortion terror-bombers have felt the wind in their sails and the nod of approval from the White House.

Today, the 12th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortions, 70,000 anti-abortion fanatics massed at the Ellipse in Washington. They cheered for Ronald Reagan, who addressed them through a special

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NYC "Subway Vigilante": On Contradiction

Jan Norden, Editor
Workers Vanguard

16 January 1985

Dear Comrade Editor:

On 23 December 1984, German-born engineer Bernhard Hugo Goetz, a known racist, arsonist, and former "contract employee of a U.S. intelligence agency" (KTVU-TV, Oakland, 9 Jan.) gunned down four young blacks in a New York subway after they asked him for five bucks. At least three of the youths were shot in the back or the side as they ran for their lives. None of the twenty or so eyewitnesses, or the cops, or even Goetz himself claim that any of the four blacks drew a weapon, or made a physically threatening move. Given these facts, it was quite a shock to us to see that *Workers Vanguard* #370 did not have a headline strongly condemning the "subway racist," or at *least* something like "Murdoch's Story Stinks!"

Despite the implication in the *WV* article that Goetz was probably an average Joe who was pushed over the edge by criminals, the facts tell a different story. As the article states, Goetz had been kicked off the board of governors of his luxury co-op for making bigoted remarks. Given the pervasiveness of racism among whites in New York, he must have been pretty rabid for his neighbors to react in this way. And burning down a newsstand (which in New York is usually a small wooden building!) because it is an "eyesore" (perhaps it sold porno magazines?) is not the act of a decent, law-abiding citizen.

The *WV* article goes to great lengths to paint an unrelentingly lurid and violent picture of life on the New York subways, apparently in order to establish that Goetz's reaction was obvious and understandable under the circumstances. As Bronx natives who rode the subway frequently (one of us commuted daily on the Seventh Ave. Express IRT #2 from 180th St. in the Bronx down to 96th St. throughout most of the 1970s), we have to wonder whether the author of the article has ever been on the subway himself. Of course there is an unacceptable amount of violence down there, and it does seem that the four youths were up to some sort of mischief, but subway violence is not as common as Koch and Murdoch want the white public to believe. And Goetz simply does not fit the image created by the bourgeois press: a regular guy who was pushed too far. Besides his known history as a racist nut, Goetz had a huge chip on his shoulder which supposedly stemmed from a 1981 "mugging" by another group of young blacks. (That case was thrown out of court because it was not clear which side had provoked the incident [*NY Times*, 14 Jan.]) Goetz has already made admissions to the cops indicating that his recent Christmas shooting spree was of a "premeditated nature." In other words, it seems that he was looking for the slightest excuse to kill a few young blacks. And if Goetz gets away with his attempted murder (which is likely), the next racist sicko won't wait for his "assailant" to reach second base in the "classic New York shakedown"; he'll shoot the first black who asks for a smoke! There are plenty of white racists who can't wait for the day when it's legal to hunt down blacks, and the Goetz shooting brings that day a little closer.

The article makes a big deal about support for Goetz cutting across racial lines. Insofar as the story was widely reported that an innocent little man defended himself against a pack of young toughs wielding sharpened screwdrivers, of course almost everyone initially supported Goetz. However, this scenario is a lie! Goetz was a psychopathic racist on the prowl, who calmly tried to kill four blacks; he stopped shooting only when he ran out of bullets. Even if black public reaction does not substantially change in light of the recent revelations about the case, black support for Goetz does not refute the *primarily* racist nature of public reaction to the incident, just as feminist support for the Moral Majority's anti-porn crusade does not disprove the anti-woman and anti-gay nature of *that* movement. Both of us were in a white working-class section of the Bronx during the period between the attack and Goetz's surrender, and can testify to the strong racist component in the white reaction to the shooting.

The "Subway Vigilante" article stops just short of saying that Goetz did a good thing. But the most important point to be made here is tacked on to the article almost as a *non sequitur*: that vigilantism (and Goetz was really much worse than a vigilante) can lead to full-blown fascism. Guardian Angels *Führer* Curtis Sliwa got his start by having a pal of his feign sleeping on a subway seat with a wallet hanging out of his pocket in order to sucker someone into making a move for it. The two of them would then beat the crap out of the "attacker." And wasn't Sliwa's first group called the Magnificent Seven? Goetz was a member of a "neighborhood improvement group" called the Fabulous 14!

The salient feature of this episode seems to us to be that it fuels (with lots of help from the likes of the *Post*) anti-minority racism, and paves the way for further fascistic vigilantism. In this deeply divided, racist, capitalist society, there is always a danger of the working class being sucked into and ripped apart by race war. The *WV* article should have focused much more on this threat instead of seeing gun control as the main question posed. Working people need guns to protect themselves from the KKK, from scabs, from abortion-clinic bombers and from common criminals. Willie Turks would be alive today if he had had a gun. But the Goetz case is not the case to use to attack the bourgeoisie's anti-working class gun control laws. We sincerely hope that *WV* in future articles will rectify the misdirected slant of the "Subway Vigilante" article.

Communist greetings,
Bob Z. and Rick B.
Berkeley/Oakland

WV replies: For openers, Bernhard Goetz wasn't born in Germany. He was born in Kew Gardens Hospital in Queens, New York, of parents (a Jewish mother and a German father) who came to this country to escape the holocaust. There's a point here. Bob Z. and Rick B. have the Communist Party line, you see: Goetz has to be made into a racist vigilante pure and simple, so suddenly he's a German CIA agent. Like the famous Dreyfus affair, of the patriotic French officer who was jailed as a spy because he was a Jew, there is conflict over the case of the New York "subway vigilante" because it is contradictory. But the two letter writers want to make it just black and white, literally and figuratively. They want to declare this racist vigilantism, period. So they suppress one whole side of the contradiction.

In the rest of the letter they give a partial account, therefore partially false. That's disingenuous. You have to look at the concrete circumstances. What the cops did to the overweight black grandmother in the Bronx, Eleanor Bumpurs, was clear racist murder. The same when those white punks beat black transit worker Willie Turks to death in Brooklyn. But the Goetz case is not so simple. So the authors of the letter simply deny reality. In their version there could be no crime in process, no shakedown going on—the youths were only "up to some mischief," "just asking for five dollars" (maybe they wanted to buy a *WV* subscription?). But not even the kids involved claim they were just fooling around! They were looking for trouble, and they got more than they asked for.

Some years ago, in the midst of a subway crime wave, our article on "Fear and Violence in NYC" (*WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977) reported on a 300-pound, kill-crazy Nazi, Frederick Cowan, who killed three blacks and a dark-skinned Indian while looking for his Jewish supervisor. Cowan had swastika tattoos, a massive arsenal and pictures of Hitler in his house. The letter writers want to equate Cowan, who *was* a racist killer pure and simple, with Goetz. They want to claim that Goetz is the same as the lynch mob that murdered Willie Turks. New York blacks seethed over the murder of Turks, yet they were sympathetic to a white subway rider who plugged black youths who were trying to rip him off. Maybe they understand something you don't.

Our critics want us to say Goetz is a racist nut; our article said it. They want us to mention that he reportedly burned

continued on page 4

TROTSKY

LENIN

Black Fighter For Abortion Rights

Edgar B. Keemer (1913-1980), a black gynecologist practicing for 40 years in Detroit and member from 1943 to 1947 of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, courageously dedicated his life to the fight for black equality and for abortion rights. Under the party name of Charles Jackson, he was a frequent contributor to the SWP's Militant *and wrote a number of pamphlets on the fight for black liberation, including "How to Kill Jim Crow." In 1959 he was convicted and served a 14-month sentence for performing abortions. In his autobiography Keemer concludes:*

The advocates of forced pregnancy, through their emotional spoutings, have ominously instigated the vandalization and fire-bombings of dozens of abortion clinics across the country....

If I may proffer a suggestion, it would be for us to recognize that abortion is ages old: Chinese herbalists were recording their procedures 5,000 years ago. It is a worldwide phenomenon: Fifty million procedures, both legal and illegal, are estimated to have been performed last year.

Viewing it, then, from the wide angle of a pro-life abortionist, this procedure is seldom the *choice*—of either woman or doctor. But it is often, for various reasons, the *only alternative*. Therefore, it is an option which *must* remain open to *all* women—poor or otherwise.

Meanwhile, it behooves us to develop safe, sure pregnancy preventatives—for men, as well as women—and to make them freely available to all. For only when that is accomplished will abortion, that bitter fruit of our deep-rooted instincts, finally wither on the vine.

—Edgar B. Keemer, *Confessions of a Pro-Life Abortionist* (1980)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Vietnam Creams CIA's Khmer Contras

Kraipit Phanvut

Vietnamese-backed Kampuchean troops atop Soviet-built T-54 tanks roll over counterrevolutionaries.

JANUARY 19—Marking the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) from the genocidal death grip of Pol Pot, Vietnamese and Kampuchean troops have won a series of stunning victories in their most concerted offensive against the counterrevolutionary bases on the Thai-Kampuchean border. The CIA-backed, Chinese-armed troops of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and Son Sann's Khmer Peoples National Liberation Front (KPNLF) have scurried like roaches into Thailand as Vietnam's Soviet-built T-54 tanks flattened their camps. In an ominous move, China has stepped up its attacks along Vietnam's northern border in an effort to divert military forces needed in Kampuchea.

The current offensive was launched in late November when Vietnamese and Kampuchean government forces took the Nong Chan camp, where a thousand KPNLF troops were holed up. On December 25 some 1,500 troops backed by tanks and heavy artillery moved against the largest base camp of the KPNLF, at Nong Samet, scattering the 4,000 anti-Communist rebels based there; the 62,000 civilians had already fled into nearby Thailand before the fighting started. A decisive blow fell January 7 when the Vietnamese force of some 3,000 overran the KPNLF headquarters at Ampil. The Thai army, discarding all pretense of "neutrality," tried to provide artillery cover for the Ampil rebels, but the combat-steeled Vietnamese and their Kampuchean allies took the camp in one day, using "an intense artillery barrage followed quickly by a lightning tank-led breach of the camp's defensive perimeter and the explosion of Ampil's main munitions depot" (*Washington Post*, 9 January). "I think it was a debacle," one Western official lamented to the *Post*. KPNLF officials were whining that their civilians "just want to run and run." The *New York Times* (9 January) noted that the "spirit of the insurgency" seems to be "flagging" because of the "demoralizing blow." And Thai Lt General Pichit Kallavanich, ever looking for Vietnamese "atrocities," was compelled to admit that there were almost no civilian casualties.

The loss of their headquarters was a staggering blow to the KPNLF, which has now lost seven of its eight "refugee" camps. Their leader Son Sann cried, "We are not so strong," and called for a retreat into dispersed guerrilla tactics. Son Sann, the CIA's most loyal client in the region, was once the prime minister of Cambodia under the monarchy of Prince Sihanouk. KPNLF vice president, General Dien Del, served the U.S. puppet regime of Lon Nol, who came to power in a right-wing coup in 1970 which unseated Sihanouk. The Lon Nol regime joined the U.S. imperialist war against social revolution in Indochina, and approved the massive carpetbombing by U.S. B-52s which devastated the Cambodian countryside.

Before the Vietnamese offensive, Son Sann's forces controlled eight of the 20 border camps. They were the imperialists' preferred anti-Communist opponents of Hanoi and Phnom Penh; only the Chinese have the stomach to embrace the Pol Pot butchers wholeheartedly. The third force of their fictitious "government in exile," led by the ousted Prince Sihanouk, is too negligible and eccentric for Western imperialist purposes. Sihanouk, who switches bloc partners like he changes his silk shirts, makes occasional threats to quit the anti-Communist coalition... but nobody much cares. The few thousand troops he commands count for little; their base camp at Tatum represents no serious challenge for the Vietnamese.

With the fall of Ampil, a thousand troops backed up by tanks moved south to the mountainous Phnom Malai region, where the main Khmer Rouge base is situated. Since January 13 fighting has been underway, as the Vietnamese drive forward in what appears to be the most serious effort so far to finally crush the counterrevolution. Other forces have been moved into position for a major attack on Khmer Rouge bases opposite the Thai village of Nong Chan (UPI, 17 January).

The Khmer Rouge, the largest of the three disparate forces in the tenuous "coalition," is too discredited by the bloody legacy of Pol Pot to present a viable challenge to the Heng Samrin regime. The Kampuchean people will not soon forget the hideous rule of Pol Pot, who took power in 1975, amid the chaos and social devastation of the Americans' not-so-secret war on Cambodia, and carried out a policy of genocide in the name of a monstrous leveling campaign that emptied the cities and dismantled the economy, schools, hospitals. Two to three million—about a third of the Cambodian population—perished in the holocaust, tortured in Pol Pot's death camps, starved, executed. The massacre of the population was halted only by the Vietnamese invasion in December 1978.

Ironically, the Pol Pot forces are now the military allies of their former opponents. But there is little love lost among these "allies": Sihanouk detests Son Sann, his former tutor who plotted coups against him; he hates Pol Pot, whose regime murdered several of his children; the fascistic Son Sann despises the "communism" (long since renounced) of the Khmer Rouge. Troops of rival factions have engaged in gun battles with one another in the border region. They continue to exist only as the kept creatures of the Chinese Stalinists and the U.S. imperialists.

U.S. Global Anti-Soviet Design

As soon as the recent Vietnamese victory became apparent, the U.S. State Department started making hypocritical complaints about "violations of the accepted norms of decent international behavior" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 January)—this from the government that dropped thousands of tons of bombs and napalm on Indochina, that now is backing the genocidal Pol Pot! They certainly have gall; if it weren't for U.S. machinations, there would be no wretched border camps to begin with. At the behest of the U.S., the United Nations continues to seat the Pol Pot gang as the Kampuchean representative. None of the so-called "international aid" goes to Phnom Penh, but to the border camps, where it sustains the counterrevolutionaries or is sold by the black marketeers. China supplies the weaponry to keep it all going, under the protection of Thailand's anti-Communist, pro-U.S. regime.

From the beginning the simmering border war has been sponsored by the U.S. as part of its global anti-Soviet war drive, a component of which is to *bleed Vietnam*. The policy was laid out explicitly near the start of the Reagan administration, when then-secretary of state Alexander Haig paid a visit to Asia:

> "...diplomatic sources told the *Review* that Haig had urged China to increase arms deliveries to anti-Vietnamese resistance forces in Kampuchea because supplying US arms directly to the Khmer guerrillas posed some problems.... Sources said that in his discussions in Peking, Haig fully agreed with the Chinese analysis that Vietnam should be militarily bled and economically starved until it is forced to change foreign and domestic policies and give up its alliance with Moscow.
>
> "Washington had already underlined the seriousness of its intentions by blocking the shipment of a small quantity of grain by a US charity organisation to Vietnam.... While Asean is concerned only about a Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea, Washington and Peking...see it in the global context."
>
> —Nayan Chanda, "Haig Turns the Screw," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 26 June 1981

From Afghanistan to Nicaragua to Kampuchea, Washington is sponsoring "contra" guerrillas against any government considered to be pro-Soviet. Vietnam, which whipped U.S. imperialism on the battlefield and now aligns itself militarily with the Soviet Union, is targeted for strangulation by the U.S. Since Nixon's rapprochement with Maoist China, the Chinese Stalinist rulers have joined U.S. imperialism in its anti-Soviet campaign, and China supplies the Khmer reactionaries with grenade and rocket launchers, mortars, rifles, machine guns. As a reward, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, just visited China to swig corn liquor with Chinese leaders and offer them U.S. military hardware—including "modern anti-submarine warfare equipment" to be used against the Soviets. China already provides the CIA/NSA with an electronic spy post near the Soviet border. Down with China's collusion in the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive!

Both the U.S. and China reserve a special vengeance toward Vietnam, whose courageous people sent both to a humiliating defeat. China has offered its services to imperialism in assisting the Khmer reactionaries: as often before, Vietnamese progress in Kampuchea is answered with Chinese aggression. On January 18, the Vietnamese announced the outbreak three days earlier of

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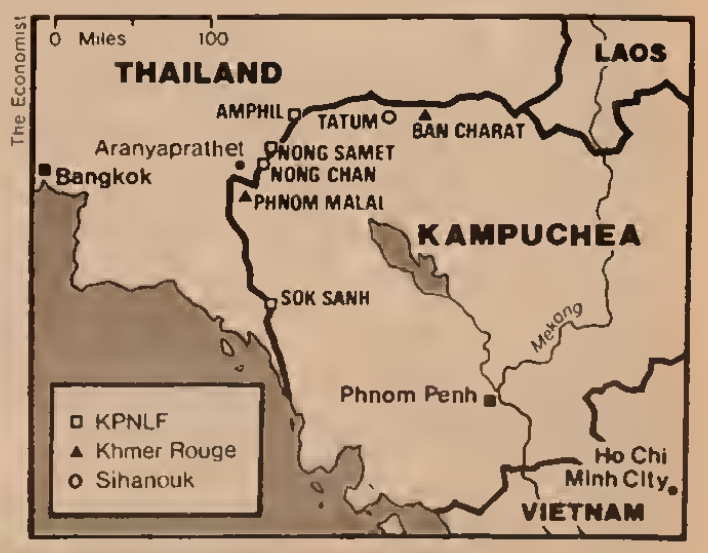

Successful Vietnamese/ Kampuchean offensive wipes out Khmer contra nests along Thai border.

"Subway Vigilante"...

(continued from page 2)

down a newsstand: we wrote it. They want us to note he was kicked off his housing co-op board for bigotry; they read it in *WV*. Point to the danger of the Guardian Angels? We did. We also said he was a "loner-turned-vigilante," that the case was being used by racist forces to whip up an ominous atmosphere of vigilantism, as Senator D'Amato is trying to do, which could only be anti-black. So what's their beef? It's what our article *doesn't* say that gets them. *They want to say it has nothing to do with self-defense, with the right to carry guns.* But it wasn't the Spartacist League which decided that the issue of gun control was involved, it was life. As Marxists we believe that *everyone* has the democratic right to bear arms, even people who have top secret clearance to calibrate electronic equipment on nuclear weapons.

Goetz had "a huge chip on his shoulder"? So do hundreds of thousands of other New Yorkers riding the subways. But whatever was going on in his head, his situation was that of a potential victim of a mugging under way. Goetz was also a "mark": a skinny blond guy with glasses—he had "mug me" written all over him. What's the conclusion, then, that vulnerable looking white people shouldn't live in New York City? Should he have waited until they pulled out weapons, until he was down? By then it's too late. Goetz certainly violated the formal police rules of engagement; by any humane standards he responded with excessive violence. Very possibly a valid defense would be temporary insanity, as a result of his previous mugging. On the other hand, one of the youths is paralyzed for life, and his life presently hangs in the balance. That, too, counts for us. But we don't want to, and can't, play all-knowing Marxist gods, especially on this all-too-common form of social interaction.

We can, however, make some social observations. The hard fact is that oppression oppresses. Marauding by black youths on the NYC subways is a mass phenomenon. Now it's official: the *New York Times* reported a poll saying

God created men and women, and Colonel Colt made them equal.

crime is the number one issue for New Yorkers. Is it racist to say that? To *deny* it is to push the masses into the arms of the racists. Moreover, ghetto youth marauding *against other blacks* in the slums is an everyday event. And it's become trite in the ghetto to say that the cops are never there when you need them, but always there with their hand out and to make trouble. This is one of the most tightly gun-controlled cities in the country: just about nobody but cops can carry legally. No wonder that in a recent *Daily News* poll, blacks far more than whites had considered carrying a gun.

The immediate overwhelming popular response for Goetz was based in part on the population's sense of defenselessness. But the liberal/reformist line is that to talk about crime in the streets just fuels racist reaction. So the writers claim that subway crime is not so common, although perhaps the level of violence is "unacceptable." For them lumpen violence is a fact of life, the less said the better, and the left should go after the *Post* for making an issue out of it. They *accept the status quo*, including the police as the only defense—hence their desire to play down gun control. (The SWP's "proof" that Goetz was a vigilante: "He carried a gun....") Incidentally, the author of the article would like to note that *she* has been riding the subways since before the letter writers first set foot on the IRT, and that not everyone riding the subways is a robust young fellow home from Berkeley for the Christmas holidays. What about women, or the elderly? Their fears are not just media hype whipped up by Murdoch's *Post*.

Don't believe us—read what Claude Brown, the celebrated black author of *Manchild in the Promised Land*, had to say about how pervasive lumpen crime has become in the ghetto today ("Manchild in Harlem," *New York Times Magazine*, 16 September 1984): "All street kids are at least semi-abandoned," he wrote. "They are at the mercy of a coldblooded and ruthless environment.... Consequently, the manchild who survives is usually more cunning, more devious and often more vicious than his middle-class counterpart." He went on:

> "Manchild 1984 is the product of a society so rife with violence that killing a mugging or robbery victim is now fashionable....
> "For more than a year, I was thoroughly baffled by the apparent senseless and often maniacal, rampant killings of mugging and robbery victims....
> "I had been talking to young men in the prisons and on the ghetto streets—prisons with invisible bars—but I wasn't comprehending what they were telling me. Perhaps what I was hearing was too mind-boggling, too ghastly to understand: 'Murder is in style now'."

One black youth doing a stretch for armed robbery told Brown that ghetto kids "can't lose" from street crime: if they get "wiped" (killed) they've got no more needs; if they get "popped" (shot) and paralyzed, they'll be on welfare; and if they get busted, it's free rent and three squares a day in the joint. Brown concluded: "This is the new manchild enigma. He is so deadly and cynically rational that he is terrifying." Do you want to accuse Claude Brown of stirring up vigilantism for *saying what is*?

Yes, we "make a big deal" of blacks cheering when they heard of someone shooting muggers. Because that shows the public reaction to the subway shooting is not "primarily racist." It is black women, carrying groceries or walking to work through the burnt-out ghettos; black elderly afraid to leave their apartments to take their social security checks to the bank; black workers whose cars are repeatedly vandalized, who feel most strongly about lumpen crime *because they are the main victims*. Their own kids are being destroyed, and it is dragging the race down. That's why blacks cheered when someone pulled the trigger on would-be muggers. And on January 18, an older black man in Chicago's West Side shot and fatally wounded one of two black youths who tried to steal his groceries at knife-point.

There is a social truth here, an anti-capitalist social truth. Youth crime by lumpen layers is no joke, and the Reagan years have *intensified* (not created) the conditions which produce it. Moreover, in racist capitalist America the lumpenproletariat overlaps to a very large degree with the oppressed minorities. So when you talk about crime and vigilantism, it's explosive because you're talking about the black question, the key to the American revolution. What's the answer? Jobs, education, housing—all the things decaying capitalism can't provide because it's in repeated economic crisis and spending trillions for war against the Soviet "evil empire" (where unemployment is a thing of the past). This society *cannot* do anything about miles of devastation in the South Bronx, East New York, Bushwick and the rest of the burnt-out slums that make Harlem look like heaven. Carter, Reagan and the pope have all been to Charlotte Street and it's still rubble. The bourgeoisie wants to ignore that reality, just like they and the rad/libs want to ignore lumpen crime.

Stalin had a reason to lie—he was in the business of selling out revolutions. The labor fakers have a similar excuse. The rules of the Fourth International, as Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program, are "to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be." That's why Lenin called his paper *Pravda* (Truth). It's the only way to make a revolution. ■

Vietnam...

(continued from page 3)

intense fighting and artillery shelling along the China-Vietnam border. Ominously, the Chinese have amassed forces on the border with Vietnam comparable to those which invaded in 1979 to "teach Vietnam a lesson" for intervening in Cambodia to oust Pol Pot. But, as *Newsweek* (21 January) observed, in 1979 "Hanoi's troops fought the Chinese to a draw, and revealed Peking's military doctrines and technology to be antiquated.... A new conflict between China and Vietnam would probably go badly for China...the Vietnamese appear to have substantially improved their firepower, the caliber of their troops and their defensive positions." Or, as one Vietnamese diplomat put it, "We are a very patient people. We have been waiting for them a long time."

The threat to Vietnam comes not only from China and the Pol Pot clique. Embittered Vietnamese contras, many based in the U.S., have repeatedly tried to infiltrate Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. *Far Eastern Economic Review* (17 January) reports that Hanoi carried out a cross-border raid into Thailand in early December against a group of Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries led by Hoang Co Minh, formerly an admiral of the Saigon puppet regime. It's no wonder the Vietnamese have balked at the recent U.S. "humanitarian" campaign demanding the release of the remaining inmates of Vietnamese re-education camps—imperialism's last loyal butchers. Russian émigrés, Cuban *gusanos*, Vietnamese boat people: the refuse of successful social revolution become the shock troops of counterrevolution.

The Vietnamese, driven by self-preservation, were compelled to liberate the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot's terror and save them from genocide. But, imperialist "domino" theories notwithstanding, the Vietnamese are not pursuing a program of revolutionary internationalism. On the contrary—with the nationalist blinders of Stalinism they seek to preserve the status quo through "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism and the bourgeois Southeast Asian states of ASEAN. Thus a recent communiqué of the foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries called for negotiations over Kampuchea, including ASEAN and the U.S., to arrange withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and exclusion of the Pol Pot clique, the holding of "free general elections with the presence of foreign observers," and guarantees that no state will allow its territory to be used against other countries. Yet historical experience ever since the Western attempts to strangle the young Bolshevik Revolution, and the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive which has targeted Vietnam in particular, have made it clear that the imperialists and their toadies will never accept the revolutions that have overthrown capitalist exploitation.

Ten years after the liberation of Saigon, after 40 years of almost continuous war against colonialism and imperialist aggression, the Indochinese nations find themselves besieged on all sides by the allies of Washington. Rather than hoping for the Thai colonels and the Pentagon to join with Vietnam against the "Chinese hegemonists," the only way to ensure a peaceful future for the long-suffering peoples of the region is through revolutionary struggle for a genuine soviet federation of Indochina. It is the historic understanding of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism which can lead the working class to the shattering of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and to placing the economic resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi fully in the service of world revolution.

Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia! Defending the gains of the Russian October, defending the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, requires proletarian revolution in the capitalist strongholds—the program of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

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Neo-Nazi Murder, Inc.

SAN FRANCISCO—In Ronald Reagan's America, where the FBI officially certifies abortion clinic bombers as non-terrorists while left-wing political opponents of U.S. imperialism are smeared as "terrorist conspirators," the anti-Soviet war drive has spawned a very real terror network. A murderous fascist conspiracy has recently surfaced, centered on the Northwest and Mountain states, which is responsible for a wave of violent crime—including the machine-gun murder of a popular Jewish radio talk show host, armed robberies netting millions and counterfeiting. These white racist terrorists are armed to the teeth and linked by a home computer network which they use to communicate with backwoods "survivalist" nuts, soldier of fortune "mercs" and neo-Nazi preachers to decide whether to pull a heist this week or murder another member of the "Jew-controlled media."

There have been no "anti-terrorist" pronouncements from the White House or Justice Department on this one, no sensational exposés or RICO "anti-conspiracy" hearings on these psychopathic killers. Indeed, the FBI insists the network is not "a major threat." Precisely because these ultrarightists are only the logical extension of Reagan's "new patriotism" of racism, anti-communism and militarism, they have been downplayed by the "responsible" media (only one article in the *New York Times* so far). If the feds are now paying some attention to them, it's because these neo-Nazi killers have not only targeted blacks, Jews and communists but also FBI agents and judges. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (2 January) reports that documents from the white supremacists' computer network, the "Aryan Nation Liberty Net," call for war on the U.S. and Canadian governments. One message ended: "Arm yourselves! Liberate Canada!"

The core of this neo-Nazi network is something called the "Silent Brotherhood of the White American Bastion," linked to the Aryan Nations, a fascist organization which recruits degenerate thugs from the Aryan Brotherhood prison gang. (The Aryan Brotherhood gained notoriety when mass murderer Charles Manson was reported to have joined it.) The FBI apparently only stumbled onto the group while doing undercover investigation of motorcycle gangs. Last October the feds tried to question "Silent Brotherhood" member Gary Lee Yarbrough in his Idaho home about several other cases. Yarbrough fled after shooting at the FBI man, but inside his house they discovered, apparently by accident, the .45-caliber Mac-10 submachine gun with which Denver radio personality Alan Berg was assassinated on June 18. Also found in the cache were loaded crossbows, plastic explosives, automatic rifles, night scopes and thousands of dollars in cash.

Berg was an outspoken and acerbic commentator, a Jew who spoke out angrily against anti-Semites and white supremacists (along with practically everybody else) on his top-rated rush-hour radio show. He was cut down in front of his home, taking 12 bullets to the head and chest. Yarbrough was finally arrested on November 24, after a shootout at a Portland, Oregon motel, on charges stemming from his October shooting at the FBI. But Denver police chief Don Mulnix complains that the investigation of the Berg killing has been hampered by the "untimely" disclosure of the murder weapon and its link to the neo-Nazi terrorist network (*San Francisco Examiner*, 16 December 1984)!

Yarbrough's roommate at the motel, Robert J. Mathews, managed to escape. Inside the room the feds found automatic weapons, a grenade, $30,000 and a "declaration of war" by the "White American Revolutionary Army" on the U.S. government, which it called the "Z.O.G." for "Zionist Occupation Government." Mathews, leader of the "Silent Brotherhood," was tracked to an island in Puget Sound, where on December 8 some 60 FBI agents surrounded his hideout and set it afire. Burnt to a crisp, Mathews was promptly declared a martyr by the Aryan Nations, presumably to reside in glory in the Valhalla of half-witted fascist barbarians.

The surviving "Silent Brotherhood" types caught December 8 were arrested on a variety of charges including counterfeiting. Now FBI and state officials believe that the "Brotherhood" is behind at least four bank and armored car robberies, including one in Ukiah, California last July, where over a dozen

Alweis/Denver Post

Alan Berg, Jewish talk show host, was gunned down by fascist murderers.

Pike/SF Examiner

Neo-Nazi Richard Butler, godfather of deadly Aryan Nations.

men surrounded an armored truck brandishing automatic weapons and a sign reading "Get out or you die." Unlike the bumbling ex-Weathermen types accused of the failed Brinks heist in Nyack, New York, they made off with the loot—$3.6 million—which is still missing. In its only mention of these murderers to date, the *New York Times* (27 December 1984) quotes a 1982 Aryan Nations newsletter defining the organization's goals as a "national racial state," "at whatever price is necessary."

The "spiritual" godfather of the Aryan Nations is apparently neo-Nazi Richard Butler, leader of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, which holds that "Jews are the sons of Satan, of the line of Cain, and should be exterminated." The SF *Examiner* (16 December 1984) reports that every July Butler hosts a "World Aryan Congress" at his headquarters in Hayden Lake, Idaho. This conclave is attended by 200-300 Nazis, Klansmen, Posse Comitatus members, survivalists and tax protesters. The

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Anti-Communist Cause Célèbre

U.S. Court Harbors Latvian Nazi

On January 9 the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco blocked the deportation of Edgars Laipenieks, former head jailer of the notorious Riga Central concentration camp during 1941-43, under the Nazi occupation of Latvia in the Baltic. Laipenieks was an officer of the Latvian political police, set up as an auxiliary to the SS *Einsatzkommando 2*, the murder squad whose function was to liquidate communists and Jews in German-occupied Latvia. Twelve witnesses, all but two survivors of Riga Central, testified that Laipenieks was "a notorious torturer, who used fists, truncheons and blackjacks against his imprisoned victims. One survivor identified him in a photo: a dead man whose neck was in a noose was suspended over a pit on a pole maneuvered by Laipenieks and several others. Riga Central was a "terminal prison": Laipenieks ordered the execution of 200 to 300 communist prisoners from 1941 to 1943.

Simple justice and human decency demand that this Nazi assassin be given a one-way trip to the Soviet Union, where he can be tried by his surviving victims for his heinous crimes. But in Reagan's America, where refugees from Haiti and El Salvador are regularly sent home to face death at the hands of right-wing juntas, Hitler's murdering henchmen are transformed into heroic "freedom fighters" against "Soviet totalitarianism." It was the Soviet Red Army that smashed Hitler's murderous regime, liberated the Baltic republics from the domination of German barons and dealt out the only real justice to the SS and Gestapo filth.

Outfits like the Latvian political police were set up by the SS in the Baltic states and Ukraine for the express reason that the Nazis didn't have enough personnel to murder all the Jews and communists fast enough. By all accounts the native fascist collaborators were even more vicious than their German Nazi masters. In exonerating Laipenieks of charges of persecuting communists, the U.S. court legitimized the Latvian political police as "an organization formed to investigate and arrest individuals who had participated in the atrocities during the Soviet occupation." In short, the U.S. court ruled that indiscriminate Nazi mass murder of suspected communists was no crime! In Cold War II murder of communists, Soviets and Jews is considered a patriotic act.

The court explicitly disqualified the testimony of most of the witnesses because their depositions were taken in Latvia, on the grounds that the Soviet hearing officer present was "prejudiced" against suspected Nazi war criminals! Since the majority of the surviving witnesses to these fascist atrocities reside in the Soviet Union, this decision makes it virtually impossible to prosecute war criminals. And you better believe that the USA's own Murder, Inc. is plenty happy about this decision: the last thing the CIA, Radio Free Europe and the other spy agencies here want is further exposé of their own liberal recruitment of these butchers and torturers. *None* of the bourgeois press accounts of this case have mentioned that when Laipenieks came to the U.S. in 1960 after having fled to South America, *the CIA immediately put him to work* ferreting out information on East Europeans who visited America.

At the same time Laipenieks was being let off, a bipartisan gang of Congressional bigwigs, including Democratic Party House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Dante Fascell and New York Senator Alfonse D'Amato,

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Progress

Nazis butchered millions. Ship Riga concentration camp jailer Laipenieks back to USSR to be tried by his surviving victims!

Dig Deep for the British Miners!

"Your encouragement and support, like the hundreds of others we are currently receiving, gives added strength to our determination to win this fight, not only to save Pits and Jobs, but against the Anti-Trade Union Legislation of the present Tory Government." This message, addressed to the Partisan Defense Committee's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families from the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain, underscores the urgency of the PDC's $25,000 fund drive among American trade-union locals to come to the aid of the courageous striking miners. Now in its eleventh month, the NUM's battle is widely backed by all those facing "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher's lash, especially the trade-union ranks, black and Asian minorities and the Irish.

In the United States, there has been a virtual news blackout by the capitalist press, except where they have portrayed the miners as "terrorists on the picket line" or have backed Thatcher's miserably failed attempt to whip and bribe the miners back to work by Christmas. The truth is that the miners are standing firm. They know if they go back to the pits on their knees it will be the death of their union and a historic defeat for the British, and international, labor movement. In the U.S., despite the cringing of some local union officials before the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's *refusal* to defend the NUM, the PDC's campaign has brought to dozens of union locals the urgency of aiding the British miners.

Fearing the impact that a powerful solidarity movement and a successful strike would have on its own members, the position of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is to *let the miners hang*. Their press spokesman put it this way: "To our knowledge, we have not given any money to the British miners' strike." Contrast this to Lane Kirkland's favored causes. Not a cent for the NUM in over ten hard months, but *millions* for Democrat Mondale and millions more for the Reagan/CIA company "union" in Poland, Solidarność. Many of the "labor lieutenants of capital," both at the international and local levels, have used appeals to anti-Sovietism, lies spread by the bosses' press, and racist, jingoist protectionism to sabotage international working-class solidarity. This is no surprise to the trade unionists we have met during this campaign who remember with anger how the same union misleaders stood back and watched while Reagan ripped PATCO to shreds!

But decades of class-collaboration have not wiped out consciousness of labor's basic principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. In the absence of any national trade-union campaign on behalf of the heroic British miners, and with modest resources, the PDC has sought to galvanize international working-class solidarity in action. In many cases, the Spartacist League and PDC's history of class-struggle defense of causes in the interest of all the oppressed has been instrumental in gaining support for the miners. Additionally, we have encouraged parallel efforts on the part of left and labor organizations and assisted those efforts in a number of places.

The Aid to Striking British Miners' Families campaign has enabled the PDC to introduce its class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense work to many trade unionists. Particularly important have been the locals who have assisted in SL-initiated labor/black mobilizations against the fascists, like November 27, 1982 in Washington, D.C., and those which have contributed and demonstrated on behalf of victimized militants that the PDC has defended. In the Bay Area, many of the union locals approached on behalf of the miners remember in particular our participation in the successful defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, phone workers framed up on multiple felony charges for defending themselves against a management scab's racist assault on a picket line.

The eyewitness reports on the strike by comrade Eibhlin of the Spartacist League/Britain to Bay Area trade-union locals brought large donations to the fund drive, particularly from the executive board of the Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250, SEIU, who doubled their normal maximum and gave $500. One of the exec board members described the desperate situation faced by workers in the industrial areas of Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and noted that "Arthur Scargill [NUM president] has been much maligned in this country, but when he went to Dublin he was given the keys to the city." One Local 250 official noted with pleasure that it was an Irish comrade appealing to their local on behalf of the British miners. This largely black and heavily female local has contributed generously to PDC campaigns in the past.

In the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10, San Francisco, Militant Caucus spokesman and exec board member Stan Gow moved at the local's January 17 meeting to raise the local's monthly contribution of $99.99 to $250, which is being sent to striking miners in Nottinghamshire. This followed long-time CP supporter Leo Robinson's introduction of a constitutional amendment to raise the previous $100/month cap on local union contributions. Brother Gow accepted an amendment from former ILWU president Harry Bridges to add an appeal to the ILWU International and other locals to make similar contributions. The motion carried overwhelmingly.

The fund drive has recently received support from the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1575, San Rafael, California; the Graphic Communications International Union, Madison; and the National Association of Letter Carriers, Pasadena. In addition, International Longshoremen's Association Local 333 in Baltimore, which had made an important endorsement of the SL-initiated November 27, 1982 demonstration that stopped the Ku Klux Klan in the streets of Washington, D.C., contributed to the campaign. One PDC supporter in Iowa obtained aid for the miners' fight from a craft union local and AFSCME Local 12 at the University of Iowa. And a large percentage of the donations continues to come from regular readers of *Workers Vanguard*, who have sent a steady stream of contributions both large and small (see accompanying box for detailed listing). Keep the money coming! The British miners are fighting for all of us!

To mobilize for the fund drive in your area, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. ■

British Miners Union Thanks PDC Campaign

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS

ST. JAMES' HOUSE, VICAR LANE,
SHEFFIELD, SOUTH YORKSHIRE S1 2EX

President A SCARGILL — *Secretary* P E HEATHFIELD

Telephone 0742 700368

Please quote our reference in reply:

Your Ref

Our Ref NO83/1RW/ST — 10th January, 1985

Dear Sir,

AID TO BRITISH STRIKING MINERS

I thank you sincerely for your donations listed below:-

£829.87	banked 20th December 1984
£3,301.19	banked 14th December 1984
£945.15	banked 2nd January, 1985
£1,054.48	banked 10th January, 1985

all the above amounts have been received safely and paid into our Miners' Solidarity Fund at the Co-operative Bank.

Please rest assured that at present the Miners' Solidarity Fund is unaffected by the Sequestration Order. It is not classed as part of the National funds and the Trustees are unconnected with the National Union of Mineworkers.

Your encouragement and support, like the hundreds of others we are currently receiving, gives added strength to our determination to win this fight, not only to save Pits and Jobs, but against the Anti-Trade Union Legislation of the present Tory Government.

With all best wishes and heart-felt thanks.

Yours faithfully,

P E. HEATHFIELD
Secretary

Partisan Defence Committee,
Box 99,
Canal Street Station,
NEW YORK.
NY10013

Chicago Transit Union Votes $$$ for British Miners

"Fair Words Butter No Parsnips!"

CHICAGO—At the January 7 meeting of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241, representing bus drivers and mechanics of the Chicago Transit Authority, over 250 workers had come out to hear the details of a tentative contract which would mean total surrender of the union in the face of draconian union-busting legislation passed last year in Illinois with the crucial support of Chicago's black Democratic mayor Harold Washington. Transit workers, who have been on the job without a contract since November 30, were fired up over the proposed sellout and the union bureaucrats' secret negotiations with the CTA.

So when an executive board motion denying a request from the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families was read to the meeting, the membership was not exactly pleased. Local 241 member Kevin Quirk told *WV* he took the floor to reverse the executive board's decision and move that the local donate $300 to the PDC's campaign. Quirk, who has been working with the miners aid campaign, said his motion received seconds from around the room, most enthusiastically from International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) supporter Danny Bishop. Quirk said that "Local president Gresham attempted to undercut the overwhelming sentiment for the motion by repeating the slanders of the bosses' press, both in England and the U.S., suggesting the miners were fighting a losing battle and that only a small pocket of militants were holding out and that the vast majority had returned to work. I answered these slanders by detailing the ten-month struggle of the miners and the widespread solidarity it has received not only within the ranks of the British union movement, but among all layers of the oppressed in the British Isles, including the black, Asian and Irish population."

Several months ago, the Local 241 bureaucrats were willing to pass an InCAR motion of "solidarity" with the NUM, but faced with the demand for a concrete donation of support, they echoed the lies and slanders of the bosses. Quirk told *WV* that in referring to the InCAR motion and the bureaucrats' opposition, he paraphrased NUM president Arthur Scargill's statement that the time for mealy-mouthed resolutions had passed, the miners need real solidarity. "I appealed to the brothers: 'Fair words butter no parsnips! The miners need this money to win. It's our obligation as trade unionists to support these struggles whether it be in Britain, South Africa, Phelps Dodge or our own struggles in Chicago.' The membership came through. The executive board motion was overturned. $300 was voted for the miners, and the membership gave itself a big hand."

"The real story of the ILD is the story of the work it did, the campaigns it organized, the scrupulous handling and public accounting of its funds...."
—James P. Cannon (1958)

In the tradition of the International Labor Defense we list below the contributions to date to the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. Local unions listed have authorized their names to be used to publicize their support for these courageous brothers and sisters. The PDC has established a separate account ("Aid to Striking British Miners' Families") for the deposit of every penny raised by the fund drive. All funds collected are rapidly and securely forwarded to the Miners' Solidarity Fund as donations clear the account. The entire administrative costs of the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families are borne by the PDC. Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-97

Partisan Defense Committee Donation $5,000.00

Trade Union Donations 2,275.00
including contributions from:

ATU Local 1575 (San Rafael, Ca.)
TWU Local 100 (NYC)
Library of Congress Employees Union Local 2477
CWA Local 4309 (Cleveland)
UFCW District Union 442 (Atlanta)
Hospital & Institutional Workers Union Local 250 (San Francisco)
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 (Pasadena)
ILA Local 333 (Baltimore)
Atlanta Georgia Public Employees, AFSCME Local 1644
Construction & General Laborers Union Local 22 (Boston)
Graphic Communications International Union Local 507 (Madison)

Union Membership Collections 750.38
including members of:

Tunnelworkers Local 127 (NYC)
USWA Local 1010 (E. Chicago, Ind.)
IAM Local Lodge 824 (Richmond, Ca.)
IBT Local 315 (Martinez, Ca.)
USWA Local 1011 (E. Chicago, Ind.)
Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union Local 2 (San Francisco)

Individual Donations 3,600.93

Total Collected (as of 22 January 1985) **$11,626.31**

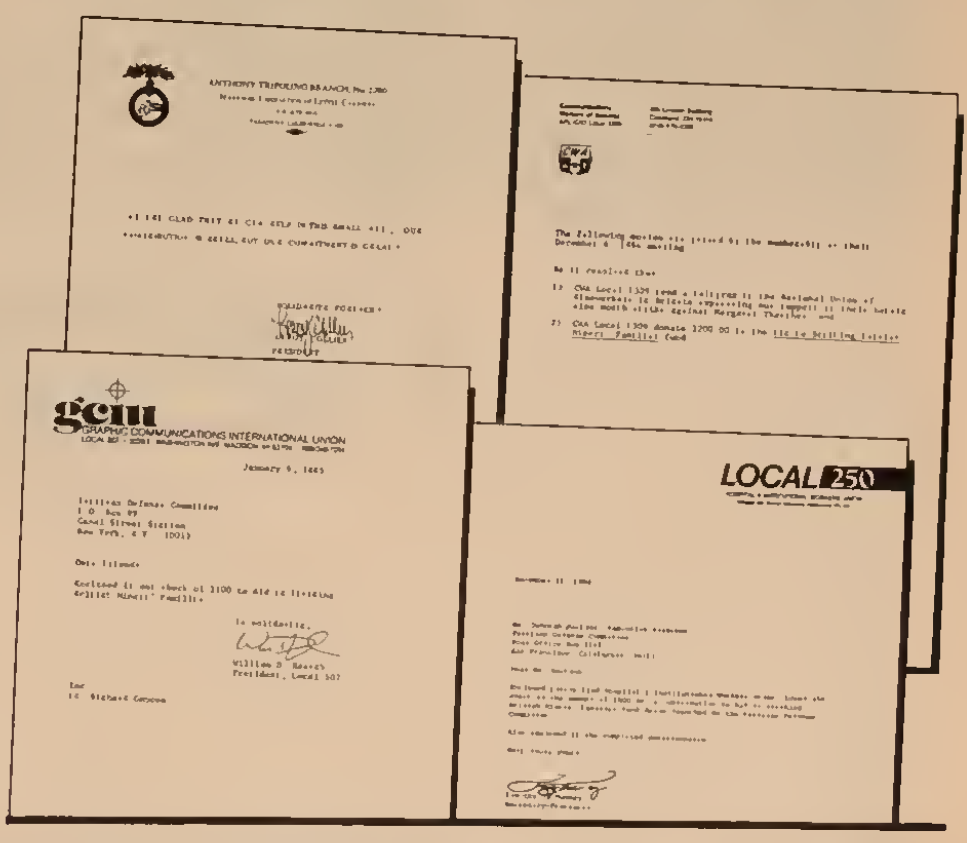
Amount Sent to Miners Solidarity Fund 9,303.00
(as of 22 January 1985)

Amount on Deposit (as of 22 January 1985) 2,323.31

$11,626.31

Workers Hammer

June 22: Thousands of determined striking miners from all over Britain march in funeral procession for comrade murdered by scab truck driver.



U.S. union locals support fund drive.

SL Suit Against FBI

Salute Victory for Democratic Rights!

On 20 October 1983 the Spartacist League filed suit against the FBI witchhunters' new "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," charging that the Guidelines falsely equate Marxist political opposition to the government with "terrorism." This was the first direct legal challenge to the Guidelines. On 30 November 1984 the FBI agreed to settle the suit by retracting their long-standing set-up "definition" of the Spartacist League as a conspiratorial grouping secretly advocating "violent overthrow of the government," and substituting a statement defining the SL as what we are, a Marxist political organization (see "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," WV No. 368, 7 December 1984). In recent weeks we have published some of the many messages of support and congratulations received from a wide range of people concerned about civil liberties; more are printed below. And in light of the evident bourgeois press blackout on this important news, we want to thank the Atlanta Voice, In These Times *and Pacifica Radio for their coverage of our victory.*

Structured Outrage

The beauty of a free society is inextricably connected with the rights of its citizens to speak out and to assemble. When government can encroach upon these rights without triggering a response of outrage and rebuke among its populace, freedom becomes a meaningless buzzword designed to appeal to the ethos of a mindless majority. The Spartacist League's suit was structured outrage and should serve as a signpost, a warning of the dangers to freedom which still threaten us!

Sandra C. Ruffin
President, Harvard Black
Law Students Association*

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

Dissenting Voices Must Not Be Silenced

A victory for freedom is a victory for the freedom of all of us. It is especially important that radically dissenting voices should not be silenced and that smear tactics should not be successfully employed to crush opposition. A successful fight for democratic rights deserves to be saluted: we can build fresh new victories on each success.

Professor Dennis Brutus
South African exile and
former political prisoner

A Victory for All Who Oppose the New McCarthyism

Congratulations to the Spartacist League on your victory against the F.B.I. and the Attorney General's Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines. This is a victory not just for your organization but for all those who oppose the new McCarthyism being whipped up in Cold War II.

As someone who spent many years fighting HUAC, Attorney General witchhunts, Smith Act prosecutions, and the COINTELPRO operations that destroyed the Black Panther Party, I am fully aware of the sinister role played by the government's secret police. Like you, I have no illusions that your legal victory will put an end to government spying and anti-communist activities. The Reagan administration's war moves in Central America and drive for war ultimately against the Soviet Union fuels repression of those who oppose these ominous developments. But I believe your legal victory will help stay the hand of the witchhunters and secret police agencies.

Again, my congratulations and good wishes.

Charles R. Garry
Attorney

Fight FBI Thought Control

The Spartacist League's victory in this settlement shows once again the FBI's role in red-baiting and thought control as a way of engineering American public opinion against social change.

Chip Berlet
Secretary, National Lawyers
Guild Civil Liberties Committee
Editor, *Public Eye*

A Great Feeling to Win

I would like to warmly congratulate you and the Partisan Defense Committee for your important victory over the Attorney General and the FBI. We on the Left know only too well that it's not only sticks and stones which can break our bones, but that words—especially those spoken by the Government—can do almost as much harm. So it is a significant victory whenever anyone or any group on the Left gets the Government to withdraw some of the language with which they oppress us. It's also a great feeling to win sometimes.

Bertell Ollman
Professor
New York University

Morenoites' "Peace and Freedom" Bubble Bursts

A "socialist" election slate that runs on a ticket headed by a pro-capitalist candidate, that calls for "reducing" the Pentagon war budget, that looks to the bourgeois Democratic Party to win strikes for the workers? You expect (and get) that from whole-hog reformists like the Communist Party, whose "Dump Reagan" slogans were simply a cover to call for "Vote Mondale." But we're talking about the electoralist campaign mounted by the Internationalist Workers Party, which claims to be Trotskyist. This Los Angeles-based group follows the notorious Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, whose checkered history is one of political impersonation of everything from staid social democrats to fire-breathing guerrillas. And for the last two years, the IWP has been serving up not even the Latin nationalist rhetoric that is standard Morenoite fare, but beansprout liberalism through the rad-lib California Peace and Freedom Party. What's more, this time these consummate con artists managed to outcon themselves in the process.

The Morenoites set up shop in L.A. a few years ago with their standard M.O., bombastically claiming to represent an international with "tens of thousands" of members and posing as the advance guard of the Central American revolution heading north. These political bandits shamelessly borrow militant slogans—such as our call for military victory to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador—while avoiding a sharp break with the reformists who are looking for a treacherous deal with imperialism. Even then they have to lie like a rug: claiming, for instance, that aside from themselves "the entire world left" supports the Contadora sellout of revolution in Central America. There were the usual Morenoite organizational shenanigans: spawning 57 varieties of front groups, all involving the same handful of people, as they pretend to be a mass party. With their third-worldist politics, the IWP declared the ghetto the "meeting place of the North American proletariat," and aside from the "poorest sector of the white workers," the rest of the white workers were dismissed as "privileged."

When the Morenoites tried to break out of the Los Angeles Latino ghetto, however, they sang a different tune. They began by picking up a couple of two-bit aspiring bureaucrats who have wheedled their way into minor nooks in the U.S. labor aristocracy, Harry Turner and Earl Owens. Turner is the original one-man "Anti-Spartacist League," and Owens has been described as a walking culture medium for every deviation known to Marxism. Soon the IWP began to exhibit a schizoid quality: Moreno & Co. like to pose as super-Guevarists in Central America, while Turner once declared that the assassination of Che Guevara was no loss, comparing the heroic guerrilla to Adam Clayton Powell, the demagogic Harlem Democrat! The result was an unstable lash-up of Latin American café guerrillaists and North American aspiring labor aristocrats.

For such would-be wheeler-dealers, electoral politics is where it's at on the American scene. So as early as 1982 the IWP was trying to hook up with the anti-Reagan popular front. They marched in a thinly disguised labor-for-Mondale demonstration in San Francisco that October and began campaigning for a common left slate in '84. By early 1983 this call had been "concretized" by entering that New Left hangover, the California Peace and Freedom Party (P&FP). The Morenoites began fantasizing about making it in the big time: "if the entire left made use of its human resources," why then with 20,000 members and 60,000 sympathizers "we could carry out an electoral campaign where we would receive 1,000,000 votes"! Soon the front groups started popping up like crazy. It was like one of those pyramid games so popular in California ... until suddenly last summer the Communist Party pulled the rug out from under them and the whole house of cards came crashing down.

From "SCULPT" to Scalped

When they began their Peace and Freedom caper, the Morenoites' basic gambit was to appeal to social-democratic anti-Communism. They correctly noted that the Communist Party "works within the P&FP to make it an appendage of the Democratic Party's liberal wing." So too, it added, do the assorted social democrats swimming around in the Peace and Freedom swamp. But this didn't stop the IWP from jumping in feet first. In April 1983 they managed to get the P&FP California state central committee to set up a "Search Committee for a United Left Presidential Ticket" (SCULPT). Meanwhile, Morenoite León Pérez appealed to "sectors of the Socialist Party" for a bloc against the Stalinists who were allegedly "trying to destroy the P&FP" (*Working Class Opposition*, May-June 1983). The Socialist Workers Party and Workers World were denounced as "sectarians" for running their own candidates. Yet in a "Proposal for Electoral Unity in 1984" the IWP called for a ticket with CPer Angela Davis as presidential candidate and an SWPer or WWPer for vice president!

In the same document, the IWP announced that after studying the left press over three months, it had discovered that "all of the socialist left parties without any exception *agree on at least 15 slogans or programmatic points*"! Like "end unemployment." Talk about lowest-common-denominator politics! However, "unity of the entire left" was not in the cards. In late May 1983 a California P&FP leader, Casey Peters, sent a letter to the Morenoites complaining about an ad in the rad-lib *Guardian* taken out by an "East Coast Committee for a Peace & Freedom Party National Slate in 1984," whose addresses turned out to be P.O. boxes of the IWP. The ad, said Casey, could lead people "to the presumption that this [East Coast P&FP] is nothing more than a front group for the Internationalist Workers' Party." Two can play this game, replied the Morenoites, pointing out that the West Coast address of the P&FP/SCULPT was the same as that of Casey's SP!

Since the IWP's projected "anti-Stalinist" bloc with the social democrats wasn't working out, their next ploy was to conjure up a "Left-Wing Tendency of the Peace and Freedom Party." This phantom put out a newsletter in which the former "East Coast P&FP" is transmogrified into local "Committees for the P&FP," gay/lesbian and Latino caucuses of the P&FP suddenly appear, etc. The high point of this phase of the Morenoites' "struggle" was a Thanksgiving 1983 conference of SCULPT notable for the absence of the CP, SWP and SP. This gave the Morenoites (along with Steve Zeltzer's PTT and the Ann Arbor-based RWL) over a fifth of the votes, whereupon the "Left-Wing Tendency" fell apart as bloc partner Zeltzer tried to exclude the "Coalition to Fight for Equality" as an IWP front! When the Morenoites put forward an election platform, the other groups either refused to endorse or walked out and the "National Conference" adjourned without picking a candidate.

With the demise of SCULPT, the IWP with great fanfare launched a P&FP candidate of its own, Sonia Cruz. One of the first activities of the Morenoites' "Socialist Slate" was to march in a May 19 Jesse Jackson rally in L.A. These "socialists" declared in an "Open Letter to Jesse Jackson," that "we are here today to fight with you against the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill," lamenting only that this cynical bourgeois politician had not "taken the road to breaking with the Democrats and forming a party of the working class and the oppressed." Taking reformist pressure politics to the point of absurdity, the IWP's program for the Las Vegas hotel strike was to demand "that the Democratic Party publicly *refuse* to hold its Convention or house its members in any hotel in this country" until the strikers' demands were met (*Working Class Opposition*, May 1984)!

As election time approached, the Communist Party decided enough was enough and finally made short shrift of the Morenoites' charade. The Morenoites had by then infuriated the rest of the P&FP with their underhanded organizational maneuvering, and at the California statewide convention in late August the Stalinists delivered the KO punch. The CP supported Sonia Johnson, feminist candidate of the liberal Citizens Party, as the P&FP presidential choice, and in the final tally Johnson received 40 out of 72 delegate votes cast, as against eight for the IWP's Cruz. The IWP's article had to admit that the P&FP "socialist electoral coalition" (!) had nominated a "petty-bourgeois, pro-capitalist candidate for President" (*Working Class Opposition*, September 15-October 15, 1984).

The IWP waxed ironic about the CP's "dilemma" ("Three Candidates for President?") of supporting its own Hall/Davis ticket, Sonia Johnson of the Citizens Party, and Democrats Mondale and Ferraro. That's old hat for the Stalinist horse traders, who have been playing this game ever since the CP supported Roosevelt while running Browder in 1936. But what about the Morenoites' own dilemma? They were running on the Peace and Freedom ticket whose presidential candidate was admittedly "pro-capitalist"! Never mind, the IWP sent out a flyer in October calling on voters to register for the P&FP, and making no mention of socialism or revolution. Yet for all this unbridled opportunism, for their more than *two years* of nonstop electoralism, what did they get? Certainly nothing to write home to Buenos Aires about.

WV Photo

Morenoites go with the flow in the "anti-Reagan" popular-front swamp.

Anti-Soviet Scabs, Thugs, Finks

And what about program? In the P&FP campaign the IWP's "Socialist Slate" fell right into line with the Democratic Party popular front. Notably they supported Proposition X, a "jobs with peace" initiative on the ballot in California, a measure so right-wing that even the rotten-reformist SWP opposed it. It called for getting rid of "wasteful" military programs and "reducing" the Pentagon budget to 1980 levels—i.e., sanctioning the anti-Soviet war buildup under the Carter administration! Prop X was a device to get out the vote for the Democrats from liberals who opposed Reagan but found mundane Mondale unappetizing. In its own election program, the IWP raised the utopian-pacifist demand for "unconditional disarmament" of the United States. This is a typical reformist hoax: the imperialists will not disarm, they must *be disarmed*, through proletarian revolution. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program:

WV Photo

Morenoites' claw-hammer attack on militant L.A. phone worker, October 1982.

> "'*Disarmament*'—But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers."

So here it was 1984 in Reagan's America, and the IWP election propaganda nowhere mentioned the fundamental fact that the U.S. war drive is targeted on the Soviet Union. Worse yet, in their international publication (*Alternativa Socialista*, January/February 1984), the Morenoites called for a "democratic referendum in the USSR, so that the population can state whether

Neo-Nazis...

(continued from page 5)

B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League reports that Truedel Roeder has also attended the gatherings, which are surrounded by armed guards and where explosives and guerrilla warfare are reportedly among the topics of discussion. She is the wife of German neo-Nazi leader Manfred Roeder, who is currently serving a prison term for bombing a Vietnamese refugee center in West Germany in which two were killed.

These bitter and twisted racists, losers and pathological criminals have flourished and spread in the atmosphere of Reagan's war on blacks, women and workers. Emboldened by years of official anti-communism, the fascist terrorists plot new and bigger Greensboro massacres. When they start having shootouts with FBI agents, then the feds may give them the opponents treatment. The fiery death of Mathews was a replay of the immolation of Posse Comitatus fugitive Gordon Kahl, besieged by federal agents in a bunker in Arkansas in May 1983. But so long as they obey the secret protocols of terrorism in Reagan's America and keep their cross hairs trained on those on the government's "enemies list," these armed killers are tolerated by the cops and FBI, and even overlap with them, as in the South where the local Klansman by night is often the local sheriff's deputy by day.

Ultimately such fascist killers are capitalism's reserve shock troops, to be unleashed in periods of deep social crisis. The Spartacist League has initiated mass labor/black mobilizations in urban centers—Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, D.C.—to interdict the fascists from emerging out of the backwaters. But it will take socialist revolution to sweep away these scum once and for all, abolishing the sick, decaying capitalist system which breeds these terrorist nightriders. ■

Latvian Nazi...

(continued from page 5)

were intervening to demand that the State Department halt the deportation of Estonian mass murderer Karl Linnas. (D'Amato, who apparently realized that this would be a liability with New York's Jewish voters, subsequently tried to back out and pleaded unsuccessfully with columnist Jack Anderson not to publicize his name.) Ignoring the substantial evidence documenting Linnas' murderous activities as a concentration camp commandant who ordered and participated in the executions of Jews and other prisoners, the U.S. lawmakers decided in effect that there's no such thing as crimes against the Soviet people. According to their Cold War logic, Linnas can't be shipped back to Estonia because the U.S. government has never recognized the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly the virulently anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet Captive Nations crowd got into the act, railing against the Justice Department's collaboration with "Jewish Zionists" and Soviet secret police.

Nor are these policies anything new. A recently published book on the history of Nazi war criminals in America is Allan Ryan, Jr.'s *Quiet Neighbors* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1984). Ryan is a former director of the Office of Special Investigations (OSI), set up in the waning years of the Carter administration in the face of embarrassing revelations of Washington's refusal to prosecute the fascist criminals. Ryan convincingly demonstrates the links between the long-standing toleration of the Nazi refugees and Cold War anti-Communism. In the period following World War II, over 900 camps were set up for "displaced persons" in Germany, Austria and Italy. Jewish refugees made up a small percentage of this camp population; the centers were in fact loaded with Nazi collaborators who had fled the Ukraine and Baltic states one step ahead of the advancing Red Army.

As a U.S. Army major at one DP camp put it: "You've probably got everything in this camp except Hitler, and I wouldn't be surprised if you turned up that bastard when you get started on the registration." The Displaced Persons Act of 1948, under which 400,000 European refugees came to America, actively discriminated against Jewish survivors and established preferential quotas for groupings known to be rife with fascist collaborators. The Nazi butchers of yesterday were now U.S. imperialism's ally against the "Red menace." This was formally codified by the Immigration Act of 1952; while mass roundups and deportations of suspected communists were being organized, the new act explicitly did *not* exclude Nazis and their collaborators from the country.

So things remained until the Carter government felt compelled to clean up its act a bit in order to motivate its anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. The one substantive new measure was an end to the decades-long refusal to seek Soviet cooperation in prosecuting war criminals. The Russians cooperated fully in providing witnesses against the fascist terrorists. Yet for all that, the OSI's work has been largely cosmetic. Ryan himself conservatively estimates that at least 10,000 war criminals got into the U.S., yet the OSI has tried only 50 cases, and only a few of these scum were forced out of the country, in some instances to be set at liberty. Thus in 1984, after years of stalling, the notorious Romanian fascist, "Archbishop" Trifa, was finally sent to Portugal!

Sovfoto

Red Army liberates Latvia from fascism, 1944.

As Reagan heats up the anti-Soviet war drive, the courts are threatening to quash even these token prosecutions. Underlying this whole foul affair is the simple fact that the U.S. imperialists have not only "tolerated" the war criminals—they have actively recruited the services of these butchers to use against the Soviet Union. They *can't and won't bring these criminal filth to justice*, because any attempt to do so would threaten to blow sky high the secret links between these butchers and the U.S. spy agencies. Ryan's book is deeply flawed precisely because it seeks to deny this. Yet several of the cases cited by Ryan, including those of Laipenieks and Klaus Barbie, point to this.

Ryan consciously omits mentioning the wholesale recruitment by U.S. intelligence outfits of literally almost the entire Nazi puppet government of Byelorussia, that exterminated almost three quarters of a million Jews. This was exposed by former OSI investigator John Loftus in his book *The Belarus Secret* (New York: Knopf, 1982). Loftus worked under Ryan's direction; in fact, when Loftus submitted his findings, he noted that Ryan sent a memo to the Attorney General stating: "It should be apparent that the matters discussed in this report are extremely sensitive, both because of the number of Byelorussian Nazis who entered this country, and the extent to which U.S. Government agencies apparently assisted that entry, possibly in violation of the law." Yet Ryan doesn't mention Loftus' name or findings once.

And then there's "Project Paperclip," under which 1,500 German scientists, including known war criminals, were imported to work for the U.S. government. *Workers Vanguard* has repeatedly documented the links between the Nazi butchers and their new imperialist masters. The anti-communism and thwarted nationalist ambitions of these sadistic killers coincided with the U.S. government's appetites to reconquer Eastern Europe and Russia for capitalism. That is why they have been protected by conservative Republican and liberal Democratic administrations alike, just as have the Cuban racketeers, Saigon generals, Vietnamese gusanos and Nicaraguan contras who followed in their footsteps. And as we noted before ("U.S. Imports Nazi War Criminals," *WV* No. 318, 26 November 1982): "Only victorious workers revolution will sweep the fascist murderers from the face of the earth and prevent a future holocaust which is even now being prepared using the services of the technicians and executioners of the last one." ■

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or not it considers the defense of the workers state positive on the basis of arms race policies"! For Trotskyists, defense of the Soviet Union, of the social and economic conquests of the October Revolution is *unconditional*, a matter of principle, despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration. Soviet nuclear weapons have stayed the hand of the Yankee imperialists from Vietnam to Cuba. For the Morenoite *traitors*, who want to sidle up to the liberal pacifists, this is a matter subject to an opinion poll.

The IWP's program is social-democratic anti-Sovietism. It declared that defense of the Soviet Union is *not* posed in Afghanistan, despite CIA arms to the Islamic reactionaries; denounced Jaruzelski's countercoup in Poland against Solidarność, Reagan's favorite "union"; and equated El Salvador and Poland, echoing the treacherous "two superpowers" line. When U.S. imperialism staged its deadly KAL 007 war provocation, sending a civilian airliner over some of the Soviet Union's most sensitive military installations, the IWP's *El Bolchevique* (November-December 1983) denounced the Kremlin for "using the methods of thugs in shooting down the airplane." Afghanistan, Poland, El Salvador, KAL 007: with this record of virulent anti-Sovietism, the IWP had no problem in fitting in with the anti-Reagan Democratic Party popular front.

The Morenoites' particular "contribution" to the pop-front scene has been their penchant for deadly gangsterism. From the beginning, IWP honcho Nicholas Kramer began manufacturing and provoking physical attacks against the Spartacist League. In order to seal off their members from our exposure of their *lider máximo*'s sordid record (see the SL's *Moreno Truth Kit*), and from our denunciation of scabbing by their supporters in the Communications Workers of America (CWA), in October 1982 the IWP launched a murderous attack using claw hammers and numchakus against Spartacist supporters in Los Angeles. (To his credit, this gangsterism was too much for Earl Owens; he resigned from the IWP declaring, "The use of weapons by one radical tendency against another is a gift to FBI provocateurs.") They followed this up by acting as fingermen for the notoriously CIA-connected CWA bureaucracy in a red purge against SL supporters in the phone union (see "Morenoite Scabs, Thugs, Finks," *WV* No. 331, 3 June 1983).

The Morenoites' inveterate maneuverism is in the service of a Stalinophobic program—that is what leads them to join Democratic Party marches and run on a ticket headed by a "pro-capitalist candidate," as well as to assault SL supporters with deadly weapons and to act as fingermen for the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy's anti-communist witchhunts. As for the decrepit Peace and Freedom Party, some Spartacist supporters mistakenly wandered into that Bay Area sandbox back in 1968 when it was a new outfit with some support among California rad-libs. As our comrades quickly exited, they wrote the epitaph for this short-lived expression of middle-class protest politics: the P&FP would be "a *reformist, third capitalist party*" which "will do nothing to educate the American people on *the capitalist character of war, racism and economic exploitation*" (*Spartacist West*, 10 March 1968). Adopting the P&FP hollow shell, 17 years later, the Morenoites expose their radical pretensions as a cynical hoax, and a joke. ■

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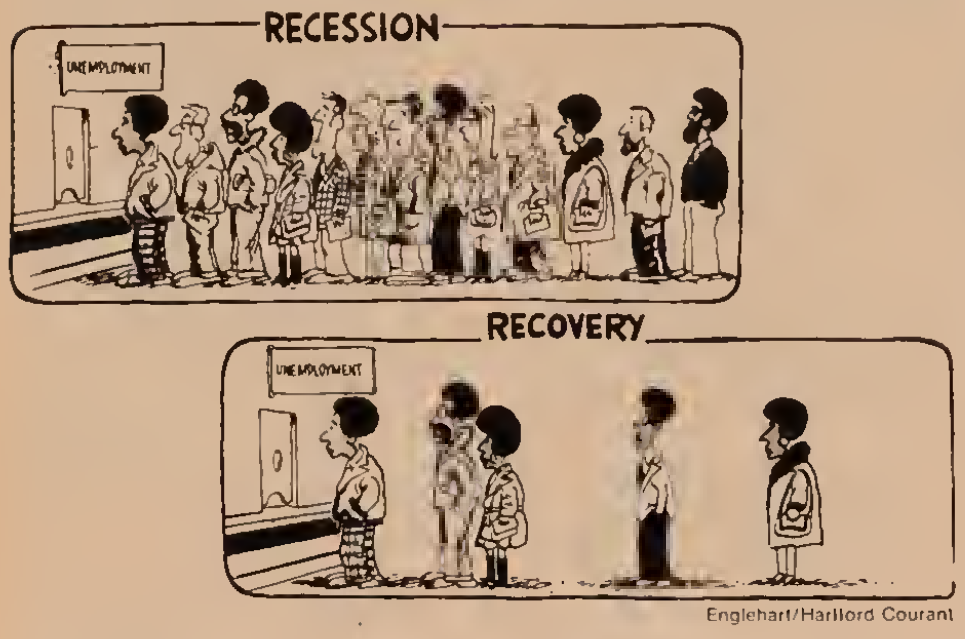
Reagan's America...

(continued from page 1)

Constitution and Pennsylvania Avenues, and a Reagan bodyguard was armed with a Stinger anti-aircraft missile. The Secret Service forbade opening windows of offices and apartments to watch the parade: "If anybody opens a window or steps out on a balcony, you can be sure they'll be in somebody's crosshairs." As liberal CNN news commentator Daniel Schorr remarked, "Washington is coming under such a curtain of security as to suggest to visitors a wartime capital. The closed windows, the sharp-shooters along the parade route, the missiles ready to intercept an intruding airplane.... It is altogether hardly a picture of domestic tranquility."

Security frenzy and war mania. As fireworks crackled and bugles blared in the Prelude Pageant, Davy Crockett (the president's pal Fess Parker) praised the pioneer spirit and denounced the Vietnam syndrome. Reagan's election was supposed to wipe out the humiliation of the United States' first defeat in war, he said. But it hasn't worked out that way. Even today, Vietnam is the war that won't go away. The *Wall Street Journal* (14 January) wrote, "'No more Vietnams' has become a guiding principle—some would say a crippling obsession—of American foreign policy." Secretary of State Shultz and his clique of former Marines denounce war secretary Weinberger for insisting on the need for popular (or at least Congressional) support for new military adventures. Reagan's America is going for war, all right, but when they get there it will be another story. Just watch what happens when the kids that kissed the runway for the Grenada invasion start coming home from Managua in flag-draped aluminum caskets.



Englehart/Hartford Courant

Black America: "Malign Neglect"

Inaugural '85 was a real tale of two cities in D.C. As Reagan was being sworn in before dignitaries and celebrities at the Capitol, Courtland Milloy reported in the *Washington Post* that all over black Washington poor people were swearing *at* him. While Reagan swept the rest of the country, this black city voted 86 percent against him. As luxury limos shuttled the wealthy swathed in furs from ball to ball, outside on the corner of Fifth and K Streets frostbitten and shivering men hovered around a fire barrel waiting for jobs. Looking out from the White House you could see Lafayette Park, where a black derelict Viet vet froze to death at Christmastime. One of "Queen Nancy's" attendants commented, "I feel like Marie Antoinette." Today's sequined plutocrats have an advantage over the plumed aristocrats of yore: shielded by smoked-glass windows, they don't have to see the poverty in the nation's capital, and the poor can't see them.

Even from its liberal perspective, the Urban League's "State of Black America 1985" captured the devastation of the black population, "the object of malign neglect and hostile disregard" by the government. A decade ago, black unemployment was 14.1 percent, about double that of whites (7.6 percent). By the end of 1984, black unemployment was officially up to 16 percent, while for whites it had fallen to 6.5 percent. And ghetto life grows steadily more brutal:

> "Concerns about schools that do not teach but graduate functional illiterates, about horrendous unemployment rates and the tens of thousands of people who have never held a job and probably never will, about the staggering increase in families headed by single women, about violent crime where blacks are both the principal victims and the perpetrators... Survival is a way of life in all too much of Black America...."

And much of this is a direct result of government policy. A *New York Times* (25 October 1984) study showed that six million people had gone below the official poverty line in the first three years of the Reagan presidency, one million were thrown off food stamps, a million kids found the prices of their school lunches soaring out of reach, and 500,000 people with severe mental and physical handicaps were thrown off the disability rolls.

Thousands of them can be found wandering around the streets of New York City with shopping bags, gripping tattered coats, ranting incoherently, staring, dying. Many have been driven by the cold into abandoned subway tunnels where there are now whole colonies of hundreds of homeless persons. And the city is now housing more than 20,000 homeless in churches, armories, abandoned apartment buildings and single-room occupancy hotels where they are kept awake warding off the thieves and rats. And now in the middle of the night landlords are demolishing SRO hotels with wrecking balls as they are sold off for luxury apartment conversion. (There are so many homeless adults in NYC now that last fall the Democrats changed the election laws so that they could sign them up to vote by the hundreds.)

But with all the statistics of black misery in Reagan's America, the Urban League study reports an important fact with tremendous importance for the future: "Statistically, more black workers than ever belong to unions, a greater proportion of total union membership is black and black union leaders are increasing in number." Today almost a third of the membership of the AFL-CIO is black, and while the labor misleaders have been engineering give-back contracts, virtually every union struggle in the last couple years has seen black and Latin workers in the vanguard (Greyhound, Phelps Dodge, auto). A layer of black union militants has emerged: many are veterans of the 1960s integration struggles, lots of them Vietnam veterans who learned to hate U.S. imperialism in their gut. These are the fighters who most frequently buy *Workers Vanguard* at plant gates and community sales, who refused to load South African cargo at the San Francisco docks, who formed a Nat Turner Brigade from the Virginia Tidewater area to join with the Spartacist League in stopping the KKK terrorists from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.

Chicago labor rally, November 13: Teachers' strike beat back black Democrat Harold Washington's takeaways.

Smash Reagan's War on Blacks, Unions and the Soviet Union!

After the inaugural party's over, the Reaganites will get down to business trying to implement their "mandate." On domestic policy they will have little or no opposition from the Democrats, who themselves campaigned in '84 for tax increases, cutting social programs and increasing war spending. The "opposition" party in Congress may even end up voting for the MX missile, while on Central America last year liberals and conservatives united to more than double U.S. aid to the Salvadoran regime of "democratic" butcher Duarte. It would seem smooth sailing for the Reaganites, and indeed on inauguration day the stock market went up 34 points. But even after the '84 election landslide, leading spokesmen for American capitalism are expressing concern about Reagan's leadership. The job swap between White House "chief of staff" Baker and Treasury secretary Regan, about which the president was reportedly informed only at the last moment, led the *Wall Street Journal* (9 January) to worry in a lead article whether Reagan is "in charge," talking of "drift and indecision in the administration" and a "leadership vacuum."

If there is a vacuum, who will fill it? The architects of the "conservative revolution" are chomping at the bit to get on with their agenda. The Heritage Foundation, a leading New Right think tank, recently released a thick volume, *Mandate for Leadership II*, which is crafted by top administration aides such as attorney general nominee Edwin Meese as the bible for Reagan's second term. Domestically it calls for "peel[ing] back" virtually all federal government social programs established after the mass struggles of the 1960s. This is already being implemented as scores of second-level positions in cabinet departments of health and human services, labor, housing and urban development, education and social security are unfilled. The Reaganites are seeking not only to dismantle the leftovers of the phony Kennedy/Johnson "war on poverty," but every social program since the beginning of the New Deal.

But this domestic program is only part of an overall strategy building for global "confrontation" and ultimately war with the Soviet Union. The Heritage Foundation blueprint calls for getting a "running start" on Reagan's second term by capitalizing on the Grenada invasion, "which once again legitimized U.S. use of force and illustrated that Marxist control is not irreversible." A call for invasion of Nicaragua? But this is not their final goal. These most determined Reaganites say the administration must proclaim its "refusal to accept the permanency of totalitarian rule or Soviet imposition of its system in Central Europe." This call for "overturning Yalta," the post-World War II division of Europe resulting from the victory of the Soviet Red Army over Nazi Germany, will certainly dominate the Americans' celebration of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II this May. They also call for pushing ahead Reagan's nuclear first-strike "Star Wars" plans. And they are working like crazy to put Jeane Kirkpatrick, that admirer of mass-murdering "moderate authoritarians" from Pinochet to the shah of Iran, into the White House basement.

The Reaganites can be stopped, but not by the Democrats, who support massive anti-black, anti-worker austerity measures as part of the current anti-Soviet war drive which they began. Sharp working-class struggle led by the strategically located, combative black workers can cut short Reagan's "four more years" in a hurry. For black people the American dream has always been a nightmare. Last year black rap singer Gil Scott-Heron recorded a hit song, "We don't need no Re-Rons," denouncing the gladiator invader of black Grenada. We are watching, he said:

> "a third of all our fellow Americans breaking their backs in third-class citizenship.
> "taking a third less home on payday because of the dollar's inflation.
> "while 30 years after segregation was tried and banished from the nation,
> "here it comes again, discrimination."

"Would we take Fritz with our grits?" Heron asked. "We'd take Fritz the Cat. Would we take Jesse Jackson? Hell, we'd take Michael Jackson." But it is precisely this support for the Democratic Party as the supposed "lesser evil" which has blocked the struggles for the emancipation of blacks and other working people from capitalist society. Blacks did vote overwhelmingly, but unenthusiastically, for Fritz Mondale and Jesse Jackson's Democratic Party. And for their loyalty to this "people's party" of American capitalism they got ...shafted. But by breaking with the Democrats, by taking the lead in building a multiracial class-struggle workers party that fights on behalf of all the oppressed, blacks can and must be in the vanguard of the fight for socialist revolution which alone can achieve liberation and survival for all of humanity. ■

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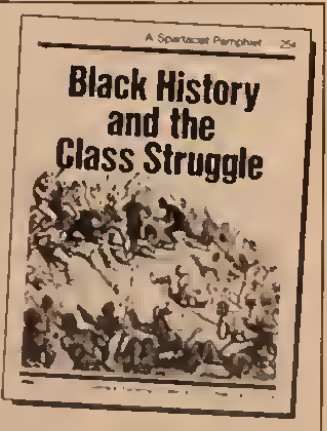

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Geronimo Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

live in the home, was never seen in possession of the gun, and his fingerprints were not found on the weapon....

f) In August, 1969, Julius Butler allegedly gave a letter in a sealed envelope to Sgt. DuWayne Rice of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) for safekeeping. The letter, which was allegedly an "insurance" letter meant to protect Butler from Panther members who had threatened him, in part referred to Petitioner's confession.

IV

Subsequent to his conviction, Petitioner discovered that numerous pieces of exculpatory evidence existed which had been known at the time of trial by members of the state prosecution team and agents of the FBI who were cooperating with that team. In spite of an "open file" discovery policy by the state prosecution, the Petitioner was never advised of any of the following:

a) At trial, Butler denied working with the FBI or any other law enforcement group since his resignation from the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office in the early 1960's....

In fact, the government withheld evidence that Butler had met at least thirty-three (33) times with the FBI during the twenty-two (22) months prior to Petitioner's trial and had provided information regarding both Petitioner and the Panther organization. Petitioner is informed and believes that members of the state prosecuting team knew of Butler's relationship with the FBI. These meetings took place during the time of the FBI's now infamous counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) which by the late 1960's, had made the Black Panther Party its principal target. In 1970, specific written orders from the top ranks of the FBI declared that Petitioner, then the leader of the Southern California Panthers, was to be "neutralized." Moreover, the FBI has admitted that it had received specific information long before Petitioner's trial that Butler was planning to "frame" Petitioner. At no point in the state habeas corpus process, however, was Petitioner permitted the opportunity to subpoena Butler's state or federal files, to obtain the report that Butler was going to "frame" Petitioner, or to call Butler to the stand in order to further clarify the nature of his relationship with the state and FBI....

c) At trial, Sgt. DuWayne Rice of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) (the investigating agency in the case) had testified that after receiving the sealed "insurance" letter from Butler in August of 1969, the letter remained unopened for a year-and-a-half in the possession of the LAPD. The letter was allegedly opened during an internal affairs investigation of Rice in 1970 which was unrelated to the 1968 homicide. The letter made Petitioner the chief suspect in the Olsen murder as soon as it was unsealed.

In fact, the government withheld evidence that two FBI agents had appeared on the scene the moment Butler had delivered the letter to Rice. The agents had called out to "Julio" by name as Butler left the scene, and had proceeded to threaten Rice with obstruction of justice if he did not turn over the letter. According to the FBI, when Rice refused, the FBI immediately contacted his superiors in the LAPD (a year-and-a-half before the letter was allegedly opened) about the letter....

d) The taller of the two assailants never appeared at trial. The only mention of the taller assailant was made by Butler who testified that on the evening of the murder Pratt had visited Butler in the company of a taller man, "Tyrone," and stated that the two of them were going on a "mission."

In fact, the government withheld evidence that in 1971 the FBI had provided the state with details concerning the identity of the second suspect....

e) ...The government withheld evidence that the FBI had surveilled Petitioner's key alibi witness while she was going to a Panther meeting in Oakland the night of December 18, 1968; that the FBI had surveillance reports of Petitioner in Oakland on December 20, 1968; and that the FBI, with knowledge of the LAPD, had a wiretap and "radio" in the Los Angeles Panther headquarters during December, 1968....

V

Subsequent to his conviction, Petitioner learned that the FBI had admitted placing three spies in his defense camp during the trial. The spies had reported information to the FBI regarding defense concerns and strategies. At that same time the FBI was in constant contact with the state prosecution team through a liaison at the trial who was a member of the LAPD....

VI

Both the state and FBI knew the full significance of the information which was being withheld. The state was the official prosecuting agency. The FBI, which was continually monitoring the case through an LAPD liaison at trial and through its spies, was aware of Petitioner's desire to find evidence attacking Butler's credibility and supporting Petitioner's alibi.

VII

Evidence not made available to defense counsel at the time of Petitioner's trial demonstrates that the FBI was deeply enmeshed in the state prosecution....

In addition, the FBI had an established working relationship with the prosecution's case investigator, Sgt. Ray Callahan of the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS). More generally, the FBI and the Intelligence and Criminal Conspiracy Sections of the LAPD exchanged information daily concerning the activities of local Black Panthers, especially leadership personnel like Petitioner, for the specific purpose of producing arrests and prosecutions of such individuals. The law enforcement bodies of the two governments were in the matter of the Los Angeles BPP, in the words of FBI Agent Swearingen, "as close as peas in a pod"....

VIII

As detailed throughout paragraphs IV, V and VII, Petitioner was never provided any discovery and was never permitted an evidentiary hearing regarding any issue raised in his petition at any point in the state habeas corpus process. Petitioner is informed and believes, and thereupon alleges that such discovery and hearing would provide fuller and more detailed substantiation of all of his claims.... ■

Abortion Clinics...

(continued from page 1)

telephone hookup. This is the first time that a president has ever addressed this annual ultra-reactionary mobilization. While cautioning against "violence," Reagan solidarized with the assembled bigots and urged that abortion be done away with for all time.

Late last month, the federal government served unprecedented official notice to abortion clinics that they could expect to be bombed between January 20-22. Sure enough, in the wake of the announcement by the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agency, a rash of bomb threats was reported in the days leading up to the inauguration, including at clinics in Washington, D.C. and Huntsville, Alabama. Today in New York, noted abortion rights advocate Bill Baird held a press conference outside St. Patrick's Cathedral. "I've gotten threats all week long that I would be dead before the day is out," said Baird, who now has a private security guard accompanying him. Baird noted that the FBI's refusal to consider such attacks "terrorism" is a reflection of Reagan, who is "anti-woman, anti-abortion." Baird, who operates abortion clinics in Boston and Long Island, had earlier

McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal

Pensacola, Florida abortion clinic bombing, Christmas 1984.

announced he was posting armed guards around his facilities (*New York Times*, 12 January). Baird's clinic in Hempstead was firebombed six years ago, while 50 people were inside. Baird says he gave the FBI evidence in 1980 that clinic bombings were being planned at the National Right-to-Life Convention at Anaheim, California.

The wave of public outrage against FBI director William Webster's declaration that the clinic bombings don't constitute "terrorism," and perhaps the suggestion by Baird and a few others that abortion clinics might be undertaking measures of self-defense, seems finally to have got across to the government the idea that some of the self-righteous bomber bigots were going too far. On January 20, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms announced the arrest of three men charged with bombing seven abortion and family planning facilities in Washington, D.C., Maryland and Virginia, as well as allegedly planting a pipe bomb at an American Civil Liberties Union office in Washington.

Planned Parenthood head Faye Wattleton castigated Reagan's criticism of the anti-abortion violence as too little, too late (CNN News, 22 January). Indeed the vicious "right to life" campaign with its terror-bomber fringe has been the leading edge of the rampant capitalist reaction of which Ronald Reagan is the keynoter. As the obscene inaugural carnival piously professes "Christian values" and the "American way" while record numbers of the destitute and homeless starve and freeze in inner-city hellholes across the face of one of the richest nations on earth, desperate women along with blacks and minorities and strikers and "reds" find themselves high up on the hit list. Last May in Birmingham, Alabama, a man forced his way into the Women's Medical Clinic and smashed up the surgery rooms with a sledgehammer. A Roman Catholic priest was charged with the assault. In Everett, Washington, clinic patients for months ran a sidewalk gauntlet of protesters who videotaped them and took down their cars' license numbers. As many as 700 silent callers jammed the phones by day, and the clinic was finally closed last April after three arson attacks in five months.

The Christmas bombers of three abortion centers in Pensacola, Florida, said this was "a gift to Jesus on his birthday." John Burt, a Pensacola anti-abortion fanatic who operates "Our Father's House," a home for pregnant women, called the bombers "heroes." Burt brags of his activities in the Ku Klux Klan's anti-integration violence in St. Augustine, Florida 20 years ago. "I was a very bigoted young man," said Burt. "I was convinced that integration was a Communist conspiracy to take over the U.S.A." (*New York Times*, 18 January). He hasn't changed much.

The feminist National Organization for Women has been organizing vigils to pressure the FBI to act against the clinic bombers. This is a fatuous perspective. We salute courageous supporters of women's rights like Bill Baird who raise the urgent question of self-defense. To put the fear of god into these "god-fearing" anti-abortion terrorists will take integrated working-class defense guards protecting women's legal right to free, safe abortions. The Spartacist League, which has been in the forefront of mass militant mobilizations in defense of blacks and minorities, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals and all the oppressed against Klan and Nazi provocation, stands ready to assist in the self-defense of abortion clinics. We fight for a revolutionary labor movement which will fully champion the struggles of all the oppressed against the arrogant capitalist reaction which today targets fundamental rights of women. ■

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L.A. Hearing on COINTELPRO Frame-Up of Black Panther

Geronimo Pratt: "I'm Going to Expose the Truth"

From Our Correspondent

LOS ANGELES, January 21—A new hearing into the racist frame-up of imprisoned Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt opened today in Los Angeles federal court. Pratt has been fighting for years to have his case reopened on grounds of proven evidence of a murderous COINTELPRO conspiracy against him. The new hearing was finally ordered last fall after retired FBI special agent Wesley Swearingen of the L.A. office came forward to say straight out: "Pratt was set up."

In court today Swearingen testified, "I remember seeing documents when the wiretaps began and ended on four telephones at Panther headquarters." The FBI wiretaps demonstrate that Pratt was in Oakland attending a Panther meeting at the time of the murder of Caroline Olsen in Santa Monica, for which the black militant was framed up. The wiretap logs from that critical period in December 1968 are mysteriously missing from the huge volumes in the FBI's Los Angeles office. Swearingen testified that this was the first and only time he could remember that logs were missing in his 25 years work for the FBI.

At the hearing, Pratt's defense team will present before Judge John R. Kronenberg evidence exposing the conspiracy between the FBI and Los Angeles Police Department to "get" Pratt and the Black Panthers, orchestrated at the highest levels of government. Swearingen was questioned on the stand by former California liberal Republican Congressman Pete McCloskey, who is now working actively with the Pratt defense. Geronimo Pratt was brought into court in handcuffs and wearing prison garb. Sitting quietly at the defense table he exuded the dignity and determination that has made his struggle a symbol of resistance to racist oppression.

Brenig/SF Chronicle

Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt!

America's foremost class-war prisoner, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, the former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader, has been incarcerated 15 years for a murder he did not commit. We reprint below sections of Pratt's "Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus" which expose the history of sinister cover-ups and COINTELPRO dirty tricks against Pratt.

The Petition states that in 1970 the FBI issued written orders that Pratt be "neutralized," part of the racist capitalist state's infamous COINTELPRO campaign to wipe out Panther leaders across the country. This was *after* Pratt had survived a murder attempt by hundreds of L.A. cops who staged a Gestapo-style raid on the L.A. Panther headquarters on 8 December 1969, four days after Chicago cops murdered Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton in their beds. It was Ed Meese, then California governor Reagan's special assistant for "law enforcement" and now his U.S. attorney general-designate, who oversaw the state's efforts to disrupt the Panthers.

Railroaded into jail where he still languishes, Geronimo Pratt was forced to suffer *six years* of solitary confinement in an effort to break him. But far from breaking, this courageous black militant has pursued every avenue open to him to expose the state's frame-up and win his freedom—even refusing attempts to get parole which would require an admission of guilt on his part—and stood fast to the cause of black liberation.

Pratt's ordeal in California's courts and prisons is an object lesson in the brutal, racist American "justice" system. The state prosecutors and FBI worked hand in hand to convict Pratt, withholding several key pieces of evidence in his favor. The only eyewitness to the murder, the victim's husband, Kenneth Olsen, had positively identified another man as the "shorter assailant" and then perjured himself in denying this at the trial. Another key witness was the despicable FBI informer Julio Butler, an ex-cop who had infiltrated the L.A. Panther organization. Butler also lied at the trial, denying that he had acted as an FBI informant, while, as Pratt's Petition states, Butler met repeatedly with the FBI between the time of the murder and the trial. And the FBI suppressed surveillance and phone tap reports proving that Pratt was at an Oakland Panther meeting on the night of the L.A. murder.

The legal bases for Pratt's defense are that the state violated due process in withholding evidence which would have cleared him of the murder charge; that the FBI violated the Sixth Amendment right to counsel by placing three spies in the defense camp during the trial; and that the state knowingly presented false testimony which helped convict him. Pratt is the victim of an obvious frame-up. But under racist bourgeois "democracy" this doesn't count for beans. Pratt went through the appeal procedure to the California Court of Appeals, only to have his appeal denied in February 1974. He also sought a state writ of habeas corpus, which was rejected by the California Supreme Court without a hearing. Now Pratt is trying again, in federal court, with new evidence. But the facts of this frame-up have been clear from the beginning.

Pratt's Petition gives an extraordinary view of the mechanics of the government's bloody COINTELPRO vendetta against him. In fact, the new hearing gives Pratt's lawyers an extremely important opportunity to subpoena and cross-examine for the first time cops and agents involved in the COINTELPRO program of disruption and murder. Now that the Reagan administration is refurbishing COINTELPRO tactics and the Meese nomination is sailing through the Senate, it is all the more urgent for defenders of democratic rights to back the struggle of this valiant fighter for black freedom. Free Geronimo Pratt!

UPI

LAPD staged massive "search and destroy" operation against local Black Panther Party headquarters, 8 December 1969.

Excerpts from Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus by a Person in State Custody

III

The case which the prosecution had presented to the jury principally consisted of the testimony of three witnesses, and three pieces of physical evidence:

a) Kenneth Olsen, the sole eyewitness to the crime, identified Petitioner as the shorter of the two assailants. Olsen had first identified Petitioner in a photo display which was held approximately two (2) years after the murder. There were sixteen pictures in the display. Only Petitioner appeared in two of the pictures. Only Petitioner was photographed wearing a safari-type jacket such as was worn by the shorter of the two assailants.

b) Julio "Julius" Butler, a former Black Panther Party (BPP) member who had been a Los Angeles Sheriff until the early 1960's, testified that Petitioner (also a Panther member) had confessed committing the crime to Butler the day after the murder....

d) The murder weapon was found during a raid of the home of a Black Panther member in early 1969. Petitioner had been arrested outside the home at the time of the raid. Petitioner did not

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 372 | 8 February 1985

Eleven-Month Battle Against Bloody Thatcher

British Miners: Spread the Strike and Win!

LONDON, February 3—Nearly eleven months after their strike against pit closures began, 130,000 British coal miners remain locked in a fight to the finish with the Tory government of Margaret Thatcher. Intent on starving the miners and their families back to work and smashing their union, Thatcher and the Coal Board have now broken up the latest round of negotiations, insisting that the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) must agree in advance to terms which would mean total surrender. Under pressure to cave in and end their strike from all sides—from the Labour Party tops to the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and right-wingers on the miners' executive—the NUM leaders have rightly refused.

The miners' strike is poised on the razor's edge, and with it the fate of Britain's workers and oppressed for years to come. The tens of thousands of men and women who have kept this fight going through bitter hardship remain defiant. They want a road to victory. When NUM vice president Mick McGahey rose to speak at a support rally in Glasgow on January 26, the chant that erupted from the thousands-strong crowd of miners was "No sellout! No sellout!" And the day the abortive negotiations began in London, 3,500 strikers descended on Cortonwood colliery in Yorkshire for a mass picket and demonstration to union leaders that they would not accept a settlement based on surrender. Pickets battled cops in full riot gear and transit vans who were escorting a handful of scabs to the pit. It was the decision to close Cortonwood last March that sparked this massive nationwide battle.

Sturrock/Network

Strikers' flying picket squads battle scabs and Thatcher's uniformed thugs outside coal pit in Leeds, August 1984.

In this critical moment the NUM should be straining every muscle to break out of its enforced isolation, seeking particularly to enlist the strategic rail, truck and dock workers for joint strike action. Instead the NUM leadership is demobilising the struggle, leaving strike activists hanging in the wind, with no national instructions and no proposals for action. Unwilling to make a sharp and open break with the Labour/TUC traitors, in particular by putting the TUC "lefts" on the line, the militant NUM leadership has been impelled down a dead-end road of concessions and capitulations. These have ranged from NUM president Arthur Scargill's refusal to defend the South Wales strikers facing murder charges over the death of scab taxi driver David Wilkie,

continued on page 4

Ariel Sharon: Butcher of Sabra/Shatila

"History written with an ax cannot be unwritten by the pen" and a thousand "libel" suits cannot wipe the blood from General Ariel Sharon, the butcher of Sabra and Shatila. The arrogant would-be Führer of Israel, Sharon came to New York to "untell" even that small fraction of the truth which emerged about his role as central architect of the massacre of thousands of Palestinian women, children and old men in the refugee camps of West Beirut. Sharon ranted about "blood libel," but this mass murderer has more blood on his hands than Reinhard Heydrich, the Nazi butcher of Prague, who was mowed down in a hail of bullets in 1942.

Sharon sued *Time* magazine for libel, for a 1983 article which linked him to the slaughter at Sabra/Shatila. The jury found one paragraph in the eight-page story "false" and "defamatory," while refusing to award Sharon any damages or brand the article as libelous. The butcher now claims a "moral victory": it is no secret from Tel Aviv to Manhattan that the whole spectacle was part of his strategy to become in fact what his fanatic Zionist followers have crowned him: "Arik—King of Israel." David Halevy, author of the *Time* article, caught the Orwellian outrage represented by the verdict: "Despite the fact that today is January 18, 1985, I

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Haolam Hazeh

UPI

General Sharon. He did it. Everyone knows it. He has blood of more than 2,000 killed in Beirut massacre on his hands.

Her Work Led to Victory of Suit Against FBI

Toni Randell Remembered

Last Novemher 30 the Spartacist League concluded a successful settlement of our suit against the FBI's latest "Guidelines" for witchhunting and provocation against the left. This legal victory strengthens every one of us, but it is especially a tribute to the work of our comrade Toni Randell (1943-1982). Toni was a ten-year cadre of the Spartacist League; she was a founder of the Partisan Defense Committee and served as the PDC's first secretary. She brought to the PDC work her rigorous integrity and intelligence, and the compassion and dedication of a hard communist.

In defense of our organizations, our supporters and the existing rights of the whole working-class movement, the SL and PDC have undertaken and won a numher of legal challenges to the "Cold War II" witchhunt. Our reeord is particularly impressive given the current political climate, when victories on behalf of the oppressed are few and far between.

The foundation for our successes in the field of defense work is our adherence to the principles of class-struggle legal defense, the heritage of the early International Labor Defense led hy James P. Cannon some 60 years ago. That heritage was made aceessihle to us through Toni's research. The PDC's commitment to the defense, in the courts and more hroadly through class-struggle political mobilization, of all cases and causes in the interest of the working people, without sectarian or factional regard, stands in the honorable tradition of early socialist defense work, later perverted by the Stalinist manipulators, the reformists and spineless liherals.

In particular, the SL's recent successful suit against the FBI was prepared by Toni Randell's years of painstaking examination of the masses of material wrested from the secret police under the Freedom of Information Act. Toni metieulously indexed and annotated the 17 volumes of FBI files on the SL made available to us under FOIA. Tracking the FBI's machinations through thousands of pages from which the important words, and sometimes whole paragraphs, had heen deleted was a monumental task. Toni scoured every page for clues, counting the numher of characters in deleted words, occasionally finding careless slips of the censor's magie marker so that excised information could be deciphered. Toni never lost her sense of humor, as this note reveals: "Here's another FBI volume—yes, they were in the hushes along with the SWP at our Long Lake summer eamp." The SWP was there to eateh members of theirs in the act of attending a Spartacist camp, whieh indeed some of them were.

Toni Randell did not live to see the SL lawsuit which her careful work made possible. She died three years ago on February 12, at the age of 38. Her memory serves to inspire new fighters for the communist future for mankind to which she dedicated her life.

TONI RANDELL
(1943—1982)
Died 12 February 1982

Protesters Drive Marines Off Berkeley Campus

Hands Off Guillermo!

BERKELEY, February 3—Marine recruiters were run off the University of California Berkeley campus last week by a Spartacus Youth League-initiated united-front protest. Students not eager to become cannon fodder in the hourgeoisie's war drive to "roll back communism" followed the SYL's initiative in surrounding the Marine recruiters when they set up a tahle in Sproul Plaza, the campus' traditional "free speech" area, to peddle their wares of terrorism and bloody counterrevolution. The Marines were rapidly sent packing hy outraged students, but the military's protectors in the UC administration and eampus police struck back with vindietive rage. SYLer and protest leader Guillermo Bermúdez was dragged off in a ehoke hold, his arm twisted behind his back and *broken*, and then slapped with outrageous frame-up charges of "assaulting a police officer" and "resisting arrest." Twenty years after the famed Berkeley "free speech" fight, UC cops are geared up to make the Berkeley eampus "safe" for the U.S. killer elite.

The protest began when Bermúdez and other SYLers spotted the Marines setting up a recruiting table. SYLers approached SAICA (Students Against Intervention in Central America) and the Campaign Against Apartheid group and proposed immediate joint action to run the Marines off. Together the students surrounded the Marines' table, shouting "Marines off campus!" A crowd of nearly 100 students rapidly gathered. Undercover UC police closed in. In an attempt to behead the action, the cops seized protest leader Bermúdez.

A burly eop (at least 6'3" and 200 pounds) seized Bermúdez (5'5", 129 pounds) from behind in a choke hold around the neck and jerked him a foot off the ground. Choking and gasping for hreath, Bermúdez landed a kick to the Marines' tahle, collapsing it and sending the Marines scurrying. Two other cops piled on Bermúdez, wrenching his arm behind his back and dragging him off. As Bermúdez later described it: "There were at least three cops including the tall one who were dragging me. One was holding my right arm and pushing me along. The other was twisting my left arm hehind my back and pushing it up, causing me considerable pain. As I was being taken away I kept yelling 'Marines off campus!' but it seems that the more I yelled, the lower I went. They twisted my arm more and pressed their knuckles against my shoulder."

Bermúdez could have been *killed* hy this ehoke hold, which for minorities symholizes the poliee terror which is integral to racist American capitalism. It is a classic cop tactic to beat up a hlack or Latin youth and then frame up the victim for "assaulting" his assailants. The charges against Bermúdez are a *deadly* lie. He is not only threatened with jail, but has been set up to be blown away hy police anywhere as a "dangerous cop-attacker." The UC police hastily denied using the choke hold, but a front-page picture in the next day's *Daily Californian* dramatically shows Bermúdez clutched by the throat, and many student eyewitnesses have already signed statements charging the cop with the vicious attack.

His arm in a cast and a sling, Bermúdez was back on campus the next day, leading an SYL rally hailing the Marines' hasty departure and summoning students to Bermúdez' defense. In addition to supportive students, the rally drew a handful of right-wing jocks who loudly defended the Marines' "right" to be on campus, a cause taken up in a January 31 editorial in the *Daily Cal* bemoaning the supposed violation of the Marines' "free speech."

This is a complete red herring. The Marine Corps is not some campus dehating club but the shock troops of *imperialist state power*. It is their job to "hit the heach" to inflict massive acts of bloody ruling-class terror, from the horrors of countless My Lais to the rape of tiny hlack Grenada. The Marines, ROTC units and CIA agents who were

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Jane Scherr/Daily Californian

Berkeley, January 29: Burly plainclothes cop grabs SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez in potentially lethal choke hold and breaks his arm. Now Bermúdez is charged with assaulting police.

Malcolm X on Ruling Class Violence and Black Self-Defense

TROTSKY

LENIN

February 21 marks the 20th anniversary of the murder of Malcolm X, who embodied militant defiance of the racist ruling class and its Uncle Tom flunkeys. In his last speech (10 November 1963) before openly breaking with the Black Muslims, Malcolm told an audience of Detroit black people:

As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you hled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you hled. You hleed for white people, but when it comes to seeing your own churehes being hombed and little black girls murdered, you haven't got any hlood. You hleed when the white man says bleed; you bite when the white man says bite; and you bark when the white man says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify heing nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bomhed, and your little girls are heing murdered, and at the same time you are going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somehody else you don't even know?

—Malcolm X, "Message to the Grass Roots" (1963)

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No. 372 **8 February 1985**

Point Man for Reagan's Racist Terror

Ed Meese: Sinister Witchhunter

Edwin Meese III says openly that a person who attends a political demonstration in opposition to government policy deserves to be shot. Can such a man become attorney general of the United States? You better believe it. Last year his nomination was held up by Democrats in Congress who focused on financial chicanery. So Ronald Reagan's top adviser, the head of the White House kitchen cabinet, was kept out of sight for the duration of the '84 election campaign. But following the Reagan landslide in November, Meese has reappeared as point man for the New Right in Washington. And after the Senate judiciary committee does a quick once-over on the ethics of influence-peddling and cronyism, Meese's nomination seems a sure thing. The Democrats certainly don't want to uncover the real crimes of this roly-poly racist witchhunter in a grey flannel suit.

It was logical, even inevitable, that the Reagan administration would want Edwin Meese III as the U.S. top cop. He is certainly the man for the job they want to do on blacks, leftists, unionists and minorities. Here is a man whose idea of "democracy" is more appropriate to a banana republic. It was Meese who goaded hungry Americans a couple of Christmases ago, saying they were in souplines to get something for nothing. And it is Meese who pioneered and fostered the technique of setting up political opponents as "terrorists." His solution for dissenters is quick and simple: shoot 'em, literally.

Meese represents the desire and active impulse to honapartism in capitalist America. His police-state solutions appeal to this regime which is planning World War III against the USSR, yet has been unable to mobilize the population for war, or for its anti-Soviet military adventures. The Reaganite reflex is to call out the cops. And a supercop is exactly what Edwin Meese is. The Reagan regime wants and needs Meese to beat back democratic rights they see associated with the "Vietnam syndrome," and not just "war powers" resolutions or Congressional "oversight" of the CIA's dirty tricks and covert wars. For the Reaganites, protest in the streets is "lending comfort and aid to the enemy," i.e., treason to be met with military measures as they prepare for their Armageddon with the "evil empire."

Edwin Meese is the architect and political whip for the government's most racist and reactionary legal policies. Meese participated in the nine-volume Heritage Foundation report, the "New Right" blueprint for Reagan's war on labor, blacks and democratic rights. This report called for eliminating post-Watergate restrictions on the secret police and emphasized targeting individuals and groups engaged in lawful activities. With slight modification the Heritage program has been adopted in near entirety. Meese most adamantly pushed for the 1983 FBI Guidelines which legitimate and lay the basis for a massive COINTELPRO-type operation against political opponents, branding them as "terrorists."

When Meese was nominated for attorney general last year, liberal Senators led by Ohio's Howard Metzenbaum went after Meese not for his "impatience with cumbersome constitutional protections" (*Washington Post*) but over the "sleaze factor." The hard questions for Meese were about unreported loans, home mortgages, payoffs and cronyism. This is the kind of hanky-panky that is standard practice for this type of "self-made" millionaire politico. The Democrats were not going to touch Meese for his crimes against blacks and workers and social justice, for in these crimes they are all accomplices. Columnist Richard Cohen caught the spirit of the Senate hearings when he wrote:

> "Al Capone, may he rest in peace, knows exactly what Ed Meese is going through. After a career as a bootlegger, a murderer and even a mass murderer (the St. Valentine's Day massacre), old Scarface finally went to jail for evading his taxes. The man who lived by the gun was ignominiously mowed down by the adding machine."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 5 March 1984

AP

Top Cop Meese (left) with White House war "adviser" McFarlane.

AP

LAPD siege of Panther headquarters, 8 December 1969. Meese oversaw state's campaign to wipe out Black Panthers.

California's J. Edgar

Edwin Meese is the closest thing to a J. Edgar Hoover to come along in some time. For the left, Meese's history has a special and chilling interest. Meese is a cop on the prowl for his victims, consolidating an arsenal of national power. Riding in his White House limo recently, the proposed U.S. attorney general remarked that it "really isn't very different" from the old days when he used to ride around in the cops' cars when he was district attorney in Alameda County (Berkeley/Oakland). It was in California that Meese earned his spurs, and perfected his witchhunting methods against civil rights and antiwar activists.

Becoming assistant D.A. in 1958, Meese got his chance to really begin his lifelong career as McCarthyite cop with the Free Speech Movement (FSM) at Berkeley in 1964. The demands of the FSM, an early expression of the '60s student radicalization, simply for the right to assemble and for political advocacy, were met with massive police power. And Meese was the state's contact man on the spot, on the phone with Governor Pat Brown when the cops came in to bust up and arrest more than 700 students sitting in at Sproul Hall, deliberately dragging them down stairs on their backs. Already in this early confrontation with radical and liberal protesters, Meese labeled his political opponents as violent terrorists. At the trial of the Free Speech activists, for instance, he argued that the sit-in was a "paramilitary operation," and thus the demonstrators deserved to be arrested and manhandled.

In a two-part series on Meese, the *Oakland Tribune* (26-27 February 1984) wrote of the "'60s Top Cop" in California. When Jerry Brown took over the governor's office from Ronald Reagan in 1975, Brown's secretary of legal affairs reports they found a whole operations room left behind by his predecessor Edwin Meese: "There was a little unit in the governor's office with about 800 phone jacks and something that looked like an AP wire machine in the closet." Meese set up secret "intelligence" operations, infiltrating black and antiwar groups, connected to seven different state agencies through the governor's office. You could run a war out of there, and Meese did—a war on the left, blacks and labor.

It was during the so-called "People's Park" incidents in 1969 that Meese's killer cop mentality was clearly expressed. During the cops' attack on demonstrators, James Rector, one of a group standing on a rooftop, was brutally murdered by a shotgun-toting Alameda County deputy sheriff. When asked by a *Los Angeles Times* reporter in 1980 about this cold-blooded killing, Meese replied simply, "James Rector deserved to die." Meese confirmed the statement in an interview with the *Washington Post* in 1981. He had a political point to make. "My feeling is that if a guy was trying to kill a policeman, he should expect to get shot." When the *Washington Post* reporter pressed him on this blatant fabrication, Meese replied, "Well, he wasn't up there as a spectator." Rector, you see, was a protester and therefore, according to Meese, a potential cop-killer. For the Reaganites there are only two political categories: innocent "spectators" and "terrorists" who deserve to get shot.

Meese and COINTELPRO

As then California governor Reagan's special assistant for "law enforcement" Meese oversaw the state's campaign to wipe out the Black Panthers through racist victimization and murder. One of the principal targets of that campaign is former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt. When the state did not succeed in taking Pratt's life in the 1969 pre-dawn massive raid and bombardment by hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos on the L.A. Panther headquarters where he lived, the state put Pratt in jail in a vicious COINTELPRO murder charge frame-up. And that racist victimization continues as Pratt has courageously fought for his vindication and freedom from behind bars for 14 years, including six in solitary! Most recently, he took that fight into an L.A. federal courtroom last week in a hearing for a new trial (see article, page 12).

And Ed Meese's legacy of racist victimization is still alive in the Alameda County D.A.'s office, which was at the center of the government's war on the Panthers. This office has supplied the present Reagan administration in Washington not only with Meese, but also with Lowell Jensen, currently U.S. deputy attorney general. During the 1983 national phone workers strike, the Alameda County D.A.'s office engineered a sinister frame-up on multiple felony charges of phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero for defending their picket line and themselves from the assault of a racist scab manager. Lauren and Ray were victims of politicized racism because they were an interracial couple, labor socialists, and Lauren was a ten-year member of the Oakland Panthers. In classic COINTELPRO style a years-old mug shot of Lauren was flashed on Bay Area TV in an attempt to depict Lauren as a dangerous criminal and to intimidate other phone strikers. After a vigorous and widely supported class-struggle defense campaign by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, all felony charges were dropped and Lauren and Ray did not go to jail. This victory for labor and black rights was a direct blow against the Reagan/Meese program to cast picket lines as "criminal activity" and those who defend themselves from racist assault as "terrorists."

As California's top cop, Meese was a leading participant in a nationwide mobilization of the military, feds and local police forces to crush antiwar and ghetto protest. The full extent to which these police-state master plans were implemented has never been revealed but in 1966 Meese testified before the

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British Miners...

(continued from page 1)

to opening the negotiating team to the right-wing defeatists on the executive, to the cancellation of the January 31 special delegate conference which was to have expelled the Nottinghamshire scabs, to pledging "negotiations without preconditions."

What is there to negotiate with a mass-murdering warmonger like Thatcher who has made clear that the government and Coal Board will not give one inch on pit closures and is determined to fire outright over 600 miners sacked during this strike? An emergency delegate conference is necessary—one that keeps scabs out and brings in elected representatives from the militant women's support groups which have become the backbone of the strike. Its task must not be to discuss terms of surrender, but to hammer out a strategy to *turn this strike around before it's too late*. The Iron Lady can still be beaten and brought to heel this winter. But this cannot be done simply through hanging tough in a war of attrition which the bosses are bound to win sooner or later. What is needed is a sharp shift in strategy:

- Demand that the transport, rail and seamen's unions come out on immediate strike to join the miners in a fighting Triple Alliance to launch a general strike!
- Don't wait for the bureaucrats to act: organise mass delegations to railwaymen, truck drivers, dockers, demanding joint strike action! Blockade the power stations with mass pickets from all striking unions and build elected joint strike committees! Defend against cop/scab terror through workers defence squads!
- Broaden the demands of such joint strike action to forge unity in struggle: victory to the miners—no victimisations—smash the anti-union attacks! No more layoffs, no more denationalisations! For a 10 percent minimum wage rise across the board for all workers! Bring down the Iron Lady!

Press Association

Der Spiegel

"Iron Lady" Thatcher wants "vindictive victory" over miners, just like she got off on cold-blooded murder of hundreds of Argentine sailors aboard General Belgrano in Falklands/ Malvinas war.

Break Through the TUC's Sabotage!

There is no room for compromise in this historic class battle. Right from the start Thatcher has made it clear that she is out for the crushing of the NUM as the key to crippling the entire trade-union movement. The 25 January [London] *Guardian* captured it vividly:

> "...the Prime Minister intends to smash Mr Scargill, if she can, in the belief that the destruction of so charismatic a figure will be as effective a warning to lesser militants in the trade union movement as the severed heads which used to be on display at either end of London Bridge.
>
> "This approach was being characterised at Westminster last night as a radical redraft of the Churchillian precept so often quoted by Mrs Thatcher. MPs [Members of Parliament] remarked that she now seemed to be saying: 'In victory, vindictiveness'."

"Lesser militants" would do well to heed this! Lest anyone doubt Thatcher's intent to be vindictive in victory, let them recall that she is a certified war criminal who during the Falklands/ Malvinas war revelled in sending several hundred young men from the Argentine vessel, the *General Belgrano*, to an icy, watery grave in the South Atlantic. British naval officers made no attempt to rescue the survivors. Bloody Thatcher undoubtedly had personal charge of this one unambiguously gratuitous atrocity of the Falklands war.

This is the Thatcher who wants the negotiations with the NUM "to be straight, honest and no fudging." And lately, Labour MP Tam Dalyell has revealed that "There are persons in Westminster and/or Whitehall...who know a great deal more about the violent death of Miss Murrell [a 78-year-old woman thought to possess evidence on the *Belgrano*] than they have so far been prepared to divulge (London *Times*, 21 December 1984)." Would that the Iron Lady had been badly defeated in the South Atlantic and suffered the same fate as the Argentine generals!

What is keeping this vicious Tory bitch in power is the abject refusal of the Labour/TUC misleaders, the solidarity-spouting "lefts" no less than the back-stabbing anti-communist rights, to unleash the full power of organised labour.

What is necessary is to forge a fighting Triple Alliance between the miners and the transport and rail unions that can effectively smash the TUC's sabotage and grind this country to a halt through joint strike action. Hundreds of individual militants in these unions have been victimised for hot-cargoing scab coal and fuel, but the "left" trade-union tops have refused to call national strike action. On January 17 the rail unions called a limited one-day strike in defence of their victimised members in Coalville. The response was solid beyond any expectation—rail workers know they're next on Thatcher's hit list. But far from seeking to extend the strike, the union leaders are giving consideration to British Rail's demand that the boycott on coal be eased.

When Texaco fuel oil drivers in East London struck against management attempts to break their hot-cargoing action last month, TGWU [transport union] officials moved in to scuttle the strike and keep the oil flowing into the power stations. The two dock strikes last summer brought the country to the verge of an explosion which could have catapulted the miners to a rapid victory. But TGWU leaders called off the strikes, and today scab coal imports are being unloaded in numerous small ports around the country. It is such treachery which has allowed the government to carry out its massive strikebreaking operation to keep power switched on throughout the winter.

Throughout the strike the violence-baiting, ballot-mongering Labour Party head Neil Kinnock and his coterie have acted as a fifth column for the Tories to force the NUM into a humiliating settlement on the Coal Board's terms. Above all, Kinnock wants the miners brought to heel as "proof" that the working people of this country have no option but to vote him into Downing Street at some distant future. And while Kinnock publicly denounces Labour "lefts" like Tony Benn for upsetting parliamentary decorum and Sunday speechifying about general strikes, Benn for his part is not even prepared to challenge the despised and despicable Kinnock for leadership of the party.

As for the Communist Party (CP), which has significant influence in the NUM and other key unions, neither of its two openly split factions offers militants anything better than a second-rate Labour Party. Mick McGahey has been instrumental in engineering deals allowing scab coal to flow into Scottish steel plants like Ravenscraig. And within the NUM executive, CPers have been spearheading the disastrous "negotiated settlement" line which, in the words of Scottish area vice president and CP leadership loyalist George Bolton, means that "everything is negotiable." Meanwhile the CP's *Morning Star*, which attracts militants on its pretend pro-working-class orientation and

continued on page 8

"The real story of the ILD is the story of the work it did, the campaigns it organized, the scrupulous handling and public accounting of its funds...."
—James P. Cannon (1958)

In the tradition of the International Labor Defense we list below the contributions to date to the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. Local unions listed have authorized their names to be used to publicize their support for these courageous brothers and sisters. The PDC has established a separate account ("Aid to Striking British Miners' Families") for the deposit of every penny raised by the fund drive. All funds collected are rapidly and securely forwarded to the Miners' Solidarity Fund as donations clear the account. The entire administrative costs of the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families are borne by the PDC. Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families
Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-131

Partisan Defense Committee Donation		$5,000.00
Trade Union Donations		4,061.00
including contributions from:		
ATU Local 1575 (San Rafael, Ca.)		
TWU Local 100 (NYC)		
Library of Congress Employees Union Local 2477		
CWA Local 4309 (Cleveland)		
UFCW District Union 442 (Atlanta)		
Hospital & Institutional Workers Union Local 250 (San Francisco)		
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 (Pasadena)		
ILA Local 333 (Baltimore)		
Atlanta Georgia Public Employees, AFSCME Local 1644		
Construction & General Laborers Union Local 22 (Boston)		
Graphic Communications International Union Local 507 (Madison)		
UAW Local 148 (Lakewood, Ca.)		
Brotherhood of Teamsters & Auto Truck Drivers, IBT Local 70 (Oakland)		
Service Employees International Union Local 18 (Oakland)		
Butchers Union, Local 120 UFCW (Oakland)		
ATU Local 241 (Chicago)		
Retail Clerks Union, Local 648 UFCW (San Francisco)		
Union Membership Collections		1,091.56
including members of:		
Tunnelworkers Local 147 (NYC)		
USWA Local 1010 (E. Chicago, Ind.)		
IAM Local Lodge 824 (Richmond, Ca.)		
IBT Local 315 (Martinez, Ca.)		
USWA Local 1011 (E. Chicago, Ind.)		
Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union Local 2 (San Francisco)		
IAM Local 597 (El Segundo, Ca.)		
UAW Local 148 (Lakewood, Ca.)		
AFSCME Local 183 (Iowa City)		
Individual Donations		4,197.29
Total Collected (as of 5 February 1985)		$14,349.85
Amount Sent to Miners' Solidarity Fund (as of 5 February 1985)	11,626.31	$14,349.85
Amount on Deposit (as of 5 February 1985)	2,723.54	

In the last two weeks over $2,500 in contributions has been made to the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. To mobilize for the fund drive in your area, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

Spartacist League Forum

140,000 British Miners Strike!
Labour Party Tops Betray!

Britain's Winter of Class War

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

By WV correspondent just returned from nine months in the coal fields.

Saturday, February 9, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Regency Room
636 South Michigan
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Labor Must Stop Coal to Britain!

For eleven months, the British miners have stood strong against Reagan's crony Margaret Thatcher. The Iron Lady has imposed martial law in the coal fields, two miners have been murdered on picket lines and 10,000 arrested, while miners and their families have been existing on $16 a week. It's a battle for the fate of the union movement in Britain—and it's high time American trade unionists used their muscle to help win this crucial fight.

Key to winning this strike is running down the coal stockpiles at the power stations. And winter is the period of peak demand: miners know it's now or never. But NUM leaders despair of the possibility of power cuts as British bosses have kept stockpiles at an estimated 15 million tons. How? By massively increasing imports of scab coal, and *the U.S. is the main source.* According to the London *Guardian*, almost 40 percent of all imported scab coal is American. The coal barons and shippers here are making millions in blood money off the striking miners. As the *Guardian* (16 January) describes it:

> "Far away from the large towns and cities, in obscure creeks and river estuaries, an armada of mainly West German ships has been bringing in US, East European, West German and French coal and coke in astonishing quantities."

Rank-and-file unionists here have largely been kept in the dark about this scab operation. Officials from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) told us the bosses and government were concealing the destination of the shipments. According to printed trade statistics, imports to Britain have increased *ten times over* since 1983.

> "In reality much of the 'Dutch' coal has been landed in Amsterdam and Rotterdam by large ocean-going ships from the US and then reloaded into coasters for shipping to the UK.
>
> "US coal has also been trans-shipped in large quantities from Dunkirk and Ghent and has been recorded as 'French' and 'Belgian'."
>
> —London *Guardian*, 16 January

Workers Hammer

Scab coal being unloaded at secluded private wharf in Gunness, north England. Main source of imported scab cargo is the U.S.

The British seamen's union has been monitoring the traffic and made detailed information available to transport unions internationally. This shameful strikebreaking operation must be stopped!

In response to appeals from the striking miners, several European unions have taken action to "hot-cargo" the scab coal. French miners dumped truckloads of coal destined for Britain outside the port city of Calais. Union dockers in Holland have choked off a number of the bosses' preferred shipping routes. Large donations of food, clothing and money have poured in from France, Ireland and Scandinavia, and from black mine workers in South Africa. When it was announced that Soviet trade unions had sent over $1 million to the miners' Hardship Fund, Thatcher tried her usual "reds under the bed" scare. The miners applauded the Russians' act of solidarity.

But as for Lane Kirkland & Co., they haven't given the miners the time of day. They want to screw the NUM because Arthur Scargill correctly called Reagan and his ally Thatcher anti-Soviet warmongers. Well, toeing the Cold War line never did American workers any good. Backing Reagan in 1980 didn't save PATCO's ass. And hundreds of thousands of unionists here remember bitterly how the AFL-CIO refused to mobilize labor to shut down the airports when the strike was on the line.

Working-class solidarity is what it takes to sink Thatcher—and American workers have a big stake in sinking Reagan's key ally. Militants must fight to smash the bureaucrats' scabherding. U.S. longshoremen, railroad workers, miners: hot-cargo scab coal to Britain! Victory to the British miners! ■

CWA Knifes Miners' Families Aid Campaign

We print here a national memo (see right) sent out by the Office of the Vice President, AT&T Communications Unit of the Communications Workers of America, along with the reply by the Partisan Defense Committee. The CWA memo is intended to sabotage and destroy the PDC's effort to raise funds for the striking British miners union through the PDC's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund drive.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy has made no secret of its hostility to the courageous British strikers. While the miners and their families are arrested, clubbed and starved under Thatcher's reign of terror, the AFL-CIO tops (in Latin America generally referred to as the "AFL-CIA") save their tears for Reagan's company "union" Solidarność, and their bankroll for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party.

*The CWA bureaucrats' memo is on the surface "merely" an effort to warn its locals off supporting a worthy cause undertaken by American "reds." If it were really merely that, it might say: send your money directly to the heroic British miners. But from the standpoint of the CWA's "free trade unionism," the British miners are themselves led by "reds." So instead the CWA letter ludicrously says: deal only with the TUC, **who are opposed to the strike**, who are doing nothing to help it and everything to undermine it. Send your money to the miners' enemy, the TUC—**who aren't raising any money**.*

The work of those CWA officials and members who have aided the British miners despite this vicious memo stands as an example of the international working-class solidarity the British miners need.

Partisan Defense Committee
February 4, 1985

Don Treinen
Assistant to Vice President
AT&T Communications
Communications Workers of America
Somerset, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Treinen:

We have received a copy of your memo dated January 4, 1985 sent to Local Presidents-ATTCOM Unit regarding the Partisan Defense Committee.

You profess concern regarding the PDC Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund campaign. Please be informed that this solicitation of funds for the embattled British miners and their families is acknowledged and receipted by the National Union of Mineworkers' Miners' Solidarity Fund (letter enclosed).

To our knowledge the AFL-CIO is currently doing nothing in aid of the British miners' strike, in marked contrast to its enthusiastic support of Reagan and Thatcher's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność, which poses no threat to the bosses, only to the gains of the workers. As far as the AFL-CIO is concerned, the British miners' strike apparently does not exist. For its denial of the urgent appeal for international solidarity by the NUM, the AFL-CIO stands indicted. Thatcher's intent in this strike is to exact retribution that will make Reagan's treatment of PATCO pale in comparison.

As far as the British Trades Union Congress is concerned, it has not lifted a finger to mobilize the rest of labor to take action in support of the miners which is most crucial for their victory. The TUC has in fact sabotaged support actions by sections of the working class. And at their annual conference last September, the TUC explicitly refused to enforce respect for picket lines among its member unions. Thatcher recently appointed the outgoing TUC General Secretary, Len Murray, to a lifetime peerage in the House of Lords. That says it all.

Communications Workers of America
AFL-CIO

1 Executive Drive
Somerset, New Jersey 08873
201-560-9384

Office of the Vice President
AT&T Communications

CWA

January 4, 1985

TO: LOCAL PRESIDENTS - ATTCOM UNIT

FROM: Don Treinen, Assistant to Vice President

SUBJECT: Partisan Defense Committee

CWA Local 3250 recently advised this office of having received a letter soliciting funds for British Coal Miners, by the above organization.

We have contacted CWA headquarters who in turn contacted the AFL-CIO regarding the validity of this solicitation. They advise that they have not heard of the Partisan Defense Committee, and that the only contact for such solicitations is the British Trade Union Congress.

This office recommends that Locals check very carefully before sending contributions to organizations claiming affiliation with organized labor.

We will continue in our efforts to mobilize support for the miners as we understand the time-honored words of the workers movement, "An injury to one is an injury to all." Every penny received by the PDC's aid fund goes to the striking miners. The money is kept out of Thatcher's grasp and is transmitted to the strikers as quickly as possible. All contributors receive numbered receipts and the financial records of the fund drive are open for inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

You should indeed be familiar with the record of the PDC in its support to cases involving CWA militants. In 1979, the PDC supported CWA member Jane Margolis in her successful lawsuit against the Secret Service for arresting her on the floor of the CWA Convention, violating her rights as a union delegate and constituting an attack on the entire CWA. Margolis won an apology from the Secret Service and the financial settlement of $3500 was turned over in its entirety to the CWA Defense Fund. More recently, the PDC was active in supporting the defense of victimized phone strikers in the Bay Area—Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and others who were assaulted and arrested on CWA picket lines.

Enclosed is our "Urgent Appeal for Striking British Miners' Families" for your information. This appeal, along with this letter, may serve as a corrective memo to circulate to your local presidents.

Fraternally,
Deborah Mackson
For the Partisan Defense Committee

Blacks Hated the Vietnam War

On Veteran's Day last Novemher, amid all the hoopla about the "new patriotism," another Vietnam veterans memorial statue was dedicated. (The first was dug into a depresston, resemhling a trench—appropriately for a war the American bourgeoisie wishes would disappear.) The new statue was designed to evoke images of the Iwo Jima memorial across the river by the Pentagon. And surc enough, it attracted hordes of warmongers like flies to shit. In front of cheering vets, imperialist chief Ronald Reagan asserted that there has been a "rethinking" on the war. Notorious liar "General Wastemoreland" told the men they "did the job," trying to forget that the U.S. *lost the war*. But as the *Washington Post* (18 November 1984) noted, "Amid an abundance of green fatigues and red, white and hlue sentiments, there was hardly a hlack veteran's face to be seen." Blacks didn't come to wallow in the glorification of imperialist slaughter, because better than anyone besides the Vietnamese, they knew what that dirty war was all about. And when they came back, they were hit with the worst this country has to offer, from depression-level unemployment to cop/Klan race-terror.

From Vietnam in the '60s to Central America today, the imperialist planners have worried whether a heavily black army will fight and die for the cause of greater corporate profit margins and U.S. world hegemony. In the early years of the Vietnam War, blacks comprised 31 percent of the combat troops and 23 percent of the fatalities (compared to 11

LeBeck/Black Star

Militant black protesters at 1967 antiwar march in NYC.

percent of the U.S. population as a whole). The proportion of hlacks in the army is virtually the same today. A 1982 Brookings Institution study delicately raised the question that many black youth and their parents ask themselves:

> "Does the fact that blacks will probably die in grossly disproportionate numbers, at least initially, in defense of national interests outweigh the fact that the armed forces provide many blacks with their own bridge from the 'permanent underclass' to a better life?"
>
> —*Washington Post*, 12 December 1984

Judging by the Vietnam experience, the bosses have good reason to worry.

LNS

Black GI in jungles of Vietnam. Sign reads, "U.S. Negro Army-men! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home."

A whole wave of "coming home" books and movies have come out in recent years in an attempt to give the Vietnam vets a pat on the back as part of the Reaganite effort to erase the "Vietnam syndrome" and prepare for the next imperialist adventure. One book, *Bloods* (New York: Random House, 1984), by Wallace Terry, a black journalist who was *Time* magazine's deputy bureau chief in Saigon in 1967-69, claims to pay a "special debt" to the blacks who fought in Vietnam by retelling the oral accounts of 20 black vets. Outrageously, Terry tries to duck the issue of the war, even noting that in 1967 hc wrote in *Time* that "most black soldiers in Vietnam supported the war effort." He was rewarded for that cynical propaganda hy a personal meeting with LBJ at the White House. Nevertheless, the feelings of many black soldiers come through in the accounts in *Bloods*. Specialist 4 Charles Strong recounts:

> "I made a promise in 'Nam that I would never risk my life or limh to protect anybody else's property. I will protect my own. So this country is not going to tell me to go out again to stop the spread of communism.... I don't walk around blind anymore. If another war breaks out and they want me to go, I'd rather die. I'll fight anyone here in Ameriea. But if they come and get me to send to some other country, I'm going to have my gun ready for them."

Vietnam was America's dirtiest colonial war. U.S. forces and their Vietnamese puppets killed, maimed and tortured millions of Indochinese men, women and children before they were driven out in hloody and ignominious defeat in 1975. The vets' stories are brutal, and almost to a man—even the officers—they reflect on the fact that blacks were used and abused in the military, and got second-rate treatment as vets. The black soldier in Vietnam got shafted. He got the dirtiest front-line jobs while cushy positions in the rear were generally reserved for whites. Especially in the early years of the war, before the draft brought more whites into combat, blacks suffered a disproportionate number of casualties and deaths.

Racism and prejudice ran rampant, particularly in the rear areas. Confederate flags were everywhere and there were even cross burnings. On occasion, as Staff Sergeant Don Browne noted, black soldiers would fight back:

> "A few days after the assassination [of Martin Luther King], some of the white guys got a little sick and tired of seeing Dr. King's picture on the T.V screen. Like a memorial. It really got to one guy. He said, 'I wish they'd take that nigger's picture off.' He was a fool to begin with, hecause there were three black guys sitting in the living room when he said it. And we commenced to give him a lesson in when to use that word and when you should not use that word. A physical lesson."

In another incident, Specialist 4 Richard Ford reported that when some hlack troops came out of the field and saw a Confederate flag flying over the MP barracks in Nha Trang they announced, "Y'all the real enemy. We stayin' here," and ripped the place apart, overturning bunks, trashing stercos. But it was risky to stand up for your dignity; blacks who got "uppity" in base camp would often get sent back into the field.

A big reason that the U.S. army lost

G.I. VOICE

G.I.s and Black Power

July 1969 Issue of antiwar GI paper initiated by Spartacist supporters in the army.

on the battlefields of Vietnam was that the troops saw *no reason* to fight and die, and that was doubly true for the black soldier. One black vet, First Lieutenant Archie "Joe" Biggers, contrasted his own position with that of the "enemy":

> "The enemy would do anything to win. You had to respect that. They believed in a cause. They had the support of the people. That's the key that we Americans don't understand yet."

The turning point came with the 1968 Tet offensive, when the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched a full-scale offensive all across the south. It suddenly became clear to the American bourgeoisie that there was no "light at the end of the tunnel." Short of nuking the whole country—prevented by fear of what the Soviet Union's reaction would be—the glory boys of the imperialist war machine had no choice but to negotiate the terms of withdrawal. Draftees and enlisted men may have gone to 'Nam naive and willing to fight, hut they generally came out disillusioned, opposed to the war, burned, and often destroyed as human beings. Toward the end there was not just indiscipline but outright mutiny in the army:

> "According to Congressional data, US army convictions for 'mutiny and other acts involving willful refusal' in Vietnam rose from 82 in 1968 to 117 in 1969 and 131 in 1970....
>
> "From 1969 Vietnam brought a grim new word in the military lexicon—'fragging': in plain English, murder. The term fragging derived from the use of a fragmentation weapon, usually a hand-grenade, as the surest way of dispatching an unpopular officer. Between 1969 and 1971, according to Congressional data, the total number of 'fragging incidents'—including actual attempts at murder and intimidation—was 730, and eighty-three officers were killed this way. But these figures do not include assaults on officers with other weapons—rifles or knives—and by one official estimate there was sufficient evidence in only ten percent of suspected 'fraggings' to warrant investigation. The ratio of violence against officers in

> Vietnam was believed to be almost fifteen times as great as the grim trench-warfare of World War I."
>
> —Michael Maclear, *The Ten Thousand Day War* (1981)

"Fragging" was not a political protest, though the large number of incidents certainly shows vast demoralization of the troops and hatred for the war. The problem was the absence of revolutionary political organization inside the army. With its line of moral protest draft resistance ("we won't go"), the petty-bourgeois antiwar movement voluntarily isolated itself from potentially the most explosive antiwar "constituency": working-class, and particularly black, soldiers. In a leaflet mass-distributed at a 1967 antiwar march, the Spartacist League wrote:

> **"You WILL Go"**
>
> "Far from resisting the war, the voluntary purging of radicals from the army strengthens the ideological purity and political reliability of the army.... The Americans who suffer most from the war are the soldiers in Vietnam, and as the war grows longer and bloodier, discontent among G.I.s and its effect on prosecuting the war could be very great indeed."
>
> —"From Protest to Power" (21 October 1967)

While "peaceniks" holed up in the communes and campuses, preaching holier-than-thou moralism and pandering to spoiled college kids eager to preserve their class privileged 2-S deferments and avoid the harshness of army life, Marxists sought to bring about class polarization in the army, setting the proletarian ranks (and even sympathetic officers) against the top brass and their political bosses—the ultimate war criminals. As the Russian revolutionary and founder of the Soviet Red Army, Leon Trotsky, wrote, "an insurrection is, in essence, not so much a struggle against the army as a struggle *for* the army" (Trotsky, *1905*).

Bringing the War Home

From the beginning, black America was overwhelmingly against the racist war which took their sons and brothers off to die in the jungles of Indochina. Wallace Terry to the contrary, black soldiers knew that this wasn't the black man's war. When world heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali refused the draft in 1966, blacks throughout the country hailed his statement that "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." And the racist Georgia state legislature refused to seat civil rights leader Julian Bond, a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), citing SNCC's opposition to the Vietnam War. Even relative moderates like Martin Luther King were forced to speak out against the war in order to maintain credibility among the black masses. Vietnam played a major role in radicalizing young black militants. At the same time that SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael was calling for "black power" in 1966, he denounced the "illegal and immoral war." And when King, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins and the Urban League's Whitney Young pleaded with SNCC to call off an antiwar protest outside the wedding of LBJ's daughter, SNCC denounced the establishment black leaders as messengers for the White House.

Black veterans returning from Vietnam were particularly drawn to the Black Panther Party, which campaigned for black self-defense against racist victimization and cop terror. Private First Class Reginald "Malik" Edwards explained:

> "I had left one war and came back and got into another one. Most of the Panthers then were veterans.... We had already fought for the white man in Vietnam. It was clearly his war....
>
> "So I went to the Panther office in D.C. and joined. I felt the party was the only organization that was fighting the system.
>
> "I liked their independence. The fact that they had no fear of the police. Talking about self-determination. Trying to make Malcolm's message reality. This was the first time black people had stood up to the state since Nat Turner. I mean armed. It was obvious they wasn't gonna give us anything unless we stood up and were willing to die. They obviously didn't care anything about us, 'cause they had killed King."

The Panthers became the vanguard of black liberation in this period because they broke from the liberal preachers' dependence on the Democratic Party and organized militant black action. Geronimo Pratt was one of those vets who joined the Black Panthers. In Vietnam Pratt was wounded three times, received two purple hearts, two bronze stars for valor, one silver star, a soldier's medal, an army commendation medal, three combat infantry badges and master paratrooper's wings. And today he is fighting for his freedom after 14 years in jail on a frame-up murder charge growing out of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign to disrupt the Panthers and all radical black organizations.

Black America hated the Vietnam War. The war radicalized ghetto youth. Returning black veterans joined the most revolutionary-sounding black organization they could find. And the Northern ghettos were burning down as the black masses responded to cop terror, poverty and the murder of their leaders (King, Malcolm, prominent Panthers). Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of students were marching against the war, driving army recruiters off campus, even being shot down by the National Guard at Kent State. And yet the "antiwar movement" and the "black movement" remained separate. The antiwar movement never mobilized the masses of blacks against the racist imperialist war. The separate protests died out rather than flowing together in a revolutionary conflagration. Why?

It was the crisis of revolutionary leadership in the flesh. The New Left and reformist fakers glorified separate sectoralist struggles—students, blacks, women, workers. The "official" antiwar movement locked up in the popular-front coalition led by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) made it a virtue to refuse to address black oppression, stressing the need for a "single-issue" focus on the war! (The SWP's "contribution" to black liberation was the call to "bring our boys [the imperialist army] home and send them to Mississippi.") The more experienced pop-fronters of the Communist Party (CP) called for a "multi-issue" approach in order to attract different "constituencies." But their message to black people, after calling on them to vote Democratic for Lyndon Johnson against the "new fascist threat" represented by Goldwater, was to pressure LBJ to turn the "Great Society" hoax into reality! None of this had any appeal to ghetto blacks, who were fighting to *survive* in the face of war, poverty and repression.

The endless "peace" crawls were nothing more than a giant postcard to your Congressman, a walking ad in the *New York Times*, a pressure tactic aimed at shifting administration policy. But the impoverished black masses would never be attracted by such reformist tactics. *To mobilize the ghetto requires a struggle for power*, a fight against black oppression and class exploitation at home as well as imperialist war abroad. The Black Panthers, meanwhile, were caught in the nationalist trap, with nothing to offer but heroic gestures as the cops and feds murdered some of their leaders (and bought off the rest). The Spartacist League called for labor strikes against the war, for an "antiwar Friday," to mobilize the working class in *action*, just as we have fought for the unions to defend busing and for labor/black action to stop racist Klan terror. In contrast to the social patriots of the SWP and CP, we raised slogans of revolutionary proletarian internationalism: Turn the guns the other way! Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution! All Indochina must go Communist!

As the Vietnam War drew to an end, the prospects of working-class action were not far off. The same National Guard units which murdered students at Kent State were used to put down a Teamsters strike in Ohio in 1970. But to lead the struggles of the oppressed required a vanguard party of the proletariat. As we said in our leaflet,

continued on page 8

Foreign Languages Press

Heroic Vietnamese war against racist U.S. imperialism was inspiration to black struggle at home.

Malcolm X: Vietnam and the War at Home

Malcolm X struck a chord throughout black America when he told civil rights workers from Mississippi visiting Harlem in 1964:

> "Imagine that—a country that's supposed to be a democracy, supposed to be for freedom and all that kind of stuff, when they want to draft you and put you in the army and send you to Saigon to fight for them—and then you've got to turn around and all night long discuss how you're going to just get a right to register and vote without being murdered. Why, that's the most hypocritical government since the world began!"
>
> —*Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman

Black History Month Spartacist Events

SL/SYL Forum/Video Showing

John Brown and the Fight Against Slavery

- **Finish the Civil War!**
- **For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

Video: "We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!"

Tuesday, February 12, 7:30 p.m.
Mudd Library, Oberlin College
For more information (216) 775-6067

OBERLIN

Saturday, February 16, 7:30 p.m.
University Center, Room 362
Cleveland State University
For more information (216) 621-5138

CLEVELAND

SYL Forum

The Rise and Fall of the Black Panther Party

Speaker: Don Alexander, SL Central Committee
Thursday, February 21, 7:00 p.m.
Ackerman, Room 3525, UCLA
For more information (213) 384-9716

LOS ANGELES

SYL Forum

The Legacy of John Brown and Frederick Douglass—
Finish the Civil War!

Speaker: Ed Kartsen,
Leader of anti-KKK Labor/Black Mobilization, November 27, 1982, Washington, D.C.

Friday, February 15, 7:00 p.m.
Douglass 143, Howard University
For more information (202) 636-3537

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SYL Video Showing/Discussion

"November 27, 1982: We Stopped the Klan!"

Thursday, February 28, 7:45 p.m.
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
UW-Madison
For more information (608) 257-8625

MADISON

SYL Video Showing/Discussion

"November 27, 1982: We Stopped the Klan!"

Speaker: Cindy Beckum, SYL
Thursday, February 14, 7:00 p.m.
Room N402, Borough of Manhattan Community College
For more information (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

SYL Forum Series

Wednesdays, 12 noon
UC Berkeley

February 13
Class Struggle, Not Liberal Divestment Schemes—Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution in South Africa!
Black Oak Room, 4th floor
Student Union Building

February 20
Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement and the Struggle for Black Liberation
Tilden Room, 5th floor
Student Union Building

February 27
The FBI's War Against the Left and the Frame-Up of Geronimo Pratt
Tilden Room, 5th floor
Student Union Building

For more information (415) 835-1535

BAY AREA

Guillermo...

(continued from page 2)

run off the campuses at the height of the Vietnam War are reappearing today as part of the Reagan-led, bipartisan drive to unleash counterrevolution from Central America to the Soviet Union. Solidarity with the victims of U.S. imperialism's murder machine means militant opposition to *all* military recruiters and spy agencies. And should the U.S. government need to augment its armed forces recruiting with the reinstitution of a draft, you can bet the Reagan-years liberals and campus editors will be singing a different tune, railing for student deferments to save their white middle-class asses.

Meanwhile, what really *is* under attack is the right of students to oppose the imperialist butchers. The cop assault on Bermúdez is only the most violent and dangerous of recent attempts by UC administrators and their cops to repress political opposition:

- On December 7, 38 anti-apartheid protesters were arrested during a sit-in at UC Berkeley. They face jail terms and/or restrictive probation conditions designed to bar future protests.
- The campus cops recently confiscated a literature table of the Campaign Against Apartheid, set up in an "unauthorized" area.
- On February 1, "Choke Hold" Johnson, the cop who assaulted Bermúdez, intervened in a UC Divestment Coalition rally to prevent a black activist from speaking because he was not previously registered with the cops and could not produce a student registration card.

Young Spartacus

The day after cops broke his arm, defiant Guillermo Bermúdez speaks at defense rally.

In their drive to regiment youth for the holy war against "communism," the UC authorities are lining up with their cohorts at SF State University, who have "banned" the SYL and beaten and arrested young Marxists for distributing literature. But the two-bit thought police will not succeed! The SYL is in the forefront of mobilizing opposition to administration/cop repression, and is calling on campus political groups to join in united-front actions to beat back these attacks.

Drop the charges against Guillermo Bermúdez! Drop the charges against the Anti-Apartheid 38! Cops off campus! ■

Vietnam War...

(continued from page 7)

"From Protest to Power": "With the widespread discontent over the war, the rising militancy and restiveness in the labor movement, and the explosiveness of the black ghettos, the prospect for initiating such a party is better now than at any time in the last twenty years." The antiwar movement could stop the warmongers, we said, only if the White House was more afraid of it than of the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution.

At the height of the antiwar movement, a famous joke depicted Pat Nixon looking out the White House windows and watching an antiwar demonstration drawing near. "Call out the 82nd Airborne," says President Nixon. "But dear," replies his wife, "it *is* the 82nd Airborne." Open defiance was breaking out inside the army—at Fort Hood, for instance, 43 black soldiers refused to go to Chicago for the August 1968 Democratic convention to be used against the antiwar demonstrators outside the convention. *Bloods* recounts the story of another black soldier at Fort Carson who also refused to go to Chicago: "I told them I'm not going there holding no weapon in front of my brothers and sisters," said Specialist 4 Haywood Kirkland.

At Fort Sam Houston (Texas) black GIs put out a pamphlet containing statements and a poem supporting "Black Power" and opposing the Vietnam War. At Camp Pendleton (California) black Marines organized a group based on the Black Panthers' Ten Point program. Throughout all branches of the service, black soldiers inspired by the civil rights movement and the Panthers organized "Black Power" groups and militant protests against racist discrimination. Often overlapping with this Black Power movement in the armed forces were integrated groups of GIs which published antiwar newsletters. Even in Vietnam, black GIs staged antiwar protests, like the reported demonstration at the U.S. base at Qui Nhon on 30 July 1969 by over a hundred black soldiers who battled police and marched on the local airport demanding an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Today as the U.S. imperialists plan their new adventures in Central America and elsewhere, they are haunted by the "Vietnam syndrome." Even the Grenada walkover brought forth a heroic refusal to fight from inside the Marine Corps, from black corporal Alfred Griffin. What will be the result of a bloody intervention in Nicaragua, worried Pentagon planners ask. Basing himself on the experience of the 1905 Russian Revolution, Trotsky wrote:

> "Only when the soldiers become convinced that the people have come out into the streets for a life-and-death struggle—not to demonstrate against the government but to overthrow it—does it become psychologically possible for them to 'cross over to the side of the people'."
>
> —Trotsky, *1905*

For the working class, *Vietnam was a victory!* Forward to proletarian revolution! What's needed is a fight not to change the "priorities" of U.S. imperialism, but to overthrow the murderous capitalist system which has brought death and destruction to the masses from Hanoi to Watts. ■

British Miners...

(continued from page 4)

"pro-Sovietism," pleads, "The basis for talks exists.... Force the NCB to the talks." Thatcher would agree: the basis for talks exists as long as "everything" —jobs, victimisations, closures, union rights—is up for sale.

The workers of Britain need a genuinely communist party, like the Bolshevik Party which in 1917 led the Russian workers to the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a planned economy. Particularly in the midst of Reagan/Thatcher's drive toward anti-Soviet nuclear war, defence of the social gains of the Russian Revolution, despite its subsequent Stalinist degeneration, remains a touchstone for those prepared to wage class struggle against capitalism. Those forces within the international labour movement who are most ardent in their support of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, the CIA "union" which is the *cause célèbre* for anti-Soviet warmongers, are also the most hostile to a miners' victory. The American AFL-CIO, which has funnelled millions to Solidarność, has donated not one penny to the British miners. And the German social-democratic-led metal workers union IG Metall (another big booster of Walesa's cause) has actually been sending money collected for the miners to the British steel workers union, which is openly scabbing on the strike.

UPI

Miners' leader Arthur Scargill, hauled away and arrested at Orgreave coking plant, site of biggest picket line battle where Thatcher's mounted cops ran amok.

The CIA-loving bureaucrats recognise the repercussions a miners' victory would have internationally, particularly throughout West Europe, in throwing a spanner [monkey wrench] into the imperialists' anti-working-class onslaught and plans for anti-Soviet war. At the same time, the outpouring of international solidarity for the miners, from the Soviet Union to France and Ireland, offers vivid counterposition to the nationalist schemes for import controls preached by the Labour/TUC "lefts," the NUM leadership included. And it contrasts sharply with the narrow nationalism all too typical of the Stalinist bureaucracies, worst, exemplified by the Polish government's scandalous shipments of scab coal to Britain. The Spartacist League is committed to a programme of international socialist revolution, and to the construction of a revolutionary workers party in Britain forged through splitting the Labour Party's working-class base away from its reformist misleaders of all stripes.

In the very first days of this strike, we wrote:

> "Given the outright political disarray and betrayal of all those claiming to represent politically the wings of British labour and liberalism, the struggle on the industrial front is the only evident immediate tool for British workers.... With the full weight of the capitalist state breathing down upon the miners' necks, simple trade union tactics point directly to a general strike, and that poses the question of power. The reformist limitations of simple trade unionism, no matter how militant, are being put to the severest test and the abject servility of the Labour/TUC tops laid bare."
>
> —*Spartacist Britain* supplement, 23 March 1984

With the future of the British labour movement and oppressed hanging in the balance over the next crucial days, we say again and with particular urgency: No sellout—For a new, fighting strategy for victory! Rail, road, docks: strike with the miners! Forge a fighting Triple Alliance to launch a general strike! ■

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Butcher Sharon...

(continued from page 1)

feel like 1984. The truth is a lie, and the lie is truth" (CBS News).

But no slimy legal maneuvers in New York will remove from humanity's collective memory the grisly sight of those camps, the corpses piled high or sprawled in rows on the ground. It recalled nothing so much as the horror of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. It was impossible to count the victims, for as the *New York Times* (20 September 1982) wrote:

> "...no one has any idea how many bodies were taken off in the scoops of bulldozers, how many were driven away and killed outside of the camp and how many were buried under buildings that were intentionally bulldozed to cover up bullet-ridden men, women and children."

Now Sharon wants the world to believe his indisputable guilt as the war-criminal-in-chief of this genocide against the Palestinians has been obliterated by a supposed error in *Time*'s reporting.

Thousands of miles away in New York, the stench of mass murder still clings so heavily to Sharon that even the jurors sensed his guilt. Noting that "most of the jurors felt the same way as she did about Mr. Sharon," one told the press, "I felt he knew there could be a massacre...I wanted to believe what *Time* said. But there just wasn't any proof" (*Wall Street Journal*, 25 January). In fact, there's plenty of evidence which has been willfully suppressed by the Zionist state and Washington.

Sharon's "Final Solution"

The Zionist holocaust of September 1982 was met with such revulsion and shock both within Israel and internationally that even Israel's whitewashing Kahan Commission coyly suggested Sharon resign as Defense Minister. (He was immediately reappointed to the cabinet.) The only debate within Israel is whether Sharon's massacre was a bad thing or a good thing; that it is *his* is not in dispute. Just after the Sabra/Shatila massacres, the *New York Times* (19 September 1982) Jerusalem correspondent wrote that months beforehand:

> "Israeli officials were speaking privately of a plan, being considered by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, to allow the Phalangists to go into west Beirut and the camps against the Palestine Liberation Organization. The calculation was that the Phalangists, with old scores to settle and detailed information on the Palestinian fighters, would be more ruthless than the Israelis and probably more effective."

Recall that Israel's blitzkrieg invasion of Lebanon was undertaken with the express determination to "purify" the region of Palestinians. In September, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was disarmed and expelled by an imperialist "peacekeeping" force comprised of U.S., French, British and Italian units. The Zionists seized West Beirut and surrounded the defenseless Palestinian camps. While the Israeli army manned the checkpoints, fascistic Muslim-hating Christian forces of the Phalangist Damuri Brigade and Saad Haddad's Lebanese Forces were trucked in.

What ensued was *three days* of mass slaughter by these forces coordinated by and under the direct auspices of Sharon. The Israelis launched flares so that the killing could continue into the night, and provided food rations to the Phalangists. It was Sharon's "final solution" to the Palestinian "problem"; the Phalangists were to him what the Lithuanian and Ukrainian *Einsatzkommandos* and Croatian Ustashi were to Hitler. Sabra and Shatila were part of a calculated plan of extermination; as noted by the popular Israeli pulp magazine of Uri Avneri:

> "This was supposed to be the last stage of the 'large plan'—driving the Palestinians out of Beirut and Lebanon by brutal massacres that would drive the Palestinians to run away. And by mid-September the Israeli army and the Falangists, following orders from Sharon and Raful [Israeli army chief of staff], began with the last stage of the plan. The massacre of Sabra and Shatila was no accident but part of the 'large plan'."
>
> —*Haolam Hazeh*, 8 June 1983, from Israel Shahak

Like the 1948 slaughter of Arab villagers at Deir Yassin, this massacre was also intended to sow terror in the Palestinian population and get them to flee for their lives.

The People Who Brought You Sabra/Shatila

The trial itself revolved around a passage of the *Time* article describing Sharon's visit to the Gemayel family just after Lebanese president Bashir Gemayel was blown away (quite possibly by one of his fellow homicidal maniacs in the Phalange or even by the Israelis, who were furious at Gemayel's failure to launch military action at the time of the invasion). *Time*'s article refers to discussions of Phalangist "revenge" for the assassination between Sharon and the Gemayels, asserting that a classified Appendix B to the Kahan Commission report would verify the story. But the commission report had as its main purpose the concealment of Israel's direct responsibility for the massacres, so not surprisingly, Appendix B was bereft of such information. The Israeli government refused pointblank to hand over the bulk of the documentation requested by *Time*. When attorneys for the magazine sought to interview Israeli military and intelligence officials, these officials were threatened in writing that should they talk, the government would prosecute under Israel's draconian "national security" laws. Two key figures—General Amir Drori who commanded the Israeli forces in Lebanon and a Mossad agent present when Sharon met with the Gemayels—were in the U.S. this September. *Time* served them with subpoenas and within hours they had newly acquired diplomatic status rendering them immune from U.S. legal proceedings.

Meanwhile, a staggering deluge of hypocritical "concern" over the accuracy of the bourgeois press serves as the apologia for what is in fact the manifest obeisance of the U.S. press to Washington's line on any given subject. Alexander Cockburn accurately remarked: "this bullying swine has successfully terrorized the U.S. media" (*The Nation*, 12 January):

> "Let the record be clear. Since the day of its inception *Time* has been a bully-ragging propaganda sheet, masking together factoids and fantasy in the cause of the cold war, capitalism and the American way.... Now an even greater bully, about whom it told the essential truth, is manipulating opinion with the same techniques. This is the great irony....
>
> "There are plenty of witnesses available, but perhaps *Time* finds them discomfiting. Perhaps it feels that the truth about Sharon could not be told without excessive perturbation of U.S.-Israeli public relations."

The fact is that the White House, through General Haig, gave Sharon the green light to invade Lebanon. Washington did have its tactical differences with Israel over how to run the extermination operation against the PLO (the Americans wanted to get the support of conservative Lebanese Muslims), and they felt doublecrossed by Sharon's seizure of West Beirut. The U.S. certainly knew Sabra and Shatila was coming. A few hours before the slaughter began, then Israeli chief of staff Rafael Eitan told U.S. envoy Morris Draper:

> "Yesterday we spoke with the Phalange about their plans. They don't have a strong command.... They're obsessed with the idea of revenge. I'm telling you that some of their commanders visited me, and I could see in their eyes that it's going to be a relentless slaughter."
>
> —quoted in Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War* (New York, 1984)

WV Photo

San Francisco, September 1982: Spartacist League raises cry of outrage against Zionist massacre at Sabra/Shatila refugee camps.

The State Department may not feel that Sharon's plans for a Greater Israel extending from the Nile to the Euphrates fit into its own plans for an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the region. But the bottom line is that Israel is *the* junior partner of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast. And it certainly makes it more difficult for the Democratic-controlled Congress and Reagan to shovel billions of dollars into the Zionist arsenal so key to the U.S. anti-Soviet alliance if a prominent cabinet member, not to mention aspiring prime minister, is a certified war criminal. So it was "good business" all around to try and scrape some of the filth from Sharon's reputation here.

"Just Following Orders"

In Sharon's case, however, "rehabilitation" from blood-drenched monster into "free world warrior" will take more than some media disinformation. A personification of that straight line of Zionist atrocities from Deir Yassin to Sabra/Shatila, Sharon's name can be linked with Nazi-like terror and genocide against the Palestinians far, far back. It was to him that Israel's founder Ben-Gurion entrusted the infamous Unit 101—a killer elite which in one of its first operations massacred 70 men, women and children at Kibiyeh, inside Jordan. Sharon personally led the squad that put explosives in the Arab houses. Asked about this 1953 atrocity while in the U.S., Sharon replied, "I implemented an order that I got" (*Nation*, 12 January). In his pursuit of "terrorists" (i.e., all Palestinians) in the Gaza Strip in 1971, Sharon had "hundreds of families, including thousands of people, men, women, babies too... removed from Gaza and imprisoned in a concentration camp in the middle of the Sinai desert, in Abu Zuneima. Each family was kept there until its member hiding from Sharon was found and killed" (Israel Shahak, "General Ariel Sharon," August-September 1981). His career was summarized by one senior Israeli military officer: "Sharon can kill Arabs better than anyone else" (*Davar*, 11 February 1983).

To publicly delve into Sharon's own career is to touch the truth about Zionist policies of extermination of the Palestinians as a people. Such an accounting is contrary to the interests of the genocidal U.S. rulers who embrace the Zionists as allies in the U.S. drive for war against the Soviet Union, the ultimate holocaust. So the people who brought you Sabra/Shatila now bring you the "moral victory" for Sharon in New York. Oddly enough, they are some of the same people who helped bring you the Nazi extermination of six million Jews—from the Zionist collaborators to the U.S. imperialists who refused to lift a finger or open a border, despite their knowledge of the death camps early on. As for *Time* magazine, it's not "objectivity" that leads these rabid right-wingers to occasionally tell a small part of the bloody truth about Zionist terror. *Time* founder Henry Luce himself proclaimed Adolf Hitler "man of the year" back in 1936.

The United States government and its clients abroad are the biggest mass murderers in the business. To be sure, the Israelis borrowed a page from their American mentors when they denied direct responsibility for Sabra/Shatila; the U.S. claims that in El Salvador uncontrolled death squads are responsible for over 50,000 dead. But the Zionists add their own touch. Then prime minister Begin's comment on the worldwide condemnation of the massacre at Sabra and Shatila was: "*Goyim* [pejorative for non-Jews] kill *goyim* and they immediately come to hang the Jews." Cynically using the Holocaust (*hashoah* in Hebrew) as an excuse for every crime committed by the government has become so common in Israel that it spawned the saying, "There's no business like *shoah* business."

The only way out of the bloody "business" of genocide is to rid the planet of the dying capitalist system which breeds it and creatures like Sharon. Then we will convene the only trial he deserves: with a jury composed of his Palestinian victims. If justice is to be served, the proceedings should be swift. As we wrote after the Sabra/Shatila massacre (*WV* No. 314, 1 October 1982):

> "Today the Palestinians face the Zionist holocaust. But there are only three million Jews in a sea of 150 million Arabs. Israel's military expansionism and mass terror against the Arabs ultimately lead to the self-destruction of the Hebrew-speaking people. Some day the IDF will be cracked, and then the Begins, Sharons and Peres will be tempted to launch their nuclear bombs at Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, even if this means provoking the ultimate holocaust. On the eve of World War II, Trotsky projected that the Zionist settlements in Palestine would become a deathtrap for the Jews. The bloody terror of the Israeli war machine only makes that fate more certain. If the Jewish people in the Near East are to be anything other than a catalyst for a nuclear World War III, the Zionist state must be smashed." ■

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Gross/Koch...

(continued from page 12)

happens every day in the streets of New York. The *Village Voice* counted more than 200 civilians in NYC gunned down by cop bullets between 1978 and 1983 alone. In Los Angeles they specialize in the choke hold—in New York, alleged "perpetrators" regularly "fall down the subway steps." And to explain it all away the police and the D.A. commit mass perjury as a matter of course. This is routine functioning. Gross overdid it, so Gross will go. But meanwhile the cops are asserting their "right to kill" with an ominous bonapartist "fear city" mobilization. It's the age of Koch in Reagan's America.

Koch's Coroner

The *Times* series focused on two notorious cases in the last couple years. Eleanor Bumpurs, an overweight and ailing black grandmother in the Bronx, was murdered by an eviction squad last October for failure to pay $386 in back rent. (Police Commissioner Ward hypocritically claimed that the cops were only there "to safeguard a mentally ill person who does not voluntarily seek medical assistance.") After the cops broke down her door, a police sharpshooter blasted her right hand (in which she was allegedly holding a kitchen knife); then, when she was completely incapacitated, he leveled a second shot at her chest and killed her. The pathologist who performed the autopsy, Dr. Pearl, says Gross repeatedly telephoned him asking how many shots hit Mrs. Bumpurs and ordered him to refer to a single "shotgun wound." But Pearl could identify at least ten pellets and probably more (a 12-gauge shotgun round contains only nine pellets), and he instead wrote "shotgun wounds (two)" in defiance.

Michael Stewart, a former art student at Pratt Institute and son of a retired transit worker, was arrested for painting graffiti at the subway station at First Avenue and 14th Street in September 1983. When he arrived at Bellevue an hour later in a coma, an examining physician, Dr. Robert Wolf, said that Stewart had received bruises on "all major portions of his body, without exception" and that "the most likely source of the wounds was a beating." After he died, Gross performed the autopsy in the presence of two transit police detectives. Gross' report made no mention of the 60 hemorrhages and concluded the cause of death was "cardiac arrest," i.e., he died because his heart stopped beating. But there was one particularly gross piece of evidence of police brutality: Stewart's eyes had hemorrhaged, a standard sign of strangulation, for example from a choke hold. So the day after the autopsy was performed, the ghoulish Gross returned to the morgue and dug out Stewart's eyes, placing them in a solution that bleaches out any trace of blood. Dr. Wolf concluded: "It was homicide... and Dr. Gross tried to cover it up."

One of the most excruciating of the cases reported was that of Allen Shapiro, 38, a former employee of the New York Public Library, who died at the Manhattan Psychiatric Center in March 1979. An attendant tried to show off by applying a choke hold, which made Mr. Shapiro go unconscious and, when he regained consciousness, to suffer a seizure. He was then placed in a straitjacket and tied to a bed. As a result of medication and the straitjacket his body temperature was raised to 106 degrees, and after being fed in this condition food entered his breathing passage, blocking his lungs. His hyoid bone, near the voice box, had been broken, a standard sign of strangulation. The examining pathologist listed these as cause of death, saying it should be classified as homicide; a review board concurred. But as chief medical examiner, Dr. Gross refused to allow this finding, and there was no prosecution.

The Bumpurs and Stewart cases were so atrocious that they were already well known throughout the city. Yet nothing was done about it. Stung by complaints of inaction, Koch released to reporters a 37-page memorandum he had ordered prepared on the Michael Stewart case last summer. The memo's conclusion: "on the whole the matter was handled properly"! The *Times* series went on to show numerous other cases of malfeasance, inconsistent testimony and incompetent errors in diagnosis and a general breakdown of the once-celebrated medical examiner's office now marked by lack of supplies, antiquated instruments, inaccurate record-keeping, resignations of competent doctors, etc. Thus today New York is the only city in the country which does not report statistics of drug-related deaths even though there are more in NYC than anywhere else. But Gross isn't just incompetent, he's a criminal.

Gross was appointed by Koch in 1979. He was put in to replace then-chief medical examiner Michael Baden who Koch had just fired. The medical community was outraged, for Baden was known nationwide for his integrity and independence—just what Koch and Manhattan district attorney Robert Morgenthau had against him. Baden was "not cooperative." When Arthur Miller, a black community leader in Brooklyn's Crown Heights, was set upon by the cops and choked to death with a nightstick, Baden told the truth. The *Daily News* (25 June 1978) reported: "According to Chief Medical Examiner Michael Baden, the hold can also fracture the larynx, thereby blocking the windpipe and causing asphyxiation. This, Baden says, is the type of injury that killed Miller...." "This death," Baden told the *News*, "raises issues that have been raised in the past about people who died in custody. We went through this a while ago with tear gas."

But what really got them was when former governor Nelson Rockefeller died. In firing Baden, Koch cited complaints from Manhattan D.A. Morgenthau and charges in a letter from Health Commissioner Ferrer that Dr. Baden, in a hospital lecture on Rockefeller's death, had "included a number of details not previously presented in such fashion as to indicate that the Governor had died during sexual intercourse." As we noted in our article, "He Died with His Boots Off" (*WV* No. 224, 2 February 1979), Rockefeller was with his young staff assistant who, said a family spokesman, had arrived at the Manhattan brownstone "wearing a long black evening gown." Ferrer added "regarding the death of Arthur Miller, Dr. Baden issued a report...prematurely and without sufficient data." Baden wouldn't go along with a cover-up. So Koch got somebody who would.

Koch's Cops

At a press conference February 3, Gross denied all (while changing his story on the Stewart case), arguing "it is not in my interest or...the city to participate in a cover-up." Oh no? If you're a young male black or Hispanic, your life is at risk in any encounter with the police. Like the guy who allegedly drew a "sharp object" against a cop in Brooklyn the other day and then "took a little fall down the subway."

But you don't have to be a minority to end up in the morgue with a police bullet in you—the cops do it to anyone who crosses them. We recall the 1982 case of 25-year-old Richard Sirigiano, a white guy standing on a Queens street corner when he was shot twice by an off-duty cop who had spent the evening barhopping and had earlier pulled a gun on six bar patrons. The cop tried to run Sirigiano down; when an argument ensued the cop hit him with a bottle, and finally shot Sirigiano as he was fleeing. Once you get your tail in the wringer you get treated the same as anyone in the ghetto.

And after the bullets come the lies. That's where Dr. Gross comes in. A lie is a verbal form of violence. The coroner's claim that a "suspect tripped and hit his head on the pavement" is just as essential a part of this murder machine as the cop who beats with his nightstick, chokes with the choke hold, or pulls the trigger. To justify the killing of Eleanor Bumpurs the cops claimed there was a "funny smell" coming from her apartment, so they thought she might be "cooking lye" to throw at her attackers. The ones who were cooking lies were the police! When the cop who shot Mrs. Bumpurs was finally indicted, he was suspended... for one day. And even this token gesture sparked a bonapartist demonstration by the cops as all 250 officers of the emergency service unit demanded transfers.

The whole capitalist criminal justice system is an edifice of violence and lies. The prosecutors lie, the cops lie and the judges go blind. Central to this is the lie that everything the cops say is the truth, whether they're lying to cover for some crime, or just because they're lazy, because not lying would involve doing some work. Still, most places in America the ruling class pulls this stuff only when they have to. But in NYC, where the contradictions of U.S. capitalism are particularly acute, the state power is responding with grotesque depravity as standard operating procedure. Koch is running New York City like it's El Salvador. Even though no right-winger believes it, New York is still supposed to be part of the United States. And the *Times* wants to bring things back into line.

The police and district attorney's office commit mass perjury as a matter of course. Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau got Baden fired and Gross hired with a letter to Koch complaining about Baden's "lack of cooperation" with the prosecutor. The *Village Voice* (15 July 1981) noted Morgenthau is known for trading on his "distinguished family" background (his father was secretary of the treasury under FDR) and has a "strangely contradictory reputation for toughness and liberalism." But this is the hallmark of New York D.A.'s. Brooklyn district attorney Elizabeth Holtzman ran as the Democrats' liberal darling for Congress, but as prosecutor trying the white racist punks that murdered black transit worker Willie Turks in Gravesend, she got a jury with no blacks that gave two of the killers a slap on the wrist. The rest of the lynch mob walked.

The prosecutor's favorite device is the grand jury, where all proceedings are secret, there's no defense, and the authorities are not accountable. The grand jury is the D.A.'s rubber stamp. So in the case of Michael Stewart, when a courageous juror, schoolteacher Ronald Fields, did exactly what he was supposed to do, namely investigate, the judge claimed the proceedings were "tainted" and threw out even the mild manslaughter indictments. When the grand jury investigated Bernhard Goetz, however, and did exactly what Morgenthau wanted them to, he disclaimed all responsibility because the jury was "independent." The Koch clique obviously didn't want to have an explosive murder trial during election year. But they're going to try Goetz on what for the bourgeoisie is the crime of crimes: having a gun that hasn't been hired by "Punch" Sulzberger.

Koch's Crimes

The Gross case is just lifting the lid of the can of worms that is the Koch administration: violence, lies, frame-ups, murder, and total corruption. Koch pictures himself as an Israeli military commander on the West Bank, blacks and Hispanics are Arabs, and turnstile jumpers are PLO "terrorists." He'd like to build a barrier at 59th Street—no blacks will get out unless they have a labor pass. But a section of the bourgeoisie is getting worried. With all the heat at the police brutality hearings in the summer of '83, when angry blacks chased Koch out of Harlem, the *Times* probably figures Dr. Elliot Gross is a man likely to touch off a riot. And with Koch coming up for re-election, they want Gross out now.

So in the midst of the uproar over Goetz, and concerned about what happens when the population "takes the law into its own hands," a member of the *Times* editorial board, Roger Starr, wrote a companion piece to the Gross exposé in the 27 January *New York Times Magazine*. The article called for mass arrests of subway graffiti painters and turnstile jumpers, streamlining the numerous police forces, more jails, thousands of new cops, and of course, the old racist standby, "strengthen family structure" in the "crime-prone population"—i.e., explicitly blacks and Hispanics. The article is so shameless that it looks back with nostalgia to the way America took care of crime after the Civil War—when the "crime-prone population," namely the poor, was weeded out through disease. Starr harks back to a hundred years ago when "some of the potential killers...died of diseases like tuberculosis before they grew old enough to kill." The bourgeoisie's "anti-crime" program is: kill 'em off, or lock 'em up.

But of course impoverished slums and brutal prisons are the breeding grounds for crime. The fact that ghetto unemployment is so great that *almost half* of all adult able-bodied black men in the United States don't have regular full-time work obviously makes it pretty hard to maintain a stable family. With gun control the rulers keep the public unprotected, fearful and vulnerable, and then they are shocked that there is a wave of sympathy for Goetz. And they've got a putrid "justice" system slightly more squalid than Nero's Rome. No wonder they worry that New York could be burning. Koch and his coroner and his cops and his class are guilty of crimes against the people. It will take socialist revolution to sweep out the filth from the White House to Wall Street to the New York City morgue. ■

Take a Walk, Cops!

When New York City policeman Stephen Sullivan was indicted last week for killing black Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, all 252 members of the NYPD Emergency Service Unit ominously requested transfers in protest. In a bonapartist cop mobilization February 5, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association also objected to new orders that shotguns not be brought to situations involving "emotionally disturbed persons." The cops' action is an attempted coup against any form of civilian control. And they mean business: the ESU is New York's SWAT team disguised as a rescue unit.

At the same time the PBA told the civilian authorities to shove it, facetiously demanding a supervisor's written instructions before using force, and in the Bronx and Brooklyn (where they are pissed at the district attorneys for prosecuting cops) a countersignature from an assistant D.A. They want to remind Koch that he *needs* his badge-toting gunmen to enforce racist capitalist "law and order." These cops are the sworn enemies of blacks, the poor, labor and the left, and if they want to go on "strike" then make it permanent.

The 252 cops who are demanding an unrestricted license to murder should take a long walk. The ESU killer elite should be dissolved forthwith. And Sullivan the killer cop should be behind bars. Smash police bonapartism!

Geronimo Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

blatant frame-up murder rap, despite the fact that he can prove by the FBI's own wiretaps and surveillance logs that he was 500 miles away at the time of the crime; despite the fact that he was convicted only after the jury deliberated for nine days, reaching a stalemate on six different occasions; despite the fact that reams of documents released through the Freedom of Information Act decisively prove the government conspiracy to "get" Pratt and the Panthers!

The massive FBI COINTELPRO operation was aimed at "neutralizing" the radical ghetto-based Black Panther Party for Self Defense and other militant black groups during the late 1960s and early '70s. Across the country some 38 Panthers were killed, some mowed down in the streets, others murdered in their beds. At the hearing, the defense tried to bring out the extent of the Los Angeles COINTELPRO net—how the deadly LAPD Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) and FBI "Anti-Extremist Squad 2" targeted radical black leaders on a special "Key Black Extremist" (KBE) list, how each Panther leader had a special agent assigned to him, with informants sometimes reporting in as often as three times a day. Hanlon told *WV* that "The real attack of COINTELPRO did not come out in the hearing because the judge did not want to go into what COINTELPRO was. But we touched on it, the fact that he [Pratt] was targeted for neutralization, that he was a number one priority."

On the stand retired FBI agent Wesley Swearingen detailed some of the COINTELPRO operation. He certainly ought to know. Represented by attorney Charles Garry, Swearingen testified to his 25-year career in the FBI, five years in the Communist Party, tracking Puerto Rican nationalists, spying on Chicago Panthers. He received a commendation from J. Edgar Hoover for sending up Weatherman Sam Melville for the bombing of the New York Federal Building—Melville died a martyr in the Attica rebellion. Assigned to FBI "Squad 1" in Los Angeles, Swearingen testified he saw the documents when wiretaps began and ended on four telephones at Panther headquarters for the critical five days between December 15 and December 20 which prove Pratt was in Oakland attending Panther leadership meetings, not in Santa Monica 500 miles away. These wiretap logs are now "missing." Swearingen swore that in his 25 years with the FBI there were no other cases of missing wiretaps.

AP

Thousands of outraged demonstrators jam L.A. Hall of Justice in December 1969 demanding freedom for Pratt and other arrested Panthers.

Julio Butler, ex-Black Panther and a former sheriff's deputy, was the key witness in the trial which convicted Pratt, claiming he had "confessed" to Butler. Butler lied on the stand about working with the FBI and other police agencies. At the hearing FBI agent Richard Held, head of L.A. COINTELPRO at the time, tried to deny that Butler was an informant. Held admitted talking with Butler because he was "knowledgeable," that Butler "provided information" as a "good citizen." Hanlon pointed to *33 documented contacts* between Butler and the FBI where he passed on information. Butler passed on reports about the weapons the Panthers allegedly had. The judge asked if that wasn't being an informant. "In a certain sense," he was. Held finally admitted.

The last two days of the hearing consisted of more such "testimony" as various FBI and CCS agents paraded across the stand, all remembering that they had "no memory," "couldn't recall" and were "vague" about: wiretaps on Panther headquarters they themselves ordered installed, written reports they themselves authorized on the arrest of two other suspects for the Olsen murder, their agencies' relations with each other, or with informant Butler.

On the final day J. Edgar Hoover came alive in Kronenburg's courtroom. Richard Blouser, head of "Anti-Extremist Squad 2," admitted straight out about Pratt: "We wanted to render him ineffective." When asked what Hoover's directive to "neutralize" the Black Panthers meant, Blouser said agents were told to "use imagination"! They used their imagination all right, like on 8 December 1969 when hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers and dynamite surrounded Panther headquarters where Pratt was sleeping, and as helicopters circled overhead, submitted the house to a five-hour barrage.

Don Andrews of the Spartacist League Central Committee, who covered the Pratt hearing for *WV*, summed up: "Despite disclaimers, FBI head agent Blouser's unabashed admission speaks volumes about the innocence of Pratt whose freedom must be made a vital issue for the working class. It will take militant mass integrated class-struggle defense led by race- and class-conscious black workers to free Geronimo Pratt. Right after the '69 cop assault on Panther headquarters, thousands of people marched on the L.A. Hall of Justice demanding the arrested Panthers be freed. That's what should happen today."

As Marxists we say to the workers and oppressed: No reliance on the bosses' courts, cops and politicians, but only on the power of independent mobilization of the working class and its allies. The full counterrevolutionary scope of COINTELPRO and its massive crimes against the Panthers and other black militants will be unearthed when the working class, led by a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party, takes power by smashing the decrepit capitalist system through socialist revolution. The working class will not forget and surely will not forgive such bestial crimes. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt!

Contributions to Geronimo Pratt's defense may be sent to: Prisoners Litigation Trust Fund, earmarked "Geronimo Pratt." Mail to: c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Street, San Francisco, California 94103.■

Ed Meese...

(continued from page 3)

Committee on Un-American Activities about his leading role in COINTELPRO activities.

According to Ron Ridenhour, an investigative reporter for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (29 January) whose inquiries sparked the investigation into the My Lai massacre, in the late '60s and early '70s, Meese was up to his eyeballs in a secret Pentagon operation code-named GARDEN PLOT. This little-known domestic espionage and provocation operation was the military's counterpart of the FBI's COINTELPRO and the CIA's Operation CHAOS. It not only included the usual widespread spying on antiwar, left and black activists, it was centered on joint training exercises of military, police and "intelligence" forces to put down political demonstrations. Ridenhour reports that in the scenarios of this "National Master Plan for Civil Disturbance Control":

> "The contingency plan invariably moved from some minor incident through a steadily escalating series of confrontations between police or soldiers and political demonstrators or racial antagonists until a declaration of 'martial rule' was issued and the military stepped in and assumed control."

Coordinated GARDEN PLOT action was taken against the mass protests after the May 1970 announcement of the bombing in Cambodia. All over the country phalanxed cops met protesters with clubs and mass arrests. When GARDEN PLOTters from across the country—local cops and secret police, provocateurs and spies—met in Sacramento that May 27-28 to trade "war stories," Edwin Meese was the keynote speaker who congratulated them on behalf of Reagan and Nixon. Meese called for even more police power on the streets and pointed to the courts to join in more forcefully, "to make sure that those people who have been convicted of revolutionary activity [!] ...are given punishments, penalties that are consistent with the degree of public disorder."

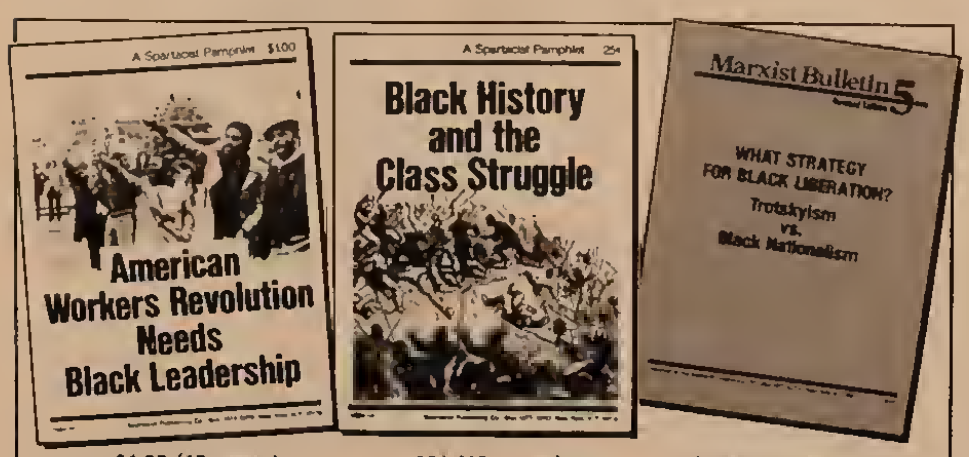
Fight the New McCarthyism!

Meese not only set up leftists as some kind of "terrorists," he also organized the police agencies to gun them down. Meese was vice chairman of the commission which turned out the first California "Organized Crime Report." These reports went on to list left-wing political groups, including the Spartacist League, as "terrorists" and "organized crime" outfits to open them up to the use of the government's RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) "conspiracy" net with its grand jury probes and legal witchhunting measures. The successful Spartacist League lawsuit against then-attorney general of California George Deukmejian forced the attorney general's office to publicly retract its smear of the SL. This campaign struck a blow against the new McCarthyism of Meese et al., as we campaigned under the banner: "Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!"

Today the mobilization of the secret police and legal apparatus against enemies portrayed as "terrorists" has found sinister expression in the 1983 FBI Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism and Reagan's National Security Decision Directive 138. Under these surveillance/disruption programs, suspect ideas become the basis for increased investigation by the secret police in the name of "anti-terrorism," and then the hit squads move in for "preventive action." Meese had a special understanding of how effective COINTELPRO was in setting up and gunning down the radical Black Panther Party. For Meese and his ilk what was wrong with COINTELPRO was that it was exposed as illegal. This is where they want to make the political fight: to reestablish COINTELPRO on an *open* basis. Thus the successful Spartacist League lawsuit challenging these new FBI Guidelines was also a campaign against this shoot-first-ask-questions-later McCarthyism and its foremost representative, Edwin Meese.

The Reaganites look back with nostalgia to the post-World War II period not only out of longing for unchallenged nuclear blackmail. Reagan wants to return to the days of McCarthyism and together with Meese they have been setting up the machinery for a new witchhunt. But the world has changed significantly in the meantime. The Soviet Union has achieved rough nuclear parity, while the U.S. defeat in Vietnam produced a dread among the ruling class of yet another losing war. The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well today, despite Reagan's railing.

Edwin Meese's appetites for police/military dictatorship in this country are still far from realized. But in appointing Meese chief of imperialism's political police, the rulers of this country—Republicans and Democrats alike—want to send a dangerous message to the feds and the cops: that black militants and labor socialists can be shot down, murdered in cold blood. We look forward with impatience to the day when Edwin Meese is tried for his *real* crimes, when a proletarian revolution in America ensures such venal criminals receive the justice they so richly deserve.■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

New York's Racist Mayor and His Dr. Mengele

It's Gross, It's Koch

They finally nailed the bastard: Dr. Elliot Gross, the chief medical examiner of New York City. He switches tissue samples from celebrities' cadavers. He alters the date of death to help the prosecution demolish a suspect's alibi. He'll claim it was one shot instead of two pumped into an old lady to help a cop beat a murder rap. And if he has to remove the evidence of death from a police choke hold, no problem: he'll gouge out the eyes of the victim with their telltale blood specks. Gross is no "Quincy": he knows how to get along with the powers in this city. He's a cop's coroner, always ready to suppress evidence, destroy the facts and issue false reports to cover up for the murderers in uniform and keep the wheels of criminal injustice turning. Dr. Gross makes your blood run cold; he must have formaldehyde in his veins. But behind him is the man who runs this city where the racist cops kill with impunity: Edward I. (for "me, me, me") Koch.

Last week the *New York Times* assumed the unaccustomed role of muckraker and set off a major scandal over the nest of corruption and atrocities in America's largest morgue. The four-part series by Philip Shenon which ran in the *Times* January 27-30 was the result of nine and a half months of research and more than 250 interviews. Doctors and medical examiners are obviously up in arms about Gross. The tale is so devastating that Gross will undoubtedly be removed. But the real story is only delicately hinted at in the series. Columnist Sydney Schanberg finally came out and said it:

> "...the implications spread far beyond this one man—into the offices of all five of the city's District Attorneys, into the Police Department and into City Hall itself."
>
> —*New York Times*, 29 January

Boenzi/NY Times

Garsmeur/Observer

Three faces of New York "justice": Koch and his coroner, Dr. Gross the ghoul, always ready to cover up for racist cop brutality.

Koch had to know. Koch did know. Gross the ghoul is Koch's coroner.

For the past five weeks, the life of New York has been dominated by the case of the "subway vigilante," Bernhard Goetz, a white electronics specialist who, surrounded by four black youths trying to shake him down, pulled a pistol and shot them. Racist vigilantists like Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* hailed Goetz as a hero, while knee-jerk rad-libs condemned him as nothing but a racist killer. The Communist Party tried to make Goetz out to be a Hitlerite/CIA agent, even though his German-born parents fled the Nazi holocaust. So if he was CIA, how come he couldn't get a gun permit in NYC? The cops, on the other hand, were complaining that if a policeman shot down four black youth, there'd be an uproar. You bet. There's a big difference between an individual facing a mugging and a uniformed thug with a license to kill. They all want to deny the contradictions in the Goetz affair.

In contrast, the case of Dr. Elliot Gross is completely straightforward. He's the equivalent of a concentration camp doctor. He's Ed Koch's Dr. Mengele. His record amounts to a justification of mass murder, because it

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Class-Struggle Defense Needed

FBI/LAPD Framed Geronimo Pratt

LOS ANGELES, February 4—For the past 14 years, former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt has been tenaciously fighting for his freedom against the massive FBI COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence" and provocation) conspiracy which has kept him locked up in San Quentin and Folsom prisons, sentenced to life for a crime he didn't commit and couldn't have committed. Following a long legal battle to reopen the case, on January 21-23 a hearing finally was held on Pratt's petition for a new trial based on evidence which exposes the FBI/LAPD frame-up. The hearing was called last October after retired FBI operative Wesley Swearingen said straight out that "Pratt was set up."

In court Pratt's lawyers read FBI memorandums stating flatly, "Operation Number 1 is designed to challenge the legitimacy of the authority exercised by Elmer Gerard Pratt, Black Panther Party Deputy Minister of Defense." The defense brought out that in the original trial the prosecution suppressed the fact that two other people had earlier been arrested for the 18 December 1968 tennis court murder of Caroline Olsen, long before the crime was ever pinned on Pratt. One of them, imprisoned ex-Panther Roger Lewis, who was an informant for the Los Angeles police and worked with the FBI, reportedly "now wants to come forward and say what really occurred," defense attorney Stuart Hanlon told *WV*. Judge John Kronenburg denied an oral request by Pratt's lawyers to call Lewis as a witness, but said he would entertain a written request. The judge also refused to let Pratt speak, on the grounds that his "personal plea is irrelevant."

There is no justice for the black man in the capitalist courts. In an interview with *WV*, Hanlon remarked:

> "I think it's clear that Geronimo's case is never going to be won simply in the court. We are where we are because there has been political pressure from other areas. I think we would welcome and need mobilization of people."

With California heavy Edwin Meese, who oversaw the war against the Panthers in California, now about to become Reagan's top cop, it is clear that the threads of the government provocation/conspiracy go right to the top of the federal government. To free Geronimo Pratt, the last of the Panther leaders in jail, requires a class-struggle defense to mobilize the working class, the ghetto masses and all defenders of democratic rights to bust open the FBI conspiracy and bury COINTELPRO!

It is a measure of American "justice" that in California an ex-cop, Dan White, can murder the mayor of San Francisco and a gay city supervisor and five years later walk out of jail onto the lecture circuit prattling about being "born again"; but a black man fighting for freedom is railroaded for life on a

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Burning Spear

Former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 373 X-523 22 February 1985

Free South African Black Leader!

Nelson Mandela Defiant

For 22 years, Nelson Mandela has been a prisoner in a country that is a prison for its black majority. The 66-year-old Mandela is head of the long-banned African National Congress (ANC) and the most respected black leader in apartheid South Africa. His jailer, President P.W. Botha, heads a powerful white supremacist police state. But that state has been shaken by mass revolt, and now it is the jailer who is looking for a way out. At the end of January Botha announced that he would consider releasing Mandela if the ANC leader would renounce "violence," namely the campaign of sabotage and guerrilla attacks against military targets—this from a government which has slaughtered over 150 blacks in the last year alone!

Mandela has lost none of the dignity and courage he showed in the dock in the early 1960s. In a defiant statement read by his daughter Zinzi to a crowd of 9,000 in Soweto he declared, referring to Botha:

> "Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.... I cannot sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."
>
> —*New York Times*, 11 February

And in an interview with Britain's Lord Bethell in January (clearly granted to set the stage for Botha's "offer"), Mandela reaffirmed the obvious fact that the armed struggle had been forced on South Africa's blacks by the regime and vowed to defy any restrictions should he be released.

Camera Press

Nelson Mandela

At this point Botha is stalling,

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Butcher of the Belgrano Meets Grenada Invader

Thatcher and Reagan: Enemies of the People

Margaret Thatcher is coming to Washington leaving a trail of blood behind her. This is the "Iron Lady," the British prime minister who sent 368 Argentine sailors to a watery grave for the sheer pleasure of it, who presides over the daily terrorist slaughter of the Irish people, and who this very minute is sending out waves of cops to batter and smash the British coal miners' eleven-month-old strike. Now she comes to meet Evil Emperor Reagan, who destroyed the air traffic controllers union and invaded black Grenada, as he initiates his second term of bleeding the working class, the poor and minorities to fuel his arms buildup for an anti-Soviet "Star Wars" Armageddon. You can be sure this meeting between two certified enemies of the people bodes ill for the workers and oppressed of the world.

British capitalism is in deep trouble. After six years of Thatcherite austerity, five million are chronically unemployed, factories are folding and the once-mighty pound sterling is almost at parity with the dollar. Thatcher is widely hated among the masses, so much so that when an IRA bomb almost blew her away last fall, a worker's joke was that the police would have a hard time making arrests because there were 50 million suspects. While she vows to be "vindictive in victory" in the coal strike, the 130,000-strong striking miners have dug in for a fight to the finish. And fully 60 percent of the British public think Thatcher has handled the strike badly—only 21 percent in a recent opinion poll thought she understood the country's problems (*New York Times*, 11 February).

UPI

Der Spiegel

Imperialist war criminals meet: British prime minister Margaret Thatcher murdered 368 Argentine sailors aboard the Belgrano (right).

Even the divided Labour Party, which moreover experienced a major split a few years ago, is neck and neck with Thatcher in the polls. And just recently a jury acquitted top level civil servant Clive Ponting, whom Thatcher had wanted prosecuted for leaking embarrassing secrets about the *General Belgrano* affair to the Labour opposition. The judge's directive to convict him was defied by a hand-picked jury—a clear message from the bourgeoisie that they want to preserve parliamentary government. Even spineless Labour leader Neil Kinnock felt emboldened enough this week to tell Thatcher in Parliament, "I do not believe you," when she claimed to have had nothing to do with the prosecution of Ponting. "Unprecedented," gasped the London *Guardian* (13 February)! No doubt Thatcher thinks a visit to Washington, including Yankee Doodle ceremonial pomp at the White House, might boost her sagging fortunes.

Murder Most Foul

From El Salvador to South Africa to Thatcher's Britain, Ronald Reagan's "Free World" is marked by bloody repression. For over two years now Thatcher has been dogged by the ghosts of the hundreds of Argentine sailors who died when their cruiser, the *General Belgrano*, was sunk by Thatcher's navy in 1982 during the Falklands/Malvinas war, that bizarre conflict between two reactionary capitalist regimes. When numerous "leaks" about this affair started coming out in early 1984, we concluded that "If Thatcher dispatched those Argentine boys to the bottom of the sea, she richly deserves hanging" (*WV* No. 353, 27 April 1984). Now the published facts are overwhelming: the Iron Lady should swing.

During and after the Falklands/Malvinas conflict, British officials had bragged to the world that their navy operated under strict civilian-issued "Rules of Engagement" in the undeclared war—"minimum force" and "a civilized code of conduct" were the keynote according to Commander Christopher Craig, commanding officer of the HMS *Alacrity*, writing in the U.S. *Naval War College Review* (May-June 1984). Much ado was made of the British announcement of a Total Exclusion Zone around the islands—a zone within which Argentine naval vessels

continued on page 4

For Agrarian Revolution in South Africa!

1/3/85
Chicago

Editor, *WV*:

Brother Shiffman's excellent forum "Smash Apartheid Slavery" (reproduced in *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984) raised in passing the slogan "land to the tiller" as being of particular relevance to the plight of the dispossessed black bantustan population in South Africa. While his general remarks concerning the pertinence of Permanent Revolution and the importance of the land question generally in South Africa are incontrovertible, the use of the above slogan seems more questionable. (I had earlier commented to several comrades that in fact this slogan was a cruel joke for the black "peasantry" imprisoned in the various bantustans.)

As I understand this slogan it represents the solution to land ownership evolved by the peasantry in revolutionary situations when, having burned the manors and chased off the landowners, the question arose as to how to apportion the feudal and semi-feudal holdings. The peasants' solution was elegantly simple from a petty-bourgeois perspective; the land went to those who had worked it whether because of feudal obligation or share-cropping/rack-renting types of arrangements. The Bolsheviks justly seized on this slogan (from the program of the populist Social Revolutionaries) to mobilize the peasant nation in support of the workers revolution then in process.

As Brother Shiffman makes clear apartheid is a distillation of the more hideous aspects of colonial and imperialist exploitation and oppression with the following unique "arrangement" for the black masses: the majority of the population has been prevented through terror from maintaining any historical relationship to the land that is South Africa. Instead they are virtually imprisoned in bantustans where the land has all the arability of acreage on the moon. "Giving" this land to the black population is like asking someone to raise crops on an asphalt driveway.

John Seymour

Down with the bantustan hellholes—Land to the tillers!

The land question is a critical ingredient of the South African revolution and land hunger must be a central preoccupation of most bantustan residents. White-owned estates and large farms will be expropriated and parceled out when the proletarian and toiling masses arise to assert their just claims.

continued on page 9

Revenge of the P&FP

Los Angeles
January 29, 1985

Jan Norden, editor
Workers Vanguard

Socialist salutations:

Your 25 January 1985 article on the declining influence of the International-ist Workers Party (IWP) made interesting reading, but contained several inaccuracies. Most important is your characterization of the California Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) as a "Short-lived expression of middle-class politics" which you admit is based on the cursory notions of Spartacist comrades from SEVENTEEN YEARS AGO. No mention is made of the PFP Platform (which the IWP ignored to promote their liberal reformist candidates). It addresses, in direct contradiction to *WV*'s mistaken assertions, the capitalist character of war, racism, sexism, and economic exploitation. The PFP Platform states: "Socialism can only be brought about if we working class people unite and act as a body in our own interests. This means that our goals cannot be achieved by electoral means alone. We favor mass organization and direct action in the community, the workplace, and the armed forces, and a fight for democracy at all levels of social organization everywhere in the world."

SCULPT (the Search Committee for a United Left Presidential Ticket) was initiated not by the IWP in April 1983 as you reported, but by independents within PFP in December 1982. Its conferences attracted participation by activists representing a dozen parties and numerous other organizations on the Left. You are correct in quoting the IWP regarding SCULPT's address as being the same PFP address which was formerly shared by the Socialist Party of Los Angeles; however this provides no justification for the IWP posturing as a self-styled "East Coast Committee for a Peace and Freedom Party National Slate in 1984" any more than if it had posed as a "Provisional Committee for an Authentic Spartacist League." You are incorrect in identifying Casey Peters as a member of the Socialist Party, which I am not.

Despite your steadfast denunciation of the IWP, you like to quote them as a reliable source when it suits your editorial whim, as you did when you labelled Sonia Johnson as "pro-capitalist" (their words, not hers). You also claim they are correct in saying that the Communist Party "works within PFP to make it an appendage of the Democratic Party's liberal wing." If that be the purpose of the CP's participation within PFP, it is a futile one by the very nature of PFP's structure as well as by the adamant intentions of PFP activists. For example, although the CP including its PFP faction supported Tom Bradley for Governor of California in 1982, PFP candidate Elizabeth Martinez ran an active campaign against him and was blamed by the CP for Bradley's defeat.

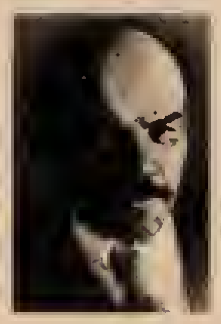
Incidentally, you underestimated PFP's membership as 20,000 when it is actually about 50,000, and counted our sympathizers at 60,000, when we have garnered up to 500,000 votes in state-wide elections. Any *Workers Vanguard* readers who wish further information including the complete PFP Platform, please write to: Peace and Freedom Party, 2404 West 7th Street #202, Los Angeles CA 90057.

In socialist solidarity,
Casey Peters

WV replies: Thank you for your letter; we apologize for misidentifying you as an SP member, a misunderstanding arising from the overlapping SP and P&FP addresses. We're rather remote from your milieu, but we try to be scrupulously accurate. The numbers you mention were not our figures for Peace and Freedom members and sympathizers but the IWP's calculations of "the left's" electoral clout nationally. And the P&FP presidential candidate, Sonia Johnson, was the candidate of the Citizens Party, a liberal ecologist-feminist "third party," who praised the Democrats' nomination of Geraldine Ferraro for vice president. That qualifies as "pro-capitalist" for us. Incidentally, our readers would surely like to hear details about the recent split in the IWP, where the Morenoites reportedly expelled their Long Beach branch (the one most heavily involved in the P&FP campaign) and its leading P&FP candidate, Sonia Cruz. ■

TROTSKY

The Housing Question



LENIN

In his 1872 polemic against petty-bourgeois Utopian socialists like the French anarchist Pierre Proudhon, who believed the housing question could be solved under capitalism, Frederick Engels wrote:

Whence then comes the housing shortage? How did it arise? ...it is a necessary product of the bourgeois social order; that it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great masses of the workers are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, on the sum of foodstuffs necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the existing machinery continually throw masses of workers out of employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial vacillations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive large masses of the workers temporarily unemployed onto the streets; in which the workers are crowded together in masses in the big towns, at a quicker rate than dwellings come into existence for them under existing conditions; in which, therefore, there must always be tenants even for the most infamous pigsties; and in which finally the house owner in his capacity as capitalist has not only the right, but, in view of the competition, to a certain extent also the duty of ruthlessly making as much out of his property in house rent as he possibly can. In such a society the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution and it can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned.

—Frederick Engels, *The Housing Question* (1872)

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No. 373 **22 February 1985**

Red Avengers Goes British

To Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades:

It might not yet have come to your notice but the Red Avengers are becoming an international network. Just the other day at the head of a miners picket in Doncaster Yorkshire, I distinctly seen a red Red Avenger T-shirt in among the crush of cops and militants. I do believe this infectious network are now invading the space of the British police force. This latter though seem to be the piggies rather than the hemasked insurgents seen in W.V.

Incidentally the *Ghostbusters* film and record currently sweeping Britain has been slightly altered in the pit villages. The kids all yell "Scab Busters!" to the chorus—"We ain't afraid of no scabs!"

Red Greetings,
D. Douglass
N.U.M. Branch Delegate
Hatfield, Doncaster, Britain

Launching Pad for U.S. Aggression in Central America

Militarism and Repression in Puerto Rico

Escalating U.S. military activity, witchhunts against leftists, heavy repression against labor. Economic collapse: factories closing, mass layoffs, more than 25 percent official unemployment. Some Latin American banana republic? No, this is Puerto Rico, the U.S.' island colony long considered a "showcase of democracy and development" in the Caribbean. Today it's an economic disaster area and political powder keg.

Puerto Rico has entered a period of intense crisis directly linked to the fiscal crisis of American imperialism, the anti-Soviet war drive and U.S. intervention against revolutionary struggles in Central America. The bankruptcy of the colonial parties couldn't be clearer: the phony "commonwealth" status has long since lost its attraction and statehood is manifestly unreal. Yet the parochial, nationalist left is going nowhere, and for obvious reasons. The Puerto Rican masses are hardly attracted by the prospect of independence under capitalism as they watch hunger riots next door in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. Genuine independence from colonial rule and liberation from neocolonial domination requires proletarian revolution throughout the region. What's needed is internationalist *class* struggle against Yankee imperialism in the Caribbean, Central America and North America itself.

Santo Domingo 1965, Grenada 1983, Nicaragua 1985? Puerto Rico has repeatedly served as a staging ground for U.S. aggression in the Caribbean. Now Reagan has turned the island into a giant military base for the counterrevolutionary war he is waging in Central America. Squadrons of attack and surveillance planes have been moved in; the Fifth Fleet now operates out of the giant Roosevelt Roads naval base. The Puerto Rican National Guard includes a battalion of rangers, an armored airborne division and an amphibious assault unit, all part of the Rapid Deployment Force which spearheaded the invasion of Grenada in October 1983. And since December hundreds of Puerto Rican Guardsmen have been in Panama for six-month-long "counter-insurgency" maneuvers, making them available for use against Salvadoran leftist rebels or Sandinista Nicaragua. Thus independence for Puerto Rico is intimately bound up with the struggle for revolution in Central America.

Meanwhile, mired in the worst economic crisis since the '30s, Puerto Rico today has 62 percent of the population living below the federal poverty level. More than half the families are dependent on food stamps; a third of all able-bodied adult men have no full-time jobs. Cutting social welfare programs to pay for the multi-trillion-dollar military buildup has devastated the island's economy, which derives nearly a third of its gross product from U.S. government payments. In his first year alone, Reagan slashed nearly half a billion dollars in federal funds from the Puerto Rican government budget. And now the Reaganite free marketeers are eliminating tens of thousands of jobs with their plans for a Caribbean "co-prosperity sphere" by eliminating tariffs for their neocolonies—the one advantage Puerto Rico had as a low-wage haven for runaway shops. Whatever the island's colonial "status," its economic future under U.S. rule is one of increasing misery.

As Puerto Rico becomes increasingly militarized, as it sinks deeper into economic depression, political repression has kept pace. And the repressive forces act just like what they are: mercenaries in the service of a foreign oppressor. The National Guard are not weekend warriors but a colonial constabulary, routinely used to smash striking workers and students. The police revel in violence and provocation such as the cold-blooded execution of two young *independentistas* at Cerro Maravilla in 1978. A federal trial of ten police charged with lying to grand juries investigating this notorious murder case opened February 5 in San Juan. On the mainland, authorities have thrown wide a dragnet arresting scores on charges of aiding FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) terrorists. And the grand jury has been perfected as a witchhunt device against leftists: at present 18 Puerto Rican militants are in jail for refusing to cooperate with the feds' fishing expeditions.

But in the midst of these catastrophic conditions, the political result has been virtually nil. The "Macheteros" guerrilla group has accurately catalogued the "squabbles, ploys, frauds, insults and aggressions" of the colonial parties who alternate in La Fortaleza (the governor's palace). At every election the voters throw the incumbent crooks out: Popular Democrat Hernández Colón (PPD) is replaced by New Progressive Romero Barceló (PNP) who is replaced by Hernández Colón. Yet the cycle continues. In the last elections the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) of Rubén Berríos got a mere 3 percent of the vote. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) couldn't decide whether to sell its electoral clientele to the PIP or the PPD. And all the nationalist left has to offer the masses is talk of (nonexistent) *independentista* unity.

AP

Police terrorize squatters at Villa Sin Miedo, burning houses to the ground, May 1982.

Murderous Colonial Repression

To secure its island bastion, the colonial authorities, both local and federal, have resorted to repression surpassing that in the U.S. at the height of the FBI's COINTELPRO and the CIA's Operation CHAOS in the late 1960s. Today the streets of downtown San Juan and poor barrios are crawling with every variety of police. Corruption trials show the cops up to their necks in drug trafficking, diamond thefts, stolen truck rings and extortion. A death squad has been operating at the top levels of the Puerto Rico police. And now the FBI has chosen Puerto Rico as the testing ground for its "anti-terrorist" guidelines of infiltration, disruption and provocation.

One of the most dramatic examples was the police entrapment, murder and cover-up in the case of Cerro Maravilla. Two young pro-independence militants, supposedly attempting to blow up TV transmission towers on the highest mountain on the island, were set up and brutally executed by Puerto Rican cops on 25 July 1978. At the time the police were praised by Governor Romero Barceló as "heroic." Two investigations of the incident by the Puerto Rican Justice Department, in 1978 and 1980, and two more by the U.S. Justice Department whitewashed the cops of any involvement. However, following Watergate-style hearings by the opposition-controlled Puerto Rican Senate, early last year federal indictments were handed down against ten cops, including the former chief of police intelligence, on 53 counts of perjury, destruction of evidence and obstruction of justice. And in November, Romero was defeated as governor in large part over the blowback from the case.

Cerro Maravilla was a classic case of police provocation, offering a chilling glimpse at the modus operandi of the brutal paramilitary Puerto Rican police. Already a month before the killings, Romero Barceló began to whip up a terrorist scare claiming that the police had discovered a subversive conspiracy. The FBI chipped in with reports of a terrorist attempt scheduled to take place July 25. It's only natural they should have known the time, date and place. Police agent provocateur Alejandro González Malavé, the prime instigator of the Cerro Maravilla incident, was in constant contact with the authorities all the way up to the governor's office. He recruited the two young *independentistas*, Arnaldo Dario Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi, and commandeered a taxi to take them to the site. Heavily armed cops were waiting for them: Rosado and Soto were brought down by a barrage of gunfire, then beaten and later executed while on their knees begging for mercy.

These cold-blooded murders were only the most blatant in a series of police and death squad attacks on oppositionists in Puerto Rico. In 1976, the son of independence leader Juan Mari Bras was kidnapped and assassinated under suspicious circumstances. That same year a leader of the Teamsters union, Juan Rafael Caballero, was seized and murdered by the police. Other unionists have been victims of frame-ups designed to put them out of commission: Arturo Grant of the Movimiento Obrero Unido, jailed on murder charges; Norberto Cintrón, framed for bank robbery; Radamés Acosta, head of the Unión Nacional de Trabajadores, jailed on trumped-up charges. More recently, the notorious police death squad, reputedly headed by former Colonel Alejo Maldonado (arrested in 1982 for kidnapping), has been fighting a gangland war to the death with organized crime—as well as beating and even murdering witnesses to police corruption.

When things get out of hand they bring in the troops and paramilitary police. In 1978 Romero used several acts of sabotage at the Puerto Rican electric company (committed by the same González Malavé) as an excuse for

continued on page 5

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Auto Militant Fired at British Leyland

British Miners Say: "Defend Patrick Sliney!"

On January 31 Patrick Sliney, a militant auto worker and member of the transport union (T&G) at the British Leyland (BL) Rover plant in Birmingham, England, was fired for advocating that his union take strike action alongside the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). This outrageous victimization is part and parcel of the Thatcher government's drive to smash the NUM and cripple every other union. From the first month of the miners' strike, Sliney has campaigned tirelessly to halt the scandalous flow of scab coal into his plant and BL's nearby Longbridge factory. It was largely due to the efforts of Patrick, a well-known supporter of the Spartacist League/Britain, that the lid was blown off this scabbing operation carried out with the complicity of the union tops. Patrick's activities sparked a picket line of miners and truck driver officials of the T&G organized in an attempt to stop the scabbing at Longbridge.

Thatcher's thought police at BL witchhunted Patrick for "unauthorized distribution" of a leaflet demanding that the union reject the bosses' pay offer and strike alongside the miners. In fact the British bosses want to make *all* trade-union activity unauthorized, and outlaw even the advocacy of trade-union solidarity. In his statement, Sliney had appealed to his fellow unionists at Rover:

> "Thatcher wants to cripple the trade unions. She wants company unions and scab unions run by the likes of Silver Birch [notorious scab miner] and Lech Walesa.... She is going after the miners who are fighting for all of us and who have stood alone for too long while the TUC and the Labour Party leadership have kicked them in the teeth or stabbed them in the back.... We need to form a fighting Triple Alliance with the rail workers and the miners. We need to stop road, rail and the docks through all-out strike action in these unions, to join the miners, blockade the power stations and freeze Thatcher this winter."

While the union tops have tolerated and in many instances urged their own members to scab on the miners, there are many thousands of militants like Patrick who have put their jobs on the line to beat the union-busters. Over 400 T&G truck drivers have been fired for refusing to cross NUM picket lines; thousands of railroad workers have refused to handle scab coal. Such acts of genuine solidarity have provided an inestimable boost to the fighting spirit of the embattled miners. In the forefront of those who have risen to defend Patrick Sliney are the striking miners themselves. On the day of his kangaroo-court "appeal" hearing at Rover, several miners from surrounding pits demonstrated at the plant gate. "Support Patrick Sliney today, lads!" they shouted. "His job today, your job tomorrow."

A number of NUM officials and strike activists have contacted the T&G officials at Rover, urging strike action to reinstate Sliney. A striking South Wales NUM member put it simply at a miners support conference in Birmingham: "He [Patrick] was sacked by his employers at BL for simply showing what should be the number one law of the trade union

Workers Hammer

Patrick Sliney (shown above at miners' rally) fought Leyland scab operation.

movement: solidarity. Solidarity, comrades, does not only extend to mineworkers... I shall remain solid to this strike, and I shall remain solid as far as Patrick Sliney is concerned and every other trade unionist outside the mining industry is concerned who's been sacked." Victory to the miners! Reinstate Patrick Sliney! ■

Thatcher and Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

and aircraft would be subject to attack—as a sign that Britain was not bloodthirsty and did not intend an all-out war against the Argentine mainland.

So when the British attack submarine HMS *Conqueror* sank the *Belgrano* on 2 May 1982 well *outside* the "exclusion zone," questions began to be asked. The fact that the "civilized" British naval officers made no effort to rescue the survivors huddled together in lifeboats trying to avoid freezing to death also belied the government's propaganda. The initial government explanation presented by then defence secretary John Nott to the House of Commons two days after the sinking was that the *Belgrano* was "closing on" the British task force. Thatcher herself argued in 1983 that the *Belgrano* "was a danger to our ships." But a Scottish Labour Party Member of Parliament (MP), Tam Dalyell, knew Thatcher was lying and pursued the matter.

Finally in the summer of 1984 Clive Ponting, a high official in the Defence Ministry, could no longer stand the government cover-up and passed critical documents to Dalyell. An unclassified "confidential" memo, advising the defence secretary how to answer embar-

John Harris/AFL

Kellingley, September 1984—Class war in Britain's coal fields as pickets battle cops.

rassing questions about the changes in the Rules of Engagement in the critical period, reveals that: the rules were changed on April 30 so that Argentine aircraft carrier *Veinticinco de Mayo* could be engaged outside the Exclusion Zone (the carrier was never caught); and they were further broadened on May 2, a change that was "not restricted to BELGRANO but included all Argentine warships over a large area." (See "The Belgrano Papers," *New Statesman*, 24 August 1984.) No warning was issued to Argentina until five days *after* the *Belgrano* was sunk. So much for "fair play"! And since Thatcher ordered that old cruiser torpedoed while it was moving away from the Falklands, how can she complain that the IRA bombing her hotel in Brighton wasn't cricket?

Then chief of defence staff Lord Lewin says the critical May 2 change in the orders was made "in twenty minutes" at lunchtime at Thatcher's country retreat at Chequers (London *Guardian*, 30 August 1984)—hardly the time span of an agonizing, conscience-wracked decision. Speaking to Parliament on 5 May 1982, defence secretary Nott tried to blame the sub commander for the decision to sink the antiquated Argentine warship. But the *Conqueror*'s captain, Christopher Wreford-Brown, told the press that "the decision was taken by London," the orders were repeated twice and confirmed after he had reported the *Belgrano* was heading *away* from the Falklands (*Guardian*, 13 February). Since the *Belgrano* is specifically mentioned as one of the reasons for the expanded "Rules of Engagement," it's perfectly clear that *Thatcher personally ordered the sinking*. By 8 p.m. London time the deed was done—barely enough time for Thatcher to lick her fingers after a satisfying meal.

Like Nixon caught with his pants down, Thatcher began issuing lie after lie in an attempt to disappear the escalating exposures, but each one only put her deeper in it. Last fall she claimed not to have known about the *Belgrano*'s changed course until November 1982. When it was pointed out that this conflicted with the government's December 1982 White Paper her story changed—she was "finally informed" only in March 1984. But, Thatcher added haughtily, so what: even if she had known the *Belgrano* was heading home, reported the [London] *Times* (21 November 1984), "she would still have ordered the sinking." Thatcher clearly suffers from a case of foot-in-mouth disease. Let's hope it's terminal.

While the government's tissue of lies was falling apart, Thatcher struck back with state repression. Ponting was put on trial on charges of violating the draconian 1911 Official Secrets Act—by revealing the truth to Parliament! Meanwhile, Ministry of Defence gents paid unannounced visits to anti-government publications like the *New Statesman*, warning journalists that they might be "in violation" of the Secrets Act. Mysteriously, the six-volume navigation log of the HMS *Conqueror* was discovered "missing" in November, along with the submarine's signals log.

And then there's the case of 78-year-old Hilda Murrell, found stabbed to death in an English woodland in March 1984, supposedly murdered by "burglars," even though they took none of her valuables. Murrell was the aunt of Commander Rob Green, a Royal Navy intelligence officer who had access to sensitive naval communications during the 1982 war. Labour MP Dalyell insisted in Parliament:

> "I am informed the intruders were not after money... but were checking the house to see if there were any Belgrano-related documents of Commander Green in the home of his aunt. Things went disastrously wrong. They had no intention of injuring, let alone killing, a 78-year-old ex-rose-grower. Yet, being the lady she was and in her home, Hilda Murrell fought and was severely injured. She was then killed or left to die from hypothermia, and the cover-up had to begin because I am informed that the searchers were men of British Intelligence."
>
> —*Newsday*, 31 January

The very proper British commander Green backs up Dalyell:

> "I haven't gone off my rocker, flipped and become a raving leftie who wants to attack the police, but it [Dalyell's] is the most plausible explanation I have yet heard to explain the strange circumstances surrounding my aunt's death."

And in January another Royal Navy officer, Lt. Commander Peter Hurst, who also handled secret intelligence

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-175

Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

Collected in Last Two Weeks:		
Trade Union Donations		$550.00
Union Membership Collections		463.13
Individual Donations		1,542.65
Total		2,555.78
Total Previously Reported		**$14,349.85**
Total Collected (as of 20 February 1985)		**$16,905.63**
Amount Sent to Miners' Solidarity Fund (as of 20 February 1985)	14,540.85	**$16,905.63**
Amount on Deposit (as of 20 February 1985)	2,364.78	

To mobilize for the fund drive in your area, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

during the 1982 war, found his flat mysteriously ransacked with no valuables stolen; he thinks "it could just have some connection with the Hilda Murrell affair" (*Daily Mirror*, 16 January).

Sink Thatcher, Sink Reagan!

Reagan and Thatcher are kindred souls wed to a program of global ruling class war to drive the working class back a century or more. Each ruthlessly represses the trade unions: Reagan had the PATCO air traffic strikers carted off in chains and fired the whole union, while Thatcher sends her cossacks to smash the picket lines of Arthur Scargill's National Union of Mineworkers. And now she's trying to revive the so-called Falklands spirit against the miners, calling the miners "the enemy within." During an interview last week with *WV*, Mick McGinty, treasurer of the Nottinghamshire central strike committee, currently on tour in the U.S., noted:

> "The National Union of Mineworkers has always been regarded as the vanguard of trade unionism in Britain, and [Thatcher] sees the mine workers as her *General Belgrano*, because if she sinks the miners she knows the rest of the trade union movement will be much easier."

Internationally the Reagan/Thatcher axis has its sights set on the destruction of the Soviet Union, the homeland of the October Revolution. Reagan invaded black Grenada on the excuse that the populist black government had the uppity gall to become friendly with the Soviets and Cubans, and now Reagan threatens to administer an even bloodier "lesson" to independent Nicaragua via his pathological killer "freedom fighters." There are no lengths to which these war criminals will not go in their reactionary crusades. While Thatcher has the blood of 368 crewmen of the *Belgrano* on her hands, the price for a "nice little war" that got her re-elected, Reagan is responsible for sending 269 passengers of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 to their deaths in an insane war provocation against the Soviet Union.

Thatcher's energy secretary, Peter Walker, last fall declared that "More than any other country, it is in Russia's interest that Scargill wins this strike" ([London] *Sunday Times*, 18 November 1984). Anti-Sovietism is the common language of the imperialists today, so much so that even the class-collaborationist Soviet bureaucracy felt compelled to give a million-dollar donation to the coal miners. What's needed even more is international working-class *action*. In the U.S., American workers could begin by hot-cargoing coal destined for Britain. A blow against Thatcher is a blow against Reagan! In Britain, there must be solidarity strikes on rail, road and docks—spread the strike to win! It is up to the working class, led by a Trotskyist party, to deal out revolutionary justice to the likes of Reagan and Thatcher. Victory to the coal miners' strike! Smash NATO—Defend the Soviet Union! Forward to workers governments in Britain and the U.S.! ■

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NEW YORK CITY

Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 3)

strong-arm measures against militant strikers of the independent UTIER union. In 1981 police SWAT teams rioted against striking students protesting tuition hikes at the University of Puerto Rico. A year later 1,000 anti-riot cops, some armed with M-16 automatic rifles, evicted squatters at Villa Sin Miedo, burning houses to the ground.

And for recalcitrant militants there is always the device of a federal grand jury: anyone who refuses to "cooperate" is jailed for contempt of court, on indefinite sentences which could go up to 15 *years* behind bars! Last April, *independentistas* Federico Cintrón and Carlos Noya were sentenced to two years for refusing to talk to a witchhunting federal grand jury in Brooklyn. As the newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, *Claridad* (28 October-3 November 1983), commented, a year earlier "North American authorities in Puerto Rico announced an offensive against organized crime, governmental corruption and 'terrorism.' They have already produced important criminal convictions against various figures of organized crime...and governmental corruption.... They are lacking the third ingredient, that is, to produce an important case related to 'terrorism'."

The federal trial of ten ex-cops implicated in the Cerro Maravilla assassinations is hardly justice. They are charged only with perjury—no date has yet been set for a murder trial—and anyone favoring independence is being excluded from the jury (along with those who do not have sufficient knowledge of the *English* language!). No attempt has been made to indict those that ordered the executions which, according to Senate testimony last December, include an adviser of ex-governor Romero Barceló. And no serious investigation has ever been made of the FBI's prior knowledge of the killings and its role in the cover-up.

PPD governor Hernández Colón owes his election in large part to outrage against Romero's involvement in Cerro Maravilla. But it was during Hernández Colón's last administration that the National Guard was used against the population (to break a 1973 UTIER strike) for the first time since the 1950 Nationalist uprising. Whether administered by pro-statehood or pro-"commonwealth" puppets, savage repression is a constant in the Yankee colony. Defenders of democratic rights must demand: FBI, CIA out of Puerto Rico! Free all fighters against Yankee imperialism! Release the victims of grand jury frame-ups!

Military Bastion of Yankee Imperialism

Puerto Rico has always been seen by the United States as a military strong point to control the strategic region. (The Spaniards before them had the same idea, witness the powerful guns and fortifications overlooking San Juan harbor.) Today as the Reaganites proclaim the Caribbean *mare nostrum*, an "American lake" as Teddy Roosevelt called it, threatening "Star Wars" against the Russians over a mythical Soviet menace to vital sea lanes, Puerto Rico's strategic importance has grown. In 1982 UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick told a Fourth of July gathering of statehooders in San Juan that the island was a geopolitical, military-strategic asset for the U.S. and therefore "not negotiable." And recent news reports reveal Pentagon plans to stockpile nuclear weapons on the island in "emergencies"—directly violating international treaty obligations—as part of a secret global plan involving eight countries.

In the American intervention in Central America, Puerto Rico plays a key role as training center, weapons warehouse and refueling base. While the military has long used the island of Vieques for bombing target practice, for the Reagan administration the U.S.' Caribbean colony is key because of its location. In just two years, 1980 to 1982, military expenditures in Puerto Rico almost doubled; fully 14 percent of the entire land surface of the island has been declared a military zone. Ramey Air Force Base was recently reopened to accommodate large numbers of C-130 Hercules troop-carrying transports and F-15 fighter bombers overflowing from Roosevelt Roads; and SR-71 and AWACS spy planes are also flying out of Puerto Rico. According to an article by Richard Parker in the Nicaraguan magazine *Soberanía* (January 1985) present U.S. military strength on the island is estimated at 20,000.

Another reason for the Reagan administration's militarization of Puerto Rico is its Spanish-speaking population. The Puerto Rican National Guard has been beefed up to serve as a *simpático* expeditionary force for use in Latin America. (According to Commodore Diego Hernández, commander of

Claridad

Nationalist guerrillas strike at Muñiz Air National Guard Base, a staging area for U.S. militarism in the Caribbean.

U.S. naval forces in the Caribbean, U.S. military recruiters get an additional bonus for every Hispanic signed up.) Last spring some 500 Puerto Rican National Guard troops participated in the U.S.' Big Pine II maneuvers in Honduras. And in April 1,000 Guardsmen participated in a mock assault on Vieques together with the 82nd Airborne Division, as part of the "Ocean Venture '84" exercises. Puerto Ricans have also been used as CIA operatives working with the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary mercenaries, as proved by the death of Guardsman Héctor Luis Jové Torres on a mission with Edén Pastora's "contras."

During Washington's Nicaraguan MIG hoax last November, there was an ominous mobilization of military forces in Puerto Rico. Then in December several units of the National Guard shipped out to Panama where they have been participating in the Minuteman II exercises, supposedly limited to "road maintenance." These are to be followed by the Kindle Liberty '85 counterinsurgency exercises in early February, and the Puerto Rican troops are scheduled to remain in Central America through May. This would make them available for the Big Pine III maneuvers which began February 11, involving several thousand U.S. troops onshore and a major artillery/tank exercise in an area within 15 miles of the Nicaraguan border and equidistant from Salvadoran areas under the control of leftist guerrillas.

This massive militarization of Puerto Rico provoked a march of tens of thousands in San Juan last April 29. The demonstration, called by the PIP, protested the Ocean Venture '84 exercises. But it is not enough to denounce militarism, and calling for a "negotiated solution" (as do the PIP's cothinkers in the Second International) is a stab in the back against the Central American revolution. Any partisan of Puerto Rican independence should instinctively understand that freedom from the chains of colonial rule will only come about through the *defeat* of Yankee imperialism. They should call on Puerto Rican National Guard units to refuse to embark for Central America and once there to turn their guns against the Yankee aggressors. If the draft is reinstituted, communists would support a draft resistance movement of refusal to serve as cannon fodder in the colonial masters' imperialist war.

The Spartacist League calls for: Military victory to Salvadoran leftists—Defend Nicaragua, kill the invaders! The struggle of Puerto Rican revolutionaries must not be for "no more Vietnams" in Latin America, but for "two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" Given the direct connection of the island to the American economy, and the fact that more than 40 percent of the Puerto Rican population has emigrated to the mainland, Puerto Rican workers' struggles can have a powerful impact *inside* the United States. And given the Yankee imperialists' determination to hold on to their strategic bastion in the Caribbean, the struggle for Puerto Rican independence must be a struggle for proletarian revolution in the belly of the beast—or it will not be at all. ■

[A forthcoming issue of *Workers Vanguard* will feature "Puerto Rico at the Crossroads."]

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Down with U.S./China Anti-Soviet Axis!

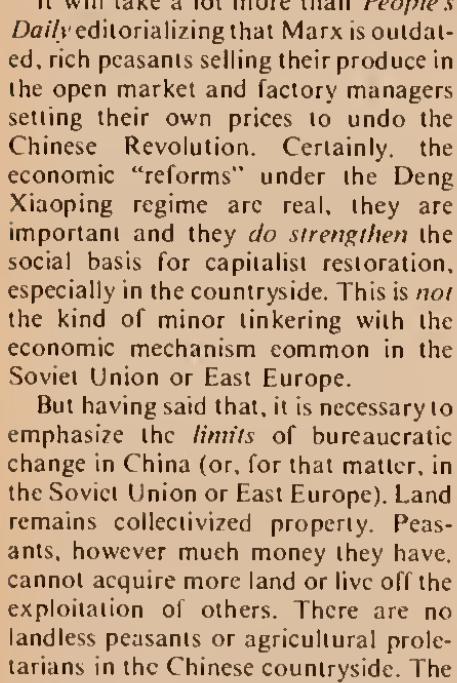
Whither China?

Reading the Western press of late, one would think that the People's Republic of China has practically overnight become capitalist. Right-wing columnist William Safire declares: "When it comes to world history, however, the big event of 1984 was surely the rejection of Marxism and embrace of capitalism by the Government of a billion Chinese." *Business Week* runs a cover story on "Capitalism in China" along with a picture of a chic Chinese lady in an elegant fur coat. And the snotty London *Economist* subtitles its survey on China for 1984: "Mr Deng's counter-revolution (but please don't use the word) moves into top gear."

The Chinese Revolution which triumphed in 1949 was, despite profound bureaucratic deformations, a world-historic event. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited since time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie was destroyed. Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were abolished. A nation which had been ravished and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation.

It will take a lot more than *People's Daily* editorializing that Marx is outdated, rich peasants selling their produce in the open market and factory managers setting their own prices to undo the Chinese Revolution. Certainly, the economic "reforms" under the Deng Xiaoping regime are real, they are important and they *do strengthen* the social basis for capitalist restoration, especially in the countryside. This is *not* the kind of minor tinkering with the economic mechanism common in the Soviet Union or East Europe.

But having said that, it is necessary to emphasize the *limits* of bureaucratic change in China (or, for that matter, in the Soviet Union or East Europe). Land remains collectivized property. Peasants, however much money they have, cannot acquire more land or live off the exploitation of others. There are no landless peasants or agricultural proletarians in the Chinese countryside. The means of production are state property. Basic industry remains centrally planned. And enterprise managers, although they operate more autonomously than before, are government functionaries not capitalist entrepreneurs pocketing their profits.



Western big business press falsely claims China has become capitalist.

UPI

Chinese leader Deng welcomes Reagans. Peking Stalinists' alliance with U.S. imperialism is an "open door" to war and counterrevolution.

Whenever a "Communist" (i.e., Stalinist) regime embarks on market-oriented "reforms," the Western bourgeois press is quick to proclaim the triumph of capitalist methods over socialism. Back in 1965 *Time* magazine ran on its front cover a picture of controversial Soviet economist E.G. Liberman with a story entitled "Borrowing from the Capitalists." As it turned out, the so-called "Liberman reforms" in the Soviet Union (unlike those in Deng's China) never amounted to much. At bottom, the notion of a peaceful, orderly restoration of capitalism in China or Russia through changes in government policy is bourgeois wishful thinking. It confuses tendencies to strengthen bourgeois-restorationist forces with their decisive triumph. Capitalist counterrevolution in China or Russia or East Europe would be a big, bloody, convulsive struggle, polarizing society and unleashing civil war. A new Central Committee directive on the economy won't do it.

The Chinese workers state has been bureaucratically deformed from birth, in the aftermath of the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union. It was Stalin's treacherous nationalist policy which beheaded the 1927 Chinese proletarian revolution. So when Mao Tse-tung marched into Peking 22 years later it was not as a result of workers insurrection but at the head of a peasant-based army. Viscerally hostile to the Leninist program of world socialist revolution, the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies from Moscow to Peking seek a modus vivendi with the imperialists. Deng's policies are a response to the economic pressures of the capitalist world market, pressures which weigh heavier the more backward the country.

The notion that Western-style capitalism is reconquering People's China is not simply an impressionistic overreaction to the recent economic measures. Ever since Mao embraced Nixon in 1972, while American B-52s were carpetbombing North Vietnam, China has been a strategic ally of U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. Indeed, during much of this period Peking was more bellicosely anti-Soviet than Washington. The Washington/Peking axis has been sealed by acts of war, from Angola (where China armed CIA-backed black mercenaries during the 1975 South African invasion) to Deng's (unsuccessful) attacks on Soviet-allied Vietnam in 1979 and since. Amid all the glowing accounts of "capitalism in China" in the Western press, the Pentagon has just announced a deal to supply Peking with antisubmarine weaponry and a proposed visit of U.S. naval warships to China this spring, the first since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.

For his part, Deng recently declared that an "open door" policy to the West is necessary to overcome the legacy of "poverty, backwardness and ignorance." *In reality, the Chinese bureaucracy's alliance with Wall Street and Washington is not an open door to prosperity and modernization but to war and counterrevolution.* The heavily armed Sino-Soviet border is one of the trip wires on this planet for World War III. And if U.S. imperialism succeeds in its ultimate goal of destroying the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China will not long survive. This truth was nicely captured by the writers of the *Post New York Post* parody, "KA-BOOM! It's World War III." Reagan's day-after "message of hope" begins: "I have good news: I just signed legislation outlawing China. They think I don't know they're communist—but they're next!"

From Mao's Great Leap Forward...

What is actually happening to the Chinese economy and why? Let's set this question in historical context. For thousands of years imperial China (the Middle Kingdom) was a great and isolated center of civilization. The Chinese word for foreigner was barbarian. When the Western "barbarians" humbled China in the mid-19th century, the effect on the educated classes was traumatic. These educated classes, burdened by a sense of national humiliation, gave rise to the radical intelligentsia who led the Chinese Revolution.

The bureaucratic elite ruling the People's Republic, both under Mao and Deng, are deeply nationalistic and dream of restoring a new Middle Kingdom to its rightful place in the world. But these dreams are frustrated by the reality of extreme poverty and technological backwardness. Hence the sharp economic zigzags of Chinese Stalinism, from Mao's utopian voluntarism to Deng's "building socialism with capitalist methods." A quarter century ago Mao promised that China would catch up with the West in 15 years through a Great Leap Forward based on self-sufficient rural communes complete with backyard steel furnaces. Today Deng proposes to *quadruple* national output by the year 2000—that is, in just 16 years—through rural free markets and an "open door" to the imperialist West. When this is achieved, declares Deng, "China's international influence will also be quite different, and our country's power will become truly strong." Deng's promised economic miracle is no less illusory than Mao's.

The People's Republic of China as it emerged from the civil war and revolution of the 1940s was extremely poor and backward compared even to the early Soviet Union. Russia in the 1920s produced roughly twice as much food per capita as did China in the early 1950s. Stalin was able to push through a massive industrialization program in the 1930s, but at the cost of savagely cutting the consumption levels of both the workers and peasants. Mao's China was simply too poor, too close to the margin of starvation to emulate Stalin's Russia in this regard. The attempt to do so in the early 1950s immediately ran up against severe food shortages.

Mao's response was the insane economic adventurism of the Great Leap Forward. "Communism" was to be built practically overnight through the brute labor of millions of peasants unaided by mechanization. The peasantry was totally militarized in mammoth rural communes. The result was an economic collapse unprecedented in the history of the Sino-Soviet states. An estimated 12 to 24 million people starved to death in the "three bad years" (1959-61).

As a result of the Great Leap catastrophe Mao lost much of his authority within the ruling group and was pushed aside by his long-time number two, Liu Shao-chi, and Deng Xiaoping. During the great limping backward in the early 1960s the Liu/Deng regime made the same kind of concessions to peasant petty capitalism which are now in full bloom. Mao struck back at his factional opponents with the Cultural Revolution. This attempted mass purge, based on frenzied student-youth backed by the army, disrupted and retarded the country's economic development for a decade. The universities were shut down for years. Many of China's all-too-small cadre of Soviet- and Western-trained scientists, engineers and technicians were stripped of their posts, humiliated by the Maoist Red Guards and sent to the countryside to "learn from the peasantry."

The authority of the Communist regime, already severely damaged by the Great Leap, especially in the countryside, was further weakened by the madness of the Cultural Revolution. China's peasantry could no longer be motivated by promises of a socialist future but only by cold, hard cash. The Deng regime, which consolidated its power a few years after Mao died in 1976, would provide plenty of cash.

... to Deng's "Building Socialism with Capitalist Methods"

American Cold War academic Donald Zagoria observed recently that "the Chinese system today more closely resembles the Soviet system in the 1920s under the New Economic Policy [NEP] than it resembles the Soviet system today" ("China's Quiet Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1984). Here it is important to differentiate between the

original New Economic Policy put forward by Lenin in 1921 as a necessary but temporary retreat, and what it became under the Stalin/Bukharin bloc in the mid-late 1920s when Russia's peasants were told to "enrich yourselves." Interestingly, Zagoria notes that the Chinese have recently translated Stephen Cohen's sympathetic biography of Nikolai Bukharin. Like Bukharin, the Deng regime is telling China's peasants to "enrich yourselves."

Although the communes with their three-tier structure still formally exist in China, the basic unit of production, accounting and distribution is today the individual peasant household. An official of the state procurement agency indicated that it no longer deals with 5.5 million production teams as before but with 170 million separate peasant households. Chinese Stalinism has turned the calendar back 30 years to the very beginnings of agricultural collectivization.

Under the "responsibility system" peasant households lease a plot of land for 15 years. In return they are obliged to supply the state with an annual quota of produce at a fixed price. Anything over and above that amount can be sold to the state at a higher price or on the open market. In addition, the size of private plots has been doubled, and peasants are encouraged to engage in all kinds of sideline occupations (handicraft production, freelance construction work, trucking, etc.). The Chinese countryside has experienced an explosion of petty capitalism. Small-scale entrepreneurs are also flourishing in the cities.

When Reagan visited China last spring, he praised the "free-market spirit," which, he claimed, "has already enlivened the Chinese economy." Propagandists for the Deng regime and its friends on Wall Street and in Washington argue that China's NEP works. According to official statistics, the growth rate of agricultural output has roughly doubled (from 3.5 to 7 percent a year) since the new policies were introduced in late 1978.

To begin with, much of this increase is due to substantial agricultural investment *before* Deng's NEP. Despite the disruption of the Cultural Revolution, between 1965 and 1977 production of farm machinery increased eightfold, the supply of chemical fertilizer more than doubled. In part Deng is reaping the crop sown by the now-vilified Mao regime.

More fundamentally, it is impossible to judge the benefits of the agricultural "boom" because the distribution of income has become so grossly inegalitarian. The Chinese press regularly reports peasants earning 10,000 yuan a year, 20 to 30 times the average national per capita income! The *Wall Street Journal* (4 May 1984) gives us a capsule portrait of one of China's new "10,000-yuanaires," a chicken farmer named Wu Xiangtin. Wu has purchased a new house, a new chicken coop and a TV set. He plans to diversify into raising rabbits, ducks and geese because it's more lucrative. Wu's neighbor, Li Xiaochuan, the *Journal* describes as "a dishevelled man who lives in a cramped and dirty house. Mr. Li has only four pigs, six chickens and a family income about one-tenth of Mr. Wu's."

Museum of Revolutionary History, Peking

A deformed social revolution: Mao's peasant army enters the great metropolis of Shanghai, 1949.

The likes of chicken farmer Wu may be heroes of entrepreneurial capitalism to the *Wall Street Journal*, but they are something very different to their poor neighbors like Li. China's newly rich peasants complain constantly that people are stealing their livestock, construction materials, even crops in the field. One poor peasant woman poisoned the ducks of her too conspicuously prosperous neighbor. The Ministry of Public Security has issued a nationwide directive instructing police to protect the property of the newly rich against communism from below. *Business Week* (14 January) reports in a worried tone:

> "Some poor peasants have attacked or sabotaged their better-off neighbors. By creating pockets of wealth, Deng may be setting the stage for a new outbreak of class struggle."

He may indeed.

The Old Plagues Return

The "free-market spirit," so praised by Reagan and the *Wall Street Journal*, has not only produced gross inequality but has had other reactionary, even barbaric, effects. It has, for example, contributed to the reappearance of female infanticide in the Chinese countryside. With the breakdown of collectivized agriculture and de facto restoration of family farming, peasant couples are more determined than ever to have at least one male heir to provide for them in old age. There are no state pensions for China's peasantry, and daughters traditionally move into their husband's household. Since the regime applies strong economic incentives and penalties to encourage one-child families to keep down the population, some peasants kill their girl babies to insure themselves of a son and provider.

Between 1979 and 1983 agricultural procurement prices were increased almost 50 percent, while labor productivity on the farms rose only about 10 percent. How come China has not then experienced an explosion in food prices? In fact, consumer goods prices have been rising since 1980 but at nothing like the runaway pace of peasant money income. Inflation is potential social dynamite in China where memories of the civil war in the 1940s, when currency became completely worthless, are still very much alive. About a year ago the *Wall Street Journal* (27 December 1983) noted: "Many of the old guard in China's leadership remember that the rival Kuomintang's loss of power in the late 1940s was accelerated by a wave of hyperinflation. They don't want that to happen to them."

To prevent the money being showered on the countryside from spilling over into rapidly rising food prices, the Deng regime has resorted to ever-greater subsidies from the state budget. Last year agricultural subsidies ate up, so to speak, one quarter of all government revenues! Referring to China's agricultural "boom," the Far Eastern Economic Review's 1984 *Asia Yearbook* pointed out "the price of these achievements has been costly subsidies for agricultural products which have strained government revenues that are needed for major investments in energy and transportation infrastructures and for government services." But Deng & Co. cannot forever, or even for very long, borrow from Peter to pay Paul. Last summer premier Zhao Ziyang reportedly exclaimed: "The government can't go on like this indefinitely."

The much ballyhooed economic "reform" announced in October was basically a decision to bite the bullet of inflation. The day after the "reform" was announced, the residents of Peking stripped the shops of everything they could buy and store. The commercially minded citizenry of Canton, across from that island of entrepreneurial capitalism, Hong Kong, preferred to invest their yuan in jewelry. They knew what was coming.

Deng's "building socialism with capitalist methods" has brought the return not only of the old plague inflation but another one, unemployment. To increase labor productivity in industry, the regime is seeking to break the "iron rice bowl," the policy of a guaranteed job. Taking the lead are the foreign-owned concessions and joint enterprises, the fruit of Deng's "open door" policy. For example, just before the Chinese New Year last February the president of Fujian Hitachi Television Ltd. wished his 600 workers a happy new year and then told 100 of them that they were being laid off. An estimated 10 percent of the urban population are today unemployed and reduced to surviving as best they can. Beggars and prostitutes—two more plagues of the old China—have returned to the streets of Peking, Shanghai and other cities.

Trotsky once said one of Stalin's greatest crimes was turning countless young revolutionary idealists into political cynics. This is also one of the great crimes of Chinese Stalinism, played out on the scale of an entire nation. The millions of workers and peasants who believed they were building communism in the Great Leap Forward, the student-youth who flocked to the Maoist Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, have become disillusioned with politics and absorbed in narrowly personal concerns. One Peking university student summed up the moral climate of Deng's China:

> "They no longer care about ideology but are only preoccupied with personal well-being. The young worry about love and marriage, the workers about bonuses, the peasants about getting rich, and the intellectuals about going abroad. We've all become slick and sly."
> —*Time*, 30 April 1984

However, the effects of "building socialism with capitalist methods"—inflation and mounting unemployment, rampant income inequality and serious economic disproportions—will surely shake Deng's China out of its "slick and sly" mood.

Where is Deng's China Going?

China's much publicized agricultural boom is superficial and transient. On the one hand, it is based on massive government subsidies at the cost of investment needed for other sectors and, in any case, cannot continue on the present scale. On the other hand, China's newly rich peasants are *not* reinvesting their wealth to improve agricultural productivity: "Peasants have so far tended to use most of their windfalls to build houses; relatively little has gone into buying farm equipment or improving fields" (Far Eastern Economic Review, *Asia Yearbook*, 1984). Why is this?

For one thing, the rich peasants do not trust the Peking bureaucrats, whatever promises they make. It is not their government. They know that tomorrow or the day after there may be new policies which take away their wealth or a good part of it. Like the Russian kulaks (rich peasants) under

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Der Spiegel

Jiatie/Xinhua

Mao's communes (left) based on shared poverty. Deng's "rich peasant" policy (right) has produced gross inequality.

China...

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NEP, their Chinese counterparts are getting and spending while they can and the devil take tomorrow.

Secondly, the tiny size of the typical household plot is itself a barrier to applying modern technology. "Agricultural yields rise, but the boom cannot last" is the title of a perceptive article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (13 December 1984). The article points out that "the labour-intensivity and small scale of family farming in China are major obstacles to mobilising and deploying investment funds in the countryside and to specialisation." There can be no modernization and mechanization of China's agriculture on the base of small-scale family farming.

To get the rich peasants to invest productively, 15-year leases and the right to sell their surplus on the open market are not enough. They want to acquire more land and be able to hire and exploit labor. Under Deng's NEP there is an immanent tendency to transform rich peasants into agrarian capitalists in the full sense. This would pose a direct attack on one of the fundamental gains of the Chinese Revolution: "land to the tiller." The "10,000-yuanaire" farmers, with their new houses and TV sets, are already despised by the mass of the peasantry. To give them the right to exploit their poorer neighbors could well provoke full-scale class war in the Chinese countryside.

What then is the socialist answer to Deng's "rich peasant" line? The same program put forward by the Trotskyist Left Opposition under Russia's NEP:

> "The task of socialist construction in the countryside is to transform agriculture along the lines of large-scale, mechanized collective production. For the bulk of the peasants the simplest road to this end is cooperation, as Lenin described it in his work 'On Cooperation.' This is the enormous advantage which the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet system as a whole give to the peasant. Only a process of growing industrialization of agriculture can create the broad basis for such socialist cooperation (or collectivization). Without a technical revolution in production methods—that is to say, without agricultural machinery, without the rotation of crops, without artificial fertilizers, etc.—no successful and broad work in the direction of a real collectivization of agriculture is possible."
>
> —"The Platform of the Opposition" (1927) in Leon Trotsky, *The Challenge of the Left Opposition (1926-27)*

Politically, the program of socialist construction, both in cities and the countryside, demands a regime of *soviet democracy*, that is, proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Further, socialist construction is integrally linked to *extending* the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. This is especially obvious in the case of China, where the idea of "socialism in one country" is even more obviously a reactionary utopia than in Russia.

In its own way the Peking bureaucracy recognizes that China does not have the industrial base for rapid modernization. Hence the critical importance attached to an "open door" with the capitalist West and Japan. Without such a policy, Deng told a leading party body, "it would be difficult to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production." To say the least! "The imports of foreign capital and foreign technology are now major policies for China's economic construction," the deputy chairman of the State Economic Commission told a gathering of European industrialists and bankers in Switzerland last year (*New York Times*, 29 January 1984). But how can China afford to import capital on anything approaching the scale necessary to quadruple national output in 15 years? The answer is, it can't.

Mondadori

Armed workers seize Shanghai in 1927. Stalin told revolutionary workers to give up their guns to Chiang Kai-shek, leading to bloody counterrevolution.

China's export earnings are and will remain small relative to the size of the economy. The idea that a few years down the road China can become a giant Taiwan or South Korea, flooding Western markets with cheap consumer goods, is utterly fantastical. In fact, the rising tide of protectionism in West Europe and North America make it more difficult for China to export manufactures than it was a decade ago. U.S. quotas on textiles and apparel have been a serious point of friction with its Peking ally.

Possibly Deng believes that membership in the global anti-Soviet alliance entitles China to Western and Japanese economic largesse. Sure, the Pentagon will supply the Chinese army and navy with weapons to fight the Russians and Vietnamese, but Western and Japanese industrialists and financiers are not going to subsidize the "four modernizations." No way. Apart from oil drilling in the South China Sea, Peking's efforts to attract foreign capital have had relatively meager results. The few billion dollars in investment have helped China's balance of payments in the short run, but will have just the opposite effect when the multinationals repatriate their profits.

Potentially more important and more dangerous than the Peking Stalinists' "open door" to foreign multinationals are their efforts to reintegrate China's *own* capitalist class into the economy. Whereas the Bolshevik Revolution destroyed the Russian bourgeoisie *in toto*, in China in 1949 the capitalists were driven offshore, to Taiwan and Hong Kong, where they have since thrived under the aegis of American and British imperialism. Hong Kong's moneymen, traders and gangsters already play a certain role in the economic life of the mainland, especially in the neighboring province of Guangdong. And they are slated to play a greater role. In December the Deng regime agreed to preserve capitalism in Hong Kong for 50 years after the British relinquish sovereignty in 1997.

Iron Lady Thatcher, taking a break from her civil war against the striking British coal miners, journeyed to Peking to "pay a tribute to the leaders of China for the vision and farsightedness of their approach to the negotiations. The concept of one country, two systems—preserving two different political, social and economic systems within one nation—has no precedent" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1984). It has no precedent for the simple reason that one state power cannot defend the interests of two fundamentally hostile social classes. Even more than the present "rich peasant" policy, the incorporation of Hong Kong's wealthy and self-confident bourgeoisie into the People's Republic would enormously strengthen the forces for counterrevolution.

Deng's "building socialism with capitalist methods" encourages class forces hostile to socialism. The recent example of Poland demonstrates how conciliation of petty-bourgeois layers, particularly property-owning peasants, fuels appetites for counterrevolution, such as crystallized in Solidarność, the unique favorite "union" of Ronald Reagan and the CIA. The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy's policies facilitated the growth of clericalist and reactionary nationalist forces to such a point that only naked repression by the army at the very last moment prevented an anti-socialist coup by Solidarność. Such repression can do no more than freeze the situation; it cannot break down the social bases for the threat of bloody capitalist restoration.

Der Spiegel

Deng's China spearheads U.S. aggression against Vietnam, February 1979.

Just as NEP in Soviet Russia soon produced the famous "scissors crisis," as industry was starved by kulak enrichment in agriculture, so Deng's policies are producing an economic crunch reflecting counterposed class forces. The alternative to "opening" China to capitalism is not national autarky, but genuine international socialist planning. And that requires socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies not only in Peking but also in Moscow.

A revolutionary workers government in China, based on soviet democracy, would promote balanced economic growth, insuring a steadily rising standard of living for the population. But there can be no great leaps forward, no catching up with the West in a generation or so solely on the basis of the resources available in China. In a sense Deng is right, that for China to overcome its legacy of poverty, backwardness and ignorance does require an open door to the economically advanced countries. But not as long as they are ruled by the likes of Reagan, Thatcher and the Mitsubishi empire. The modernization of China, the world's largest nation with its rich and ancient culture, is a great task for the international proletarian revolution and global socialist order. ■

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NYC Cops...

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Nazi stormtroopers. This was a naked show of force to threaten unbridled, murderous police terror.

A *New York Times* (6 February) editorial warned that to give in to the cops' threats was to "invite insurrection." The haughty organ of the bourgeois establishment is worried that Mayor Koch is running the city like San Salvador and the death squads could get out of hand. But Koch is once again campaigning for mayor on a "Fear City" program. (In 1977 his calling card was support for the death penalty.) He certainly knows that he needs his uniformed killers to enforce capitalist "law and order." The *Times* itself noted about the ESU, "the equivalent of the special forces in the Army," that it would be "difficult to replace them quickly." At the same time, like the *News* and the *Post*, the *Times* writes sympathetic "human interest" stories about Koch's stormtroopers.

When "subway vigilante" Bernhard Goetz shot four black youth who were trying to rip him off, Koch used the incident to fan the flames of racism. Last week he praised Manhattan DA Robert Morgenthau's grand jury for dropping the charges against Goetz—except for the "crime" of carrying a gun—then he denounced Merola's grand jury for charging Sullivan, who is guilty of murder, with *anything* at all! Koch answered the *Times* with a letter defending Sullivan and the cops' mob action at the Bronx courthouse, while denouncing the "unlawful" transit workers strike in 1980 which, both he and the *Times* editors agree, had to be broken.

According to police "union" head Caruso, Sullivan "only did his job." For once, Caruso's not lying. As Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary put it, "They all have blood on their hands." What we need is to bring down the whole racist, capitalist system where it is the job of the cops to bust strikers' heads and police the ghetto through naked terror. Put killer cop Sullivan behind bars! Abolish the ESU! Smash police bonapartism! ■

Mandela...

(continued from page 1)

maneuvering to place on Mandela the responsibility for his continued imprisonment. This move comes amid what are, for South Africa's ruling Afrikaner Nationalists, unprecedented overtures to the ANC: foreign minister Pik Botha said last November that the ANC might one day be legalized (if it "renounced violence," of course); a journalist for a *verligte* ("enlightened") Afrikaans newspaper met with ANC officials in exile; and P.W. Botha had to deny rumors that Nationalist members of parliament had done likewise. In a parallel move, business associations representing 80 percent of South Africa's commerce and industry came out with a memorandum calling for an end to racial restrictions on jobs and business opportunities and for "free" trade unions, common South African citizenship (instead of relegation to citizenship in the poverty-stricken bantustans) and "meaningful political participation" for the African majority.

Ten years ago one could talk about the ANC only in deep secrecy and all this "reform" talk would have been heard only from the most far-sighted English-speaking capitalists such as Harry Oppenheimer of the giant Anglo-American conglomerate. So why the change? In part because the once-booming apartheid economy is now stagnant, dogged by rising unemployment, low productivity and a chronic shortage of skilled workers, which requires the formation of a stable layer of skilled black workers. But much more decisive, apartheid capitalism has been rocked by many-sided struggles over the last decade: the awakening of South Africa's black proletariat with the 1973 Durban strike wave, followed by many others; the 1976 township revolts centered on the youth of Soweto; and ANC guerrilla attacks.

Last August Botha's "reform" constitution (heavily supported by big business) was utterly discredited when the "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian minorities heavily boycotted elections to separate coloured and Indian puppet parliaments. Then followed bloody township upheavals sparked by rent hikes and a short strike by the strategically placed black gold miners. The culmination, so far, came in early November when hundreds of thousands of workers paralyzed the industrial heartland of Transvaal province with a two-day general strike. Called by black union leaders and the United Democratic Front (UDF)—a sprawling popular-frontist coalition supported by the ANC and the Stalinist Communist Party (SACP)—the strike shattered any illusions that black industrial workers could be bought off from the struggle against racial oppression by Botha's "legalization" of highly state-controlled trade unionism. A South African company director remarked: "More than any other single event, that convinced almost everyone that we were in a crisis, that we had to act" (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 January).

Apartheid is indeed in crisis, and at the heart of that crisis is the prospect of a massive uprising by the six-million-strong black proletariat. The spectre of workers revolution frightens the racist rulers not only in Pretoria but also their big brothers in Washington, London and the other imperialist capitals. Social revolution in South Africa would shake the world. It would shatter a key link in the global anti-Soviet alliance. It would inflame all of neocolonial black Africa. And, not least, it would inspire and radicalize the strategic black proletariat in the very heartland of world imperialism, the United States.

So important sections of the South African ruling class and its foreign protectors are finally starting to see the liberal-nationalist ANC, with its great moral authority among the masses gained from decades of anti-apartheid struggle, as perhaps the last hope of reconstituting South African society on a less rigidly racist *capitalist* basis. Thus, even an arch reactionary like Britain's Iron Lady Thatcher has called for Mandela's release. And Teddy Kennedy in his recent grandstanding tour of South Africa asked to meet with Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison (the regime denied this request). Instead he visited Winnie Mandela, wife of the ANC leader and herself banned. The ANC leadership welcomed Kennedy's efforts. It was left to the radical petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Black Consciousness group AZAPO to protest Kennedy as "the epitome of U.S. imperialism" making a cynical play to refurbish his "liberal" credentials back home.

The ANC has always insisted, and Mandela repeated this in his recent statements, that the ANC would negotiate with the apartheid regime if it would legalize the organization and free its leaders. The chief organizer of the ANC's military actions and prominent SACP leader Joe Slovo recently stated: "For the first time it is recognized by most of the more realistic members of the South African ruling establishment and many of its friends outside that there can be no real solution without the ANC" (*Washington Post*, 1 February).

And what is the "solution" these "more realistic members of the South African ruling establishment" would like to negotiate with the ANC? No section of the white ruling class, even the most "liberal," contemplates the elementary democratic right of one man, one vote, which means black majority rule. Instead they put forward "consociational" and "federal" schemes which, are only a warmed-over version of the apartheid system—that is, white political and economic domination over the mass of superexploited black toilers. Given the strength of white racist reaction and the explosive militancy of the black masses, a "power-sharing" deal between the Afrikaner Nationalist regime and the ANC would be near impossible to arrange in the foreseeable future. However, this represents a strategy of betrayal of the struggle against apartheid.

Nelson Mandela has spoken movingly of the support he finds in popular hatred of racism around the world. But instead of appealing to liberal "world opinion" (i.e., Western imperialism) with divestment schemes, we Trotskyists call for international labor action in solidarity with South Africa's embattled workers. A motive force for the Washington/Pretoria axis is the imperialists' war drive to reconquer Soviet Russia for capitalist exploitation. Thus unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is inextricably linked to social revolution in South Africa.

It will take a Trotskyist party, armed with the program of permanent revolution based on the Russian October, to lead the workers revolution which can avenge all of South Africa's martyred anti-apartheid fighters and unlock the socialist development of all black Africa. Free Nelson Mandela and all imprisoned anti-apartheid fighters! Smash apartheid and open the road to a black-centered workers and peasants government! ■

South Africa: Defend the Crossroads Resisters!

As we go to press, thousands of black Africans in the packed squatter camp of Crossroads outside Cape Town are fighting a running battle with police trying to remove them to a black township in sand dunes miles away. The official death toll is five, but one reporter states that he saw "police swinging bodies like carcasses" into an armored vehicle. The doctor at a local clinic says he has treated 60 people for birdshot and rubber bullet wounds. In the past two decades 3.5 million blacks have been forcibly removed from their homes, most of them dumped into the desolate bantustan hellholes. But now they are fighting back, against a background of mass revolt centered on the powerful black working class. Defend the Crossroads resisters—Smash apartheid terror!

South Africa...

(continued from page 2)

In terms of the rural black immiserated population these claims will be to land they (or their fathers or grandfathers) have possibly never seen, let alone worked. I have tried to come up with adequate slogans to express this but have not as yet hit on anything that seems to do the job. Perhaps something like the Homestead Act carried out in the context of a rural uprising in the period of dual power in South Africa (or afterwards) would best fit the bill.

Comradely,
Ed C.

WV replies: The land worked by South Africa's black peasantry is not at all, as comrade Ed C. implies, limited to the desolate bantustan hellholes. Agriculture is important in the economy of the apartheid state, accounting for roughly 10 percent of its exports. The producers of this agricultural wealth, that is, the tillers of South Africa's rich, *white-owned* soil, are overwhelmingly black Africans. And that is their continuing as well as historical relationship to the land that is South Africa.

Well over 80 percent of the agricultural labor force in the "white homeland" is black. The rest are mainly "coloureds" (mixed race). In 1980 there were over a million black farm workers out of a total black labor force of 5.6 million (*South African Statistics*, 1982). Thus the agrarian question is not at all marginal in South Africa nor can it be reduced to the issue of the bantustans.

Far from being a "cruel joke," the slogan of "land to the tiller" speaks powerfully to the impoverished rural masses. True, it does not directly address smashing the bantustans and resettling their populations under livable conditions. Therefore this general slogan of agrarian revolution must be supplemented by other demands specific to the smashing of South African apartheid. But it is not wrong nor inapplicable.

A significant section of South Africa's black peasantry lives and toils more or less permanently on white-owned farms far from their "tribal homelands." In 1980 (the latest available figures) 60 percent of the black agricultural labor force were classified as regular farm workers, the other 40 percent as casual. Furthermore, many of the bantustans are located adjacent to white plantations. The bantustans do not and cannot support their swollen populations, even at the level of bare subsistence. Seventy-five percent of the bantustans' income derives from migrant labor. Additionally, taxation is deliberately used to force bantustan dwellers to toil as superexploited labor in the factories, mines and also farms of the "white homeland" that is 87 percent of South Africa.

The desperate conditions in the bantustans exploded in the Pondoland in 1960, when thousands rose up against the despised tribal chieftains. Among other things these black African peasants protested the killing taxation. The scale of the Pondoland uprising can be gauged from the ensuing repression: over 5,000 people were imprisoned, more than 2,000 actually brought to trial. An account of this uprising is given in Govan Mbeki's *South Africa: The Peasant's Revolt* (1973). The conditions in South Africa can certainly generate a mass peasant uprising which could powerfully reinforce proletarian insurrection in the cities and mining camps.

Comrade Ed C. projects and proposes that a victorious workers revolution in South Africa would "parcel out" the white-owned estates and large farms. Why should we want to create a new class of peasant smallholders? "Land to the tiller" does *not* necessarily mean as individual proprietors. Unlike in India today or prerevolutionary China, the black peasantry in South Africa are not tenants working their own small plots. There is no reason to assume they would opt for individual smallholding over the advantages of large-scale, mechanized, collectivized agriculture. A black-centered workers and peasants government would nationalize the land and expropriate the white-owned agricultural land to be used for state farms and cooperatives. ■

Black History Month 1985

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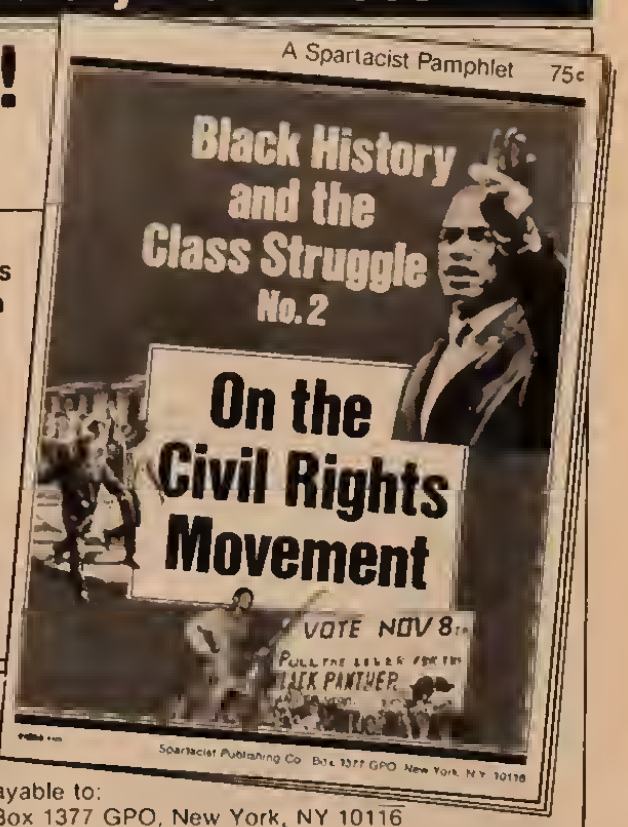

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NYC Housing...

(continued from page 12)

Of course, not everybody's got this problem. The *Times* (21 January) "Home" section recently featured the lifestyle of sculptor Donald Judd in "SoHo's Wide-Open Spaces." Judd bought a small five-story office building in southern Manhattan, a former garment factory, and converted it into his home. On the ground floor he exhibits his sculpture, the second floor is his living room, the third his studio. On the fourth floor he has...a dining room table, on the fifth...a bed. In the basement he has bedrooms for his two teen-age kids, and he's remodeling the subbasement as a dance and performance area. Judd said he hates "clutter": "I don't know why people live in SoHo lofts if they want to divide these spaces into apartments." The *Times* wisely didn't publish the address of this conspicuous housing consumer—he might have some unwanted space invaders subdividing his wide-open spread!

The other side of the coin of unaffordable luxury condos is absolute misery. The day after its housing survey, the *Times* ran a letter to the editor quoting a police spokesman saying that crime usually goes down in freezing weather. The writer noted that what you get is a different kind of crime—landlords freezing people to death. "Hypothermia," a fancy word invented in England, has now become a common statistic in New York. And a picture story, "They Have Each Other," in the *Daily News* (2 February), showed a "family" of about 60 homeless men and women who have been living in an open shed on the Lower East Side for the last two years. Squatters in lean-tos, gathered around an oil-drum fire for warmth, homeless huddled in Grand Central Station like shell-shocked war refugees: is this New York or the shantytowns of Santiago or Lagos?

As every statistic shows, New York is becoming a city of the very rich and the very poor. And as the streets get meaner, Koch's racist cossacks ride roughshod over everyone. If you live in a city housing project and fall behind $386 in rent, a police SWAT team may break in and blow you away, as they did to infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in the Bronx. Then Koch's coroner, Dr. Gross the ghoul, will cover up the crime. On the subway Queens meets Harlem, and the middle class finds itself in head-on confrontation with the black ghetto, the vast concentration camps for increasingly desperate oppressed minority

WV Photo

"Decal City," the Bronx. Koch tries to disguise burnt-out buildings with fake windows (complete with potted plants).

Finkelstein/Daily News

Solomayor/NY Times

"Family" of 60 squatters prefers abandoned shed (above) to life in terror-ridden city shelters (below), receiving inspection tour from Governor Cuomo and Mayor Koch.

populations. This intensification of the social contradictions is what produces a Bernhard Goetz, the subway shooter.

Their Trump

In this age of high interest rates that drive small farmers and whole countries to ruin, knocking the props out from under the franc and the pound, attracting speculative capital to New York from Argentina and Saudi Arabia, today's robber baron is the real estate mogul. And the one who's made it in New York is Donald Trump. The glossy mags feature the glitzy wunderkind billionaire "developer" staring up at his $200 million Trump Tower complex on Fifth Avenue—that "Xanadu of conspicuous consumption" a *New York Times Magazine* (8 April 1984) piece called it. All it takes is bucks, lots of 'em. And of course, "it's good to know people," as dad Fred Trump says, referring to former NYC mayor Abe Beame, former governor Hugh Carey and cronies in the old Brooklyn Democratic club whose tax write-offs, abatements, city contracts and special zoning arrangements made the Trump family King of the Hill in New York today.

What's good for Donald Trump is good for New York, says Mayor Koch, whose campaigns have been financed by every real estate interest in the city. Trump's first big real estate deal was the conversion of the nearly defunct Commodore Hotel into the chrome and glass luxury Grand Hyatt, made possible by a 40-year tax abatement from the city, the first ever granted to a commercial property. This little sweetheart deal was worked out during the mid-1970s bank-engineered NYC "fiscal crunch." When the economy picked up, Trump was sitting atop a gold mine. Now that he's the undisputed Condo King, plus some prestige properties like the St. Moritz and Trump Plaza in Atlantic City, Donald is looking for bigger things. Boasting of his bargaining powers, Trump offered to take over arms control negotiations with the Soviets. No doubt if there was a SALT III agreement he would condo the MX silos and turn them into luxury fallout shelters!

But Trump has competition. His archrival, Harry Macklowe, is the roadrunning coyote reputed to be behind the dead-of-night wrecking ball job on two single room occupancy hotels just off Times Square in January, hours before a city ordinance banning such demolition went into effect. For this illegal operation naturally they had no permits to disconnect water and gas lines—a stray spark as they began ripping out the innards of the buildings could have blown up half the block and the people on it. Meanwhile, Macklowe is busy selling co-ops to the 78th floor of a highrise he's building on 57th Street... for which his permit only allows 65 stories. This construction is going on next to Faith Stewart Gordon's Russian Tea Room, the elegant theater-district gathering spot. Since he was unsuccessful in buying it, Macklowe has resorted to other tactics. Just the other week, diners at the Tea Room were informed that there would be no soufflés today, and if they heard a big bang, not to worry, they're just tearing down the buildings on both sides. You could almost see Macklowe gleefully pushing down the plunger on the dynamite.

Harry Macklowe is to real estate what Ed Koch is to politics—a real wrecker. Everybody hates Harry, from the poor crammed into SRO hotels to the cultural elite of the bourgeoisie. We had some personal experience with this "reclusive real estate operator" when he bought the old American Thread Company building at 260 West Broadway a few years ago, where we had our party offices before this warehouse district below Canal Street became "Tribeca." Macklowe wanted to convert the building into top of the line condos, and he is an expert in the art of "tenant removal": in the dead of winter the heat "failed," water was turned off in the toilets, the elevators stopped, locks were removed on building doors so that women were assaulted in the bathrooms. Now the building houses superstars like Harry Belafonte's daughter and rock singer Cyndi Lauper. Like Cyndi's hit song says, "Money Changes Everything."

"Gentrification"—Then and Now

Besides the giant condominiums going up in Midtown, there has also been wholesale co-oping of the southern tip of Manhattan. The basis for transformation of the Soho/Tribeca area was laid about 15 years ago when they moved the old produce district up to Hunt's Point in the Bronx. This produced a deep depression in property values below Canal Street, but now the stock of buildings has appreciated enormously. Pre-existing landlords are reaping enormous profits, the Macklowes of Manhattan real estate are making a killing and big money from Hong Kong and Taiwan is moving into Chinatown. And from Rockefeller Center to Lincoln Center, if there's one sinister force behind it all historically, it's the Rockefeller family. The whole development is related to a fundamental restructuring of the American city called "gentrification."

For decades the bourgeoisie has moved further and further out of town, so that commuting now frequently takes two hours each way. But the people who run this country finally figured out that urban areas have enormous advantages. Why should *we* have to commute, they figure, let the damned masses make the long haul. Because life could be good in New York City. Here you have the center of culture, politics, finance, science, medicine, etc. If you really want to feed deer, you can go up to Westchester and Putnam counties and get Lyme

A New Yorker's map of the world. Ruling class has rediscovered the city. They want in...and everybody else out.

ticks, or even more horrible blights like Rocky Mountain spotted fever. But if you want amenities, the cities are where it's at. So now billions of dollars are flowing into New York City as the bourgeoisie takes the urban centers which can be what suburbia and exurbia never could be.

In the great cities of Europe this is very old news, centuries old. Paris was the model. With the onset of political reaction under Napoleon III, they ripped down the poor quarters which were the botheds of revolution. The narrow alleys whose cobblestones were used to build barricades were replaced by broad paved avenues—perfect for mounted troops to parade up and down. And the poor were pushed out. Frederick Engels, Karl Marx's closest collaborator, wrote in his 1872 pamphlet, *The Housing Question*:

> "And it is just the same with the housing shortage. The growth of the big modern cities gives the land in certain areas, particularly in those which are centrally situated, an artificial and often colossally increasing value; the buildings erected on these areas depress this value, instead of increasing it, because they no longer correspond to the changed circumstances. They are pulled down and replaced by others. This takes place above all with workers' houses which are situated centrally and whose rents, even with the greatest overcrowding, can never, or only very slowly, increase above a certain maximum. They are pulled down and in their stead shops, warehouses and public buildings are erected. Through its Haussmann in Paris, Bonapartism exploited this tendency tremendously for swindling and private enrichment. But the spirit of Haussmann has also been abroad in London, Manchester and Liverpool, and seems to feel itself just as much at home in Berlin and Vienna. The result is that the workers are forced out of the centre of the towns towards the outskirts; that workers' dwellings, and small dwellings in general, become rare and expensive and often altogether unobtainable, for under these circumstances the building industry, which is offered a much better field for speculation by more expensive houses, builds workers' dwellings only by way of exception."

The inner city was for the grand bourgeoisie. The next belt was for the middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie. Then way out were the masses, likely not to speak the same language or have the same color, ranging from rather solidly working class to the lumpen *bidonvilles* or shantytowns. This pattern has come to the United States too—they began in Pittsburgh, and now New York, San Francisco, Boston. For your would-be Bonapartes you have a Mayor Koch, and your Haussmanns are the Donald Trumps.

"Urban Renewal = Negro Removal"

To "retake" the cities, the bourgeoisie has to move out the poor, and that means overwhelmingly blacks and Hispanics. (Occasionally you hit a few blocks of Irish in the middle of a ghetto, but that's rare these days.) This is why this whole process of gentrification is accompanied by the furor of racist backlash, from Koch's killer cops going after black kids on the streets to his current "anti-crime" rampage, calling for more prisons instead of schools. Meanwhile his opponent, City Council president Carol Bellamy, is the very epitome of the thousands of "young urban professionals" who during the 1980 transit strike put on sneakers and jogged over the Brooklyn Bridge each morning to work in Wall Street, giving rise to the phenomenon of the "yuppies." And of course a yuppie is never so happy as when he is gentrifying.

All that raises an interesting question. If Manhattan is so groovy—and it is, or else people wouldn't shell out that kind of money—what's going to happen to Harlem? For 200 years there have been successive waves of "Negro removal." Years ago the Murray Hill section on the East Side used to be a black ghetto. Then blacks were shoved up into Harlem, which was built for German, Irish, Jewish working-class families at the time the subways were run up. These rather strongly built tenements are still structurally sound. So how long is it going to be before 110th Street becomes Central Park North? Already Yorkville is expanding north into El Barrio (Spanish Harlem) as entire sections are being renovated in what is becoming known as the "Yupper East Side."

The American ruling class wants in, so everybody else has got to go. Democrat Big MAC financier Felix Rohatyn at least was frank about it when he called for blacktopping the South Bronx. Usually hypocrisy is the norm. A few years back, every bourgeois politician from Jimmy Carter to Ronald Reagan and the pope made the trek up to burned-out Charlotte Street in the South Bronx to promise sweeping changes in housing for the poor. Mayor Koch added his usual grotesque touch by announcing with much fanfare plans to build ranch houses (!) on the site with federally subsidized mortgages. Today there are two (count 'em) model ranch houses on Charlotte Street: the houses contracted by the few black middle-class families who paid down payments on them have not been and never will be built, and now the government says the time for the federal mortgage loans has run out. Meanwhile, the arson-for-profit industry continues to devastate whole sections of the city. City councilman Gerona-Valentin had a better idea when he called for Soviet aid to the South Bronx.

Higgins/NY Times

Real estate speculators wreck Times Square welfare hotel in dead of night to make room for luxury condos. Soho artist (right) flaunts "wide-open space" of five-story garment factory converted into single-family dwelling. As pop song says, "Money Changes Everything."

The New York Times

THE

Home

SECTION

Art and Unconventional Design In SoHo's Wide-Open Spaces

gears and ordered cold air pumped through the heating system to drive the destitute out! Outside St. Vincent's Hospital in Greenwich Village, they strung barbed wire over the sidewalk gratings so people couldn't lie on them to get the warmth.

But don't say the Yuppies don't have a social conscience. An item in the *New York Post* the other day reported that the homeless at two city shelters will now be offered free jogging lessons from the New York Road Runners Club: "If we can... help them feel positive twice a week... it might give them some impetus to get up and look for a job," a spokesman said. And don't forget "Decal City"—the federally funded program to paste up large decals over the shattered windows of abandoned city-owned tenements in the Bronx, particularly those facing major thoroughfares. At least the Russian tsar built "Potemkin Villages" to hide the hideous rural poverty—the decaying American bourgeoisie can only afford shelf paper!

WV Photos

New York City homeless try to survive: living out of bags and seeking "shelter" in Grand Central Station (left). Dwellers of Mexico City shantytown (right) at least have a home to go to.

A Modest Proposal

So here we are in the financial capital of world capitalism, and we find an entire underground city—estimates vary from 20,000 to 60,000—of homeless thrown out of mental hospitals and bulldozed SRO hotels, now surviving in doorways, dangerous city "shelters" and shantytowns. The cruelty of their treatment is so grotesque it makes you think of a Dickens novel at the worst of the industrial revolution in England 150 years ago. During the bitter cold snap earlier this month, with the wind chill factor plunging way below zero, Grand Central Station was kept open all night so that hundreds of crazed, mumbling souls could find refuge. However, when the influx of "bag people" started to annoy the grey-flannel-suited junior execs rushing to their suburban trains, the powers that be suddenly switched

We have seen how the bourgeoisie "solves" the housing crisis. So we've got a modest proposal. There's not much land in Manhattan, but there is some around. Donald Trump has just bought a big chunk of land on Manhattan's West Side—76 acres of the old Penn Central railyards extending along the Hudson from 59th to 72nd Street. (With all the oil dripping down over the years, there's speculation he even wants to drill a well.) He says he's going to build "Trump City," "the finest [and most expensive] urban development anywhere in the world." Not so fast. Let's take a cue from the Lower East Side squatters.

Why don't the people in the shelters go over to "Trump City" and set up some lean-tos? You know, get some refrigerator boxes and corrugated steel and set up home like they've done in the cities of North Africa and all over Latin America. Hell, they'd be better off than hanging around in Grand Central. The idea could catch on—some transit workers we know suggest that you could get some old abandoned R10 subway cars (and what about those lemons, the Grumman buses?) Why sleep in the sooty streets, when you could have a shoreline view of the Hudson? As for the "wide-open spaces" in Soho lofts, why don't the inmates of Creedmore shelter just move into some of those basements and subbasements? And then there's the roughly 10,000 abandoned apartment buildings owned by the city due to tax default.

What is the solution to the housing crisis? As Engels concluded in his pamphlet:

> "The breeding places of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished, they are merely *shifted elsewhere!* The same economic necessity which produced them in the first place, produces them in the next place also. As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, it is folly to hope for an isolated solution of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the fate of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life and labour by the working class itself." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Homeless Should Seize Trump City!

New York City: You Can't Live Here

"New York, New York, it's a helluva town. You can buy yourself a condo for $100,000 down...." But if you haven't got it, forget it. You better start thinking about Hoboken... if you can afford that.

For years there's been a housing crisis in Manhattan, but now with multi-billions being made in real estate conversions and speculation, there's another kind of squeeze. It's called strangulation. A recent article in the real estate section of the Sunday *New York Times* (3 February) on the high cost of housing in New York City puts it all together, and the picture is mind-boggling:

> "There are young people who cannot afford to leave home, others who double or triple up in tiny apartments and commuters who must travel farther and farther to reach pockets of less expensive housing....
>
> "People have been known to consult architects before they consult obstetricians, postpone marriage for lack of a separate bedroom and abandon the city entirety when they lose their Manhattan apartment. Middle-income people are moving into glorified tenements in seedy Manhattan neighborhoods and renovated rowhouses in the outer boroughs...."
>
> "The displaced poor, meanwhile, move to worse housing in worse areas—or onto the streets."

This is the kind of scene that happens when urban existence is shot bloody to hell, like Moscow in the 1930s or in Israel during the waves of massive immigration. Communal kitchens, sharing the toilets, and so forth. It's a living horror, and it's a big part of what has put New York on the razor's edge.

Rents are astronomical. You can easily spend $600 a month for a loft bed over somebody's refrigerator. The *Times* article calculated the cost of an ordinary 1,400-square-foot apartment, with two bedrooms and one and a half baths. They discovered that on the average it would rent for *$2,555 a month* in Manhattan (the next closest was $1,005 in San Francisco)! And that's providing you can find such an apartment—the vacancy rate for rented apartments in all of New York City is only 2 percent, according to the latest statistics. It's grisly but true: if you want a place in Manhattan, it's a good idea to study the death notices. The survey concluded that a middle-class family income in the Big Apple is now $80,000 and still you would have to pay 40 percent of your income for housing!

Even doctors and lawyers can't afford to live in Manhattan anymore—or (area code) "212" as we now call it. A doctor we know who has been in practice for ten years, now the chief of a department, can just barely make it into New York ...as a result of a prior equity, a gift from his parents and considerable scrimping. Russell Baker burlesqued this outlandish situation in a column last year: after mentioning a whopping sum of money to a real estate agent he was shown a manhole; the next step up was an arrangement of cells suitable for solitary confinement. The rock bottom price for a condo, he was told, was 400 grand, and for something pleasant to come home to, you're talking 650. These prices were so ludicrous, wrote our favorite pundit, "I hadn't realized real money was involved" (*New York Times*, 4 March 1984).

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Plenty of room in Trump Tower, where Condo King Donald Trump surveys his pink marble atrium. Meanwhile, poor driven out of devastated railroad flats on the Lower East Side (below).

O'Neill/NY Times

WV Photo

10,000 NYC Cops Rally for Racist Murder

Schwartz/NY Post

In an ominous display of racist "cop power," 10,000 armed New York City police surrounded the Bronx Supreme Court building on February 7 demanding an unrestricted license to murder blacks. Waving clenched fists and chanting in unison, the uniformed killers were protesting the second-degree manslaughter indictment of Emergency Service Unit cop Stephen Sullivan. On October 29, Sullivan gunned down Eleanor Bumpurs, a black 67-year-old grandmother, with two close-range blasts from a 12-gauge shotgun. The racist police mobilization was the biggest in NYC history. It was an armed, political demonstration against *any* civilian control over the cops' guns.

The Bronx rally was the latest provocation in a boiling cop revolt that has brought New York to the brink of a racial explosion. After Sullivan was indicted, all 252 of his buddies on the ESU, a SWAT team masquerading as a rescue unit, put in for transfers. When black police commissioner Benjamin Ward said Mrs. Bumpurs' slaying was "within departmental guidelines," Bronx DA Mario Merola snapped back that "Hitler's people were also following his guidelines." Merola soon expressed regret about the remark, but the cops proved him right. The courthouse siege resembled nothing so much as a mob of

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 374 8 March 1985

Imperialist Beast on the Loose

Reagan Thirsts to Rape Nicaragua

MARCH 4—Broadcasting from his California hilltop ranch "Eagle's Nest," American president Ronald "Adolf" Reagan declared in a nationwide radio speech February 17 that the bloodthirsty counterrevolutionaries waging war against Sandinista Nicaragua are "freedom fighters struggling for liberty and democracy." Comparing these cutthroat killers with such bourgeois revolutionary generals as Lafayette and Bolivar, Reagan proclaimed the CIA mercenaries "our brothers." At a press conference five days later he openly called for overthrowing the Nicaraguan government. And speaking at a right-wing political convention March 1 he called the "contras" the "moral equal of our Founding Fathers"!

"Freedom fighters"? These are psychopathic sadists, murderers and torturers, whose specialty is raping and mutilating women, bayoneting babies and executing unarmed civilians. "Struggling for liberty and democracy"? To a man, the top military leaders of the largest contra group, the FDN, are former officers of dictator Anastasio Somoza's mercenary National Guard. As one of these Somozaist officers declared a couple of years ago, "Come the counterrevolution, there will be a massacre in Nicaragua. We have a lot of scores to settle. There will be bodies from the border to Managua" (*Newsweek*, 8 November 1982). They're already making good on that pledge. Last year alone they killed 600 civilians in hit-and-run attacks on farming cooperatives, schools and clinics.

But Reagan's Big Lies don't stop there. "Our objective in Nicaragua," he declared in his fireside radio chat, "is to achieve a pluralistic and fully democratic government. This can be done without the use of U.S. military forces." And at a televised press conference February 21, Reagan spelled out U.S. policy toward the Nicaraguan government more explicitly than ever before: the U.S.' goal is to "remove it in the sense of its present structure, in which it is a Communist, totalitarian state and it is not a Government chosen by the people." Just what gives this arrogant imperialist pig and liar the right to impose Yankee "democracy," on a country, moreover, whose citizens just

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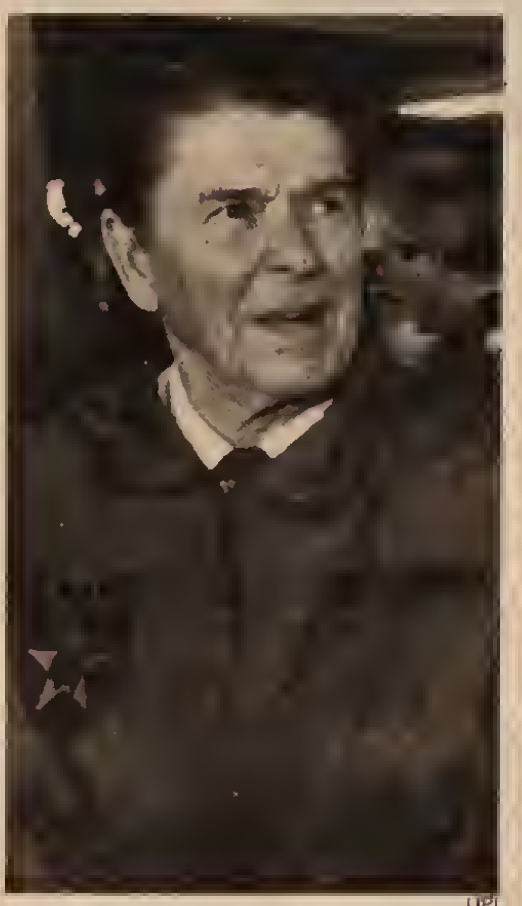

UPI

Big Brother Reagan and his contra cutthroats, like "Comandante Suicide," center, standing.

LeMoyne/Newsweek

Thatcher Vindictive in Victory, NUM Defiant in Defeat

Bloody Thatcher Beats Back Heroic British Miners

MARCH 5—The British miners' strike has been defeated but the union has not been broken. For one full year, twelve long and bitter months, the coal miners fought valiantly against the British bosses and the bloodthirsty Thatcher regime. It was the sharpest and most deep-going conflict of British labor since the turn of the century. The Thatcher regime and the rotten edifice of British capitalism was profoundly shaken by the miners union who fought for all of labor and the oppressed. Isolated and betrayed by the scabherding tops of the trade unions and Labour Party, the miners and their wives resisted heroically against tremendous odds. Their pickets were arrested and beaten, even murdered; martial law was instituted in the coal fields; mining villages were devastated by Thatcher's occupation army of cops and thugs. Hardship conditions rivaling those of the period of the General Strike of 1926 were imposed on the miners' families.

On March 3, a delegates conference

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Koch's D.A. Still Covering for Cops

Michael Stewart Was Murdered!

New York Times

Michael Stewart

Once again, the transit police lynch mob which murdered black artist Michael Stewart is getting whitewashed by the New York City "justice" system. Last fall a judge threw out even the slap-on-the-wrist manslaughter indictments brought by courageous grand jurors who refused to go along with the D.A.'s whitewash. But the continuing furor over this racist cop murder, the "rescue" team execution of 67-year-old, infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, and the cover-up in both cases by Mayor Koch's notoriously discredited killer-cop coroner Elliot Gross, has put the heat on City Hall to do *something* about the Stewart case.

So two weeks ago, Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau dropped the manslaughter charges and got his grand jury to indict three of the murderers on the far lesser charges of criminally negligent homicide, reckless endangerment and assault. A total of six cops, originally granted immunity, were charged with perjury. These obscenely trivial charges are so murky legally that Stewart family attorney Louis Clayton Jones branded them a "charade" that wouldn't stand up in court. Jones is right.

Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old son of a retired transit worker, was arrested and beaten unconscious on 15 September 1983 for allegedly scrawling graffiti in a 14th Street subway station. Morgenthau admitted that *40* witnesses saw at least eleven white cops kick and bludgeon their victim during and after his arrest. Stewart was brought to Bellevue Hospital hogtied and handcuffed, his ankles bound together and with more than 60 wounds on his body. When he died medical examiner Gross, in a ghoulish cover-up, secretly removed Stewart's eyes since their massive hemorrhaging proved that he had been strangled. They used to steal the pennies off a dead man's eyes; now they steal the eyes.

With racist pig Ed Koch fanning the flames, New York is on the brink of a racial explosion, and the cops want to push the city over the edge. When the triggerman who executed Mrs. Bumpurs, Stephen Sullivan, was belatedly indicted—simply for manslaughter, not murder—10,000 armed cops surrounded the Bronx Supreme Court building. In response to the latest indictments, an attorney for one of the killer cops cynically said, "Michael Stewart is responsible for his own death."

The D.A. hopes that by trivializing the charges against the uniformed assassins, the widespread outrage over the case will be dissipated. But Koch, Morgenthau and the NYPD can't wash the blood from their hands. Put the lynch mob killers in Attica and throw away the key! The New York labor movement, and especially the heavily integrated Transport Workers Union must respond to this racist murder and cover-up by mobilizing to demand vengeance for Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs.

Bay Area Hospitals Killed Eugene Barnes

Medical "Care," U.S.A.

OAKLAND—Eugene Barnes died January 31 because he was black, poor and didn't have medical insurance. He was a victim of racist *murder* by America's "health care" system and Reagan's killer budget cuts.

Barnes, described as "an uninsured 32-year-old" (*Oakland Tribune*) unemployed black mechanic, collapsed on a street in the heavily black and poor city of Richmond in the north Bay Area, shortly before 5 p.m. on January 28. A crowd gathered where Barnes lay with a gaping stab wound in his left temple, the victim of an unknown assailant. Police were summoned, then the fire department, finally an ambulance. Barnes was taken to Brookside Hospital, where he was clocked into the emergency room at 5:20 p.m. *For nearly five hours*, Barnes lay there slowly dying, without the emergency surgery he so desperately needed. Barnes' mother, brother and four sisters gathered in the waiting room, but were never told that he was not being treated.

Brookside Hospital administrators claim that their three staff neurosurgeons were either "busy" or "unavailable." Hospital officials say they called three other hospitals; all refused to admit him. Finally San Francisco General, over 20 miles away, was contacted. A doctor there began calling other hospitals closer to Brookside, "increasingly amazed to find that no facility—private or public—would accept the transfer of the patient" (*Oakland Tribune*, 7 February). SF General finally agreed to take Barnes; he arrived there about 10 p.m. and was immediately taken into surgery. But it was too late—Barnes never regained consciousness and died three days later.

Why would no one treat Eugene Barnes until it was too late? There has been an avalanche of conflicting cover stories, denials and "no comments" from doctors and hospital administrators involved, motivated in no small part by the $10.5 million lawsuit filed on behalf of the family by attorney Melvin Belli. But the truth is Eugene Barnes died because he couldn't afford to live.

Doctors don't like not getting paid. And Bay Area neurosurgeons polled by the *Oakland Tribune* "acknowledge that it's a good bet that anyone in an emergency room who has been shot or knifed—and who lives in a low-income neighborhood—doesn't have insurance" (*Tribune*, 13 February). The head of the Alameda Health Consortium said that "doctors are just flat out refusing to treat indigent patients in private hospitals" (*Tribune*, 6 February) because they are usually not paid.

A biting leaflet by Progressive Labor Party's International Committee Against Racism, titled "Medical Apartheid = Murder," noted that a Harvard Medical School report last year indicted Bay Area hospitals for "dumping" poor patients, citing 103 cases where patients in an unstable condition were transferred from private to public hospitals because they couldn't pay their bills. In nearly a third of these cases, the patient's life was endangered by the move, virtually all the people transferred were without insurance, and nearly 60 percent of those whose lives were endangered were black.

The death of Eugene Barnes grabbed Bay Area headlines for several days. The state cited Brookside for four specific "violations" in its handling of the case, and the U.S. Office of Civil Rights has opened an investigation. But Barnes' death was no aberrant exception. The doctor who admitted him to SF General quoted an unnamed East Bay colleague. "You know, this is happening about once a week."

And it's not just with expensive specialists like neurosurgeons. As a result of the Reagan budget cuts, approved by both Democrats and Republicans in Congress, medical services for the poor have been dismantled and replaced by... nothing. Dr. Max Bader of the Oregon state health department reports: "We're seeing many incidents where mothers without insurance and in need of immediate maternity care literally have to park outside of hospitals until they're in labor before they are admitted" (*Tribune*, 16 February).

American medical care has always been for profit, and therefore viciously race- and class-biased. A recent national survey indicated that over 20 percent of the population has no health care insurance whatsoever. Reagan's meat-ax budget cuts have decimated health programs for the poor, disproportionately minorities. Federal officials recently revealed that a 20-year decline in infant mortality has radically slowed, and that black infant mortality remains almost twice as high as for whites (*New York Times*, 24 February). Medicaid and Medicare funding has been slashed to the bone, and California's Medically Indigent Adult program abolished entirely.

Reagan's America claims the "right to life" only up until birth. (Though even unborn fetuses suffer from Reagan's cutbacks, as pregnant women are denied decent health care and nutrition.) "Free quality health care for all" is an elementary service that decaying capitalism cannot provide. One of the early acts of a revolutionary workers government will be the complete socialization of all health care. Until then, countless others like Eugene Barnes will be sacrificed on the altar of medical profit. ■

TROTSKY

The Revolutionary Party and British Labor

LENIN

The British coal miners and 1926 General Strike were betrayed by the British labor traitors with the complicity of Stalin. In 1928 Trotsky drew up a balance sheet of this betrayal and quoted from his earlier and seminal work against the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern and Soviet state. Lessons of October:

> Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer. That is the principal lesson of the past decade. It is true that the English trade unions may become a mighty lever of the proletarian revolution; they may, for instance, even take the place of workers' soviets under certain conditions and for a certain period of time. They can fill such a role, however, not apart from a Communist party, and certainly not *against* the party, but only on the condition that communist influence becomes the decisive influence in the trade unions. We have paid far too dearly for this conclusion—with regard to the role and importance of a party in a proletarian revolution—to renounce it so lightly or even to minimize its significance.
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *Lessons of October* (1924)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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NYC Transit Militants: Screw Kiley, Koch and Cuomo!

Get the TWU Off Its Knees!

As Mayor Koch and the New York tabloid press fan the flames of racist vigilantism, as 10,000 NYC cops rally in the Bronx for racist murder, the nation's most powerful municipal workers union, the highly integrated Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, which runs New York City's subways and buses, is facing a life-and-death contract fight. The union contract expires March 31, and Koch and Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) czar Robert Kiley are out for the transit workers' blood.

When Koch visited the huge 207th Street subway repair shop on February 22, irate transit workers roundly booed the labor-hating mayor. Kiley and his bullwhip-sporting overseer at the shop, Ronald "Jefferson" Davis. On Channel 4's evening news, a black West Indian worker and David Brewer, candidate of the Committee for a Fighting TWU for chairman of the union's car maintenance division in 1983, denounced the MTA slavedrivers. Brewer told the WNBC TV reporters: "Mayor Koch and Cuomo, who our union unfortunately supported, have brought this gang of union-busters in here and they are really trying to do a job on this union."

Indeed, the Transit Authority's (TA) opening "offer" consisted of 46 union-busting giveback demands which would erase 50 years of hard struggle by the TWU: new workers to start at $4 an hour, reaching full scale only after six years; unrestricted right for the TA to hire part-timers, without "fringe" benefits, and to introduce unpaid swing time between split shifts. City workers have been without a contract since June. And on February 15 firefighters union delegates overwhelmingly rejected a stinking giveback contract. As the February 12 leaflet of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, printed below, states:

> *"Transit along with sanitation workers should take the lead in a militant strike of all city labor to smash the Taylor slave-labor law and win decent contracts, stop the racist cutbacks and begin to turn this city around."*

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

As our union enters contract talks, the transit bosses are trying to help Reagan pay for his Star Wars against the "Evil Empire" by taking it out of workers' paychecks and hides, draining the cities of any vitality that remains, turning the Big Apple into something resembling the movie "Escape From New York." Reagan's killer cuts budget came straight from the campaign of strikebreaker Democrat Mondale (remember the '78 use of Taft-Hartley against the miners). This is the same Mondale who always runs with an outright racist, from "Ethnic Purity" Carter to "Ethnic Purity" Ferraro. And

Schwartz/NY Post

Overseer "Jefferson Bullwhip" Davis of the 207th Street plantation.

Cuomo gave us CIA highshot Kiley.

Koch's "Fear City" is a racist hellhole. Turnstile jumpers are treated like PLO terrorists. Michael Stewart, son of a black transit worker, is beaten to death by a dozen cops while Koch's killer cop coroner, Dr. *Gross*, gouges out Stewart's eyes to cover up this brutal racist murder. The vicious, labor-hating pig in Gracie Mansion fans the flames of racism by denouncing the grand jury indictment of killer cop Sullivan for breaking into the apartment of Eleanor Bumpurs and pumping two 12-gauge shotgun blasts into this infirm 65-year-old black grandmother. In response thousands of Koch's killer cops hold an armed mobilization in the Bronx demanding the unconditional right to gun down blacks with impunity. This city is on the razor's edge.

Every transit worker and rider knows that the subway system for the world's finance capital is a death trap where if you don't get electrocuted or asphyxiated you get shot at by transit cops and muggers. When Bernhard Goetz pulled the trigger on four black youths who tried to rip him off the reactionary *Post* headlined a campaign for racist vigilantism. The liberals, like Breslin and the *New York Times*, call for more killer cops and gun control so only the outlaws and cops will have guns, but Willie Turks would be alive if he was packing.

Kiley and Gunn were brought to the MTA by Cuomo and Koch to do one thing: reduce transit workers to slavery. How fitting then that at the 207th St. plantation "Jefferson Bullwhip" Davis has just abolished Lincoln's birthday. Then, just for spite, he put the only black committeeman physically down on his knees in the flooring gang and personally delivered his kneepads.

Kiley can't reduce the workforce to slavery without first turning his supervisors into slavedrivers beholden only to him. The Civil Service law doesn't provide for firings for lack of viciousness, only for incompetence. So Civil Service had to go. The supervisors' association, the SSSA, had to be brought to heel and 2 weeks ago it was. The agreement between Kiley and the SSSA is so rotten that the SSSA kept it secret. Hundreds of Civil Service jobs will be eliminated and the remaining supervisors will lose *all* seniority rights. The clock is turned back 50 years to where everything about government jobs is decided by political patronage, cronyism, ass kissing, payoffs and racism. The SSSA leadership traded in its membership for a guaranteed dues base, compliments of the TA. Kiley literally bought the SSSA tops.

The Lawe leadership of the TWU has acted no better than the SSSA tops. Back in March 1984 the COMMITTEE FOR A FIGHTING TWU pointed out that Kiley's attack on the SSSA was only the first step in an all-out drive against the TWU. We submitted a motion to the TWU executive board which said: "The TWU must express support and solidarity to the subway supervisors association in its struggle against the abuse and victimization of members by higher management!" Lawe got that motion squashed. Such an expression of support could have acted as a starting point to put some backbone in the SSSA and to prepare the TWU for a fight against Kiley's attacks.

But Lawe, like the SSSA tops, is wedded completely to the dues checkoff. As we said in the past, the dues checkoff makes our union leaders lazy and henchmen for Kiley. Making the bosses our bankers insures we won't have our money when we need it most. Dump the dues checkoff! We must immediately institute a system of elected shop stewards to collect our dues and organize the shop floors, crew rooms, bus barns and quarters to immediately deal with our grievances and victimizations. We need a strike fund now!

Clearly the SSSA is just target practice for Kiley's war against the TWU. Work and safety rules, seniority rights, picks and bids and the limited protections of Civil Service are all slated for destruction in Kiley's mad drive to patch up the city's crumbling transit system with our blood and guts. Kiley and Gunn want a lot more Jesse Coles. Hundreds of TWU members have been suspended and fired to intimidate and humiliate the workforce. Abolish the beakies [TA spies]! Stop the "controlled substances" victimizations! We want a $5000 wage increase across the board with 100% COLA! For a shorter work week with no loss in pay! We demand safe job conditions and quality upgrading training instead of disciplinary

Higgins/NY Times

TA cuts kill: bosses let black motorman Jesse Cole bleed to death in his crushed cab (right) in 1981.

actions up the ass. We want the conditions and pay of skilled workers. We want a safe, clean free subway system!

Lawe seeks to add to his resume for an MTA board seat by making the TWU membership swallow every indignity and humiliation. When even the arbitrator ruled in favor of the right of car cleaners to pick their daily jobs by seniority, Lawe rushed to Kiley and gave it back. Likewise, in a Gracie Mansion deal brokered by Koch, Lawe threw away seniority rights for car inspectors in the barns.

With this kind of union response Kiley wins even when he loses, and he has gone on to tear up the contract and ignore arbitrator and courts where it suits him. MABSTOA bus operator Pete Santos remains dismissed from his job for over a year now despite an arbitration ruling and two court decisions directing that he be reinstated. Bus operators are also the victims of a pilot program for unpaid swing time between split shifts, a scourge that it took the TWU 30 years of struggle to wipe out, thus bringing back 12 to 13 hours work for 8 hours pay. The bus operators are fighting back by "working to rule." But Lawe refuses to bring the power of the entire union to bear and stop Kiley—leaving the bus operators to go it alone. He hopes that they will run out of steam and give up in frustration. Lawe played the same game at 207th St. Shop last year, resulting in hundreds of suspensions and firings.

Union busting and racist terror is the domestic side of the bosses' drive toward W.W.III with the Soviet Union. Our weapon is our organized militant strength on the picket line. John Lawe put our muscle in a straitjacket by instituting binding arbitration and by kowtowing to the Taylor Law. The off-again/on-again professional "dissident" Arnold Cherry is opposed to binding arbitration but equally opposed to a strike. So where does that leave him? On a sabbatical at Columbia University maybe?

We need a new leadership that stands up and fights for our rights! No to binding arbitration! We must prepare the union to use its power to shut this city down. Transit along with sanitation workers should take the lead in a militant strike of all city labor to smash the Taylor slave-labor law and win decent contracts, stop the racist cutbacks and begin to turn this city around. Dump the rotten union buster Reagan and the union busting Democrats! For a workers party that will fight for a workers government!

Committee for a Fighting TWU
12 February 1985

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Brutal Assassination of Dr. Cooperman

Murder Trial Whitewashes Viet Fascists

Edward Cooperman, a California physics professor known for his courageous efforts to use his scientific knowledge to aid in reconstructing the war-ravaged nation of Vietnam, was brutally murdered last October 13. But the Orange County, California murder trial which ended in a hung jury February 19 was not a trial of the confessed assassin, right-wing Vietnamese student Minh Van Lam. It was Professor Cooperman himself who was put on trial, in an orchestrated effort by the defense, the prosecution, the Reagan government and the press to obscure the ominous trail pointing to the involvement of organized ultrarightist Vietnamese émigrés. The slimy, vicious defense lawyer, a former Nixon staffer and specialist in "internal security," was hired for Lam by a notorious former Saigon top cop. Also ignored at the trial was a pattern of earlier killings of supporters of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the United States. Instead, a massive disinformation campaign was mounted to blame Cooperman for his own murder, with wild accusations and innuendos of espionage, embezzlement, seducing young Vietnamese boys, and even staging his own assassination.

We share the outrage of Dr. Cooperman's family and his Vietnamese and American friends at this farcical trial. The *New York Times* (20 February) reports, "Dr. Cooperman's friends and family had maintained that the slaying was a political assassination by right-wing extremists who opposed the professor's support of the Communist Government of Vietnam." But the prosecution carefully never pursued any of the considerable evidence that the murder was linked to the sinister ultrarightist Vietnamese death squads imported here by the U.S. government as their puppet regime in Saigon crumbled ten years ago. Thus the *Times* article at the time the case went to the jury noted that "The prosecution has established no motive for the shooting, and the defense said in closing arguments today that the lack of motive supports Mr. Lam's claim that the death was accidental" (*New York Times*, 12 February).

According to the *Times*, the confessed assassin "originally...told the police that he was not present at the time of the shooting." Later he said he had planted the gun in Cooperman's hand to make it look like a suicide. Eventually he arrived at the story that he had "accidentally" shot Cooperman "in a playful wrestling match for the pistol" (*New York Times*, 20 February).

From the beginning, the D.A.'s office "denied there is evidence that Cooperman was killed because of his political beliefs" (Orange County *Register*, 31 January). But Cooperman's wife Klaaske testified that as far back as 1979 he knew he was on the hit list of Viet death squads, like the CIA-trained "Frogmen," notorious in Southern California for extortion and murder. The prosecution never pursued leads like the extra set of footprints tracked in Cooperman's blood; the unidentified black leather jacket found in his office; the repeated death threats he received; the warning Cooperman told his friends about only days before his murder, that "two young Vietnamese in a white car with Texas license plates" were coming for him (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 January).

Lam's brother is reportedly a leader of a right-wing Viet gang in Hawaii (*Frontline*, 18 February), but this was never pursued. And the prosecution never called as a witness Lam's cellmate Tauno Koivisto, who told police Lam confessed to him that he killed Cooperman "on orders from an Orange County Vietnamese businessman" who "first tried to bribe him" and then "threatened to kill Lam's sister if he didn't cooperate" (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 January). "The businessman told Lam he had a dream of rebuilding Vietnam and that Cooperman was on the wrong side."

L.A. Times

EDWARD COOPERMAN
Friend of Vietnam

The only witness to explicitly talk about political assassination was Roger Dittman, one of Dr. Cooperman's close friends and colleagues at Cal State Fullerton. Dittman told *WV*: "My impression is that the prosecution had no more interest in obtaining a conviction than the defense had in an acquittal. They're both operating on a political basis with a hidden agenda. And they both had agreed that they wanted to keep any hint of conspiracy or assassination or political implication out of the trial. So they were in collusion or collaboration." And there are indications that such collusion included at the highest levels the active participation of U.S. government intelligence agencies. According to Tony Russo, head of the Committee for Justice for Edward Cooperman, "the script was written by a disinformation klatch, probably including government officers and former CIA employees in the Vietnamese community.... [Cooperman] was becoming a virtual ambassador to Vietnam, so they hit him" (Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, 23 December 1984).

The FBI's statements about the Cooperman slaying are revealing: on October 15, they denied all knowledge of any investigation involving Cooperman to the *Los Angeles Times*; on October 17, an FBI spokesman confirmed "the agency is maintaining a close liaison with Fullerton police"; on November 2, the FBI "no longer has any interest in the case." Yet on December 17, an FBI spokesman "said his office was told not to discuss the case because it involves foreign counterintelligence" and confirmed that both the FBI and CIA had been investigating Cooperman's activities to aid Vietnam (*San Francisco Examiner*, 17 December 1984). Reportedly, "the FBI's secretive foreign counterintelligence division kept a desultory eye on Cooperman" and his warehouse in Santa Ana was visited by FBI agents on at least three occasions (*Herald-Examiner*, 23 December 1984).

A Cast of Notorious Characters

Lam's defense lawyer, Alan May, a former Green Beret lieutenant and helicopter tail gunner in Vietnam, has close ties with the Vietnamese gusanos and plenty of high-level right-wing and intelligence connections. He worked for Nixon back in 1959, and again at the height of the Watergate era; he served on both Nixon's and Reagan's inaugural committees. In Nixon's Justice Department he worked on the "Pentagon Papers" case, conducting surveillance of and preparing the espionage charges against Daniel Ellsberg and Tony Russo. According to the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* (23 December 1984), "May became a special assistant to the attorney general for management, operations and internal security. In this capacity he set up a task force to coordinate CIA, FBI, State Department and Customs intelligence on radicals such as the Black Panthers and the Weathermen." This job gave May useful experience in frame-ups and lies to justify deadly violence against leftists, the most systematic application of this modus operandi being the government's assassination campaign against Black Panther Party leaders. Tony Russo characterizes May as a "disinformation agent for a clandestine agency of the U.S. government" (*Register*, 20 January).

Meanwhile, an "investigator" on Lam's payroll, William Cassidy, "works with or runs the Intelligence Studies Foundation, which consults with police forces and foreign governments in the area of counterintelligence," reports the *Herald-Examiner* (23 December 1984). He recently worked for the right-wing "Coalition for a Free Vietnam" trying to prove absurd allegations that Hanoi is secretly controlling vast funds raised in the U.S. The *New York Times* quotes him as their authority on Vietnamese crime for a recent *Times* article whitewashing the well-documented role of former Saigon puppet officials in the Vietnamese émigré "Mafia" extortion rings in the U.S.

In an interview with CBS News last November, credit for hiring Alan May as Lam's defense attorney was claimed by Tran Minh Cong. The *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* describe Tran Minh Cong as a leader of the "Vietnamese Community League," the voice of the "respectable" Vietnamese in Orange County. In fact, this sinister figure used to run the Saigon Police Academy, training ground for one of the world's most corrupt and bloodthirsty police forces. He is now the spokesman for the fanatically ultrarightist "National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam," a paramilitary outfit of former Saigon officials which has launched sabotage expeditions into Vietnamese territory from Thailand.

According to the *Herald-Examiner*, Tran Minh Cong was also "reported to be [former Saigon strongman] Ky's liaison with Alpha 66," the Miami-based Cuban gusano murder squad. In 1977 Tran Minh Cong was arrested for leading a goon squad, mainly former soldiers of the Saigon puppet army, to break up a film showing Cooperman had organized on the Fullerton campus after his first trip to Vietnam. Cooperman testified against him in court, but all charges were dropped.

When the forces of the NLF and North Vietnamese army marched victoriously into Saigon on 30 April 1975, the imperialists' venal puppet colonels came here. They brought with them more than smuggled gold and diamonds: they brought the methods of extortion and murder taught by their CIA mentors, specialists in campaigns like "Operation Phoenix," the political assassination program. Today, driven from Vietnam by social revolution, they operate in Reagan's America against those who defend Vietnam. As Tony Russo put it, "Cooperman's death was part of a pattern of organized violence toward people working for normalized relations with the present Hanoi-based government" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 October 1984).

Pattern of Political Murders

The murder of Dr. Cooperman comes on the heels of a series of murders which fit a terrifying pattern: in each case there is clear evidence that the victims were targeted by ultrarightist Vietnamese gangs linked to the former Saigon generals; in each case the police deny the most obvious and explicit political motivations; in each case the killers have escaped prosecution.

• 1981: Lam Trong Duong, pro-Hanoi publisher and social worker, murdered in broad daylight in San Francisco. Police concluded it was "not political," despite the fact that the fascist "Vietnamese Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation" took credit for the murder. Case remains unsolved.

• 1982: Houston publisher Nguyen Dam Phong, executed after publishing criticism of extortion by right-wing Vietnamese gangs. Case remains unsolved.

• 1984: Nguyen Van Luy, president of the Vietnamese Residents Association in the USA, and his wife Pham Thi Luu, shot down (see "Death Squad Killers

continued on page 13

AP

Summary execution of Viet Cong suspect by top cop Nguyen Ngoc Loan, Saigon 1968. Bloody methods of CIA/U.S. puppets come home to Orange County.

Congratulations on Victory Against New McCarthyism

On 20 October 1983 the Spartacist League filed suit against the FBI witchhunters' new "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," charging that the Guidelines falsely equate Marxist political opposition to the government with "terrorism." This was the first direct legal challenge to the Guidelines. On 30 November 1984 the FBI agreed to settle the suit by retracting their long-standing set-up "definition" of the Spartacist League as a conspiratorial grouping secretly advocating "violent overthrow of the government," and substituting a statement defining the SL as what we are, a Marxist political organization (see "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," WV No. 368, 7 December 1984). In recent weeks we have published some of the many messages of support and congratulations received from a wide range of people concerned about civil liberties; more are printed below.

In settlement of SL lawsuit, the FBI agreed to withdraw its long-standing set-up "definition" of us, which in classic witchhunt language falsely charged us with conspiratorial commitment to "violent overthrow of the government." The new definition (below) of the SL as what we really are—a Marxist political organization—concedes our lawsuit's central claim: that open avowal of Marxist principles cannot be equated with terrorism.

> The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.
>
> The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

WV Photo

Federal Courthouse, New York City, November 30: SL, SYL, PDC spokesmen announce settlement of lawsuit against the FBI.

People Who Mean Business

Whenever a band of people who mean business and know their business sets out to defend its rights and the rights of the American people, they have an input far more profound than their numbers might indicate. Your Partisan Defense Committee has proved that once again. The Spartacist League's victory in its lawsuit against the F.B.I. Domestic Security/Terrorism guidelines is educative for the F.B.I., heartening for all the rest of us who depend upon the courage of your expertise and principle to provide an armor against the complete cynicism that might otherwise sink us.

Sincerely yours,
Dale Riepe
Professor of Philosophy
State University of New York
at Buffalo

Sinister FBI/CIA Octopus

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party extends revolutionary congratulations to the Spartacist League for its recent victory in its lawsuit against the FBI.

The FBI and the CIA are the nerve centers of a massive, well organized, sinister, INDUSTRIAL-POLICE-INTELLIGENCE COMPLEX (IPIC); a vast octopus which stretches its tentacles into every facet of the economic, political and social life of the U.S. and the world; in order to protect the interests and profits of U.S. multinational corporations acquired through the ruthless exploitation of the labor, raw materials and markets of the world.

Each small victory against the FBI and CIA and the capitalist and imperialist masters whom they serve is a victory for democratic rights, national liberation and the eventual triumph of socialism throughout the world. For this recent victory honest people will forever thank the Spartacist League.

Victories like this make us even more determined to intensify our call for a broad-based, mass-oriented COALITION TO SMASH THE FBI AND CIA. Suffering and struggling world humanity demands of us nothing less.

Kwame Ture, for the All-African
People's Revolutionary Party

A Time of Official Terror

This is a time of official terror being directed against the peace and solidarity movements, so there is a need for these movements to unify and defend themselves. This particular lawsuit is a major contribution because it shows that the official terror is directed against nonviolent movements and exposes government disinformation.

Tony Russo
Chairman, Committee for Justice
for Edward Cooperman

Dissenting Voices Must Not Be Silenced

During this period of right wing reaction to the advances in civil liberties and civil rights achieved in the 1960s, it is especially important that voices of dissent and radicalism not be silenced. The recent victory in federal court of the Spartacist League against the FBI's Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines is thus to be supported by all persons committed to democratic principles and the right to dissent.

Robert C. Smith
Associate Professor
Howard University

A Major Step Forward

Your organization's victory on winning your organization's suit against the United States government is our victory and should be considered as a major step forward for the movement in its fight against government infiltration and surveillance, oppression and repression of the masses.

Virginia Collins
New Orleans, Louisiana
Civil rights activist

Government Targets Controversial Organizations

I congratulate the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacus League/U.S. for its successful suit against the 1983 Attorney-General's Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations. Big government, however liberal or conservative, will always tend to encroach on liberties in general. It is exactly the unpopular and controversial people and organizations and points of view that governments target as they try to silence opposition; few will speak out in behalf of the unpopular or controversial, and the result is that bad laws, bad rulings, and bad precedents are established. Any removal of impediments to speech—as you have accomplished—works for us all.

Sincerely yours,
Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Economist
Regent, University of California

Congratulations

Congratulations on your victory over the Reagan so-called "anti-terrorist" guidelines. I enclose a modest check toward your litigation expenses.

Sincerely,
Vern Countryman
Harvard Law School

Michigan Chronicle
2 February 1985

Marxist group wins suit against FBI

The Spartacus League won an "important victory" when the FBI agreed to change its official designation of the League to "a Marxist political organization."

According to League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, "Under the Reagan and the 1983 FBI guidelines the government has tried to equate political opposition with criminal conspiracy and terrorism, thus mandating the secret police to get you."

The former definition of the League in FBI guidelines said, "While the Spartacus League does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government at this time...the League does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U.S. is inevitable."

That designation placed the League in the Guidelines for Domestic Security and Terrorism Investigations, along with organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party and the Mafia, all of which advocate and practice violence in pursuit of their goals.

"The Spartacus League does not believe in violence," Ms. Wolkenstein said during an interview from New York. "It is capitalism which creates the danger of violence from those committed to this system."

The settlement of the year-old lawsuit, Mrs. Wolkenstein claimed, "conceded the central claim of our lawsuit...that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise."

"This undermines the FBI's pretext for more than 60 years of harassment, surveillance, disruption and persecution of Marxist political organizations in the United States," she said.

Wolkenstein added that the settlement is crucial because of the pending confirmation of Edwin Meese as the U.S. attorney general.

"Because of implicit support for the FBI guidelines" in the courts and Justice Dept., Wolkenstein suggested that Meese, under Reagan's leadership, would certainly step up the Justice Dept.'s "spying, slandering, prosecuting and surveillance of the League" to new heights.

The new guidelines may make "victimization a little harder," she said.

Spartacist Forum

FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein
General Counsel
Spartacist League

Thursday, March 7, 7:30 p.m.
Pound, Room 107
Harvard Law School
For more information: (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

ILWU Anti-Apartheid Action Sabotaged

Labor Traitors and Their Lackeys

SAN FRANCISCO—Back in December, longshoremen in the Bay Area got international attention when they refused to touch South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. Fakelettists and liberal Democrats, of course, are always calling to boycott Krugerrands, pressuring GM to divest its South African subsidiaries, and similar "moral" gestures. After spending the fall (and for many, the spring and summer as well) stumping for Democratic loser Mondale, who said not a word about South Africa in his campaign, their anti-racist credentials were in need of some refurbishing. So after the elections were over, everyone from black preachers to AFL-CIO labor fakers went and got themselves arrested at the South African embassy and consulates around the country.

But black longshoremen and other class-conscious union militants in the Bay Area wanted something different. In the face of massive repression and rebellion in South Africa, with hundreds of thousands of black workers fighting against racist Botha, they sought to strike a blow against the hated apartheid regime. So for ten days the *Kimberley* sat off Pier 80 as a political battle raged dockside over this protest. The fact that the "hot-cargo" action

WV Photo

Stan Gow: For solid union action against apartheid.

lasted as long as it did—and the maritime bosses' hesitation in going to the courts—reflected the receptive chord it struck among the black population. Union officials, however, feared that it could "get out of hand."

From the beginning, the boycott of the Nedlloyd blood ship was sabotaged by the bureaucrats of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), headed by social democrat Jimmy Herman. Their bottom line was that there would be *no union backing* for the work action, because that would mean breaking the no-strike clause of the contract with the maritime bosses. And they finally called off the ban in order not to confront the capitalist state. But Herman & Co. couldn't pull off this stab in the back by themselves. The ILWU tops needed all the help they could get from some fakers who could *divert* the ranks away from militant action.

For the past decade, the misleaders of the West Coast longshore and warehouse union have had to contend with a class-struggle opposition grouped around the Militant Caucus, led by Local 10 executive board member Stan Gow and politically supported by the Spartacist League. These militants raised hell about bomb parts bound for the blood-soaked Chilean dictatorship, insisting they be hot-cargoed when Herman only wanted an empty gesture against Pinochet. The Militant Caucus fought to put teeth into the ILWU's paper ban on arms shipments to El Salvador, calling for a 24-hour port shutdown against the U.S. war drive in Central America. When this got wide support the Local 10 tops tried to run Gow out of the union for picketing a ship bound for El Salvador. Thereupon he defiantly picketed the *Kimberley* in protest against the execution of three ANC fighters against apartheid. Hundreds of longshoremen, predominantly blacks, came out to vote down the witchhunt against Gow.

When ILWU tops felt the pressure building to "do something" on South Africa they knew they had a problem. So they looked to a couple of two-bit aspiring bureaucrats in Local 10, Leo Robinson and his sidekick Howard Keylor, to bail them out. Robinson is a long-time supporter of the reformist Communist Party (CP); Keylor is an ex-member of the Militant Caucus and the labor "star" of the External Tendency (ET), a clot of embittered white renegades from the Spartacist League and Trotskyist League of Canada. Every day this pair was down on the docks opposing any attempt to set up a union picket line, instead sending gangs in to work the *Kimberley* so that the ILWU misleaders could claim that refusal to work the cargo was simply an individual "act of conscience."

Howard the Coward Keels Over

So after the double-dealing comes the double-talk. Across the Bay in Berkeley, Howard Keylor struts around in his beret at a student anti-apartheid rally, puffing his pipe for the TV cameras and posing as the champion of workers action against the South African police state. In the pages of the rad-lib *Guardian* (19 December 1984), he and Robinson were hallyhooed as "leaders of the boycott," which Keylor hailed as "the longest boycott or political strike of its type in U.S. history." But back on the SF docks, Keylor sings a different tune, because in Local 10 there are a lot of guys who are royally pissed off at the way the boycott was organized. Namely, that in order to get Herman off the hook, the members were left hanging on the line.

In an election leaflet (dated January 7), after one paragraph praising the action, Keylor spends two whole pages talking about the "shortcomings in the boycott." These include, among other things, that the South African cargo was finally unloaded, the local lost the pay guarantee for two weeks, and the union is now under an injunction. How do you suppose that happened? To hear Keylor tell it, you'd think he was some kind of left critic of the ILWU leadership over the boycott. Keylor complains that "our officers were telling the media that our action was unauthorized and individual." "So was he," replied a Militant Caucus leaflet (appropriately titled, "Hey Keylor, Where Were You?"):

> "And furthermore, when the officers carried this treachery so far as to argue to the arbitrator that individual longshoremen should be penalized, *not* the union. Keylor, in his leaflet No. 11 on November 27, *praised* the arbitrator who 'ruled against the men' instead of ruling in favor of PMA's demand 'that the union be found guilty of an "illegal work stoppage"'."
>
> —"Longshore Militant," 1 February

Keylor actively helped Robinson herd the men in to work the ship. As we reported (see "Battle Over Union Action at South Africa Ship," *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984), after the first crew on Saturday, November 24, flatly refused to work the ship, Keylor and Robinson rushed down to the dock to explain that this was a "mistake." Men on the next shift didn't want to touch the *Kimberley* and asked Stan Gow and other Militant Caucus supporters to set up a picket line. Thereupon, according to the "Longshore Militant": "Robinson and Keylor flipped out, worked the guys over for half an hour and then Robinson personally led them across the picket line."

Ten days later, *after* the Local 10 E-Board ordered the members to work the cargo (in order to comply with a court injunction), *then* Keylor sets up a phony picket line *of non-ILWU members*. The "Longshore Militant" noted: "At the Executive Board the night before he had kept his big mouth shut when Local 10 President Larry Wing ruled out of order Stan Gow's motion to defy the injunction, stop the dispatching and shut down the port. So then after it was all over, Keylor tried a little ass-covering grandstanding and politely acceded when [CPer] Franklin Alexander emphatically said no."

In his leaflet, Keylor has some oh-so-polite criticisms of Robinson and his supporters who "honestly believe that Local 10 had no choice but to give in to the injunction," and who "have a commitment to individual acts of conscientiousness," etc. He wagged his finger at *People's World* for its reliance on the liberal Democrats. But you would never know from this that Keylor supported Robinson's amendment to work the ship at the October 18 Local 10 meeting, that he chaired meetings of Robinson's Southern African Liberation Support Committee (which was put in charge of the action by the officers), and worked hand in glove with Robinson and the CP right up until the injunction.

Keylor saved his venom for Stan Gow, Peter Woolston and other Militant Caucus supporters, "fully backed by the Spartacist League," who supposedly did their level best to "divide, confuse and disrupt our action" and to "wreck it." Shades of Stalin. Where have we heard this kind of foam-flecked diatribe against "Trotskyite splitters and wreckers" before? Keylor's dozen years with the CP are showing. He complains that "Stan makes much of the difference between working the cargo

WV Photo

RATS ON THE WATERFRONT: Democrat Julianne Malveaux, Leo Robinson (right), Howard Keylor (second from right).

and working the ship," which he dismisses as "just a matter of tactics." But this is a long-standing fight in the ILWU: it was Jimmy Herman, backed by Robinson, who introduced the work-the-ship-but-not-the-cargo subterfuge, back in 1977. At that time, Keylor was a member of the Militant Caucus, which "fully backed by the SL" denounced Herman's attempt to undercut a boycott of the very same *Nedlloyd Kimberley*.

Deputy Labor Lieutenants Discipline the Workers

Keylor told the *Guardian* that his tactic required "a high degree of internal discipline, especially under legal pressures as exist." Yes, it's quite a trick to conduct a political work stoppage, particularly the "longest in U.S. history," without running afoul of the capitalist state. In fact, it can't be done. In the end, their whole charade about individual "acts of conscience" didn't fool the PMA, the arbitrators or the federal court. Robinson and Keylor did all this dirty work because the officers were afraid a union action would be ruled illegal under Taft-Hartley. To them "discipline" means riding herd on the membership, and not even mentioning the local's October 18 vote to boycott South African cargo, on the grounds that to do so jeopardizes the union. By trying to fool the class enemy with this cynical ploy, they managed to victimize the members *and* have the union hauled into court.

Ever since the days of Harry Bridges, ILWU officials have been past masters at the art of espousing progressive social causes—providing nice copy for *People's World* and San Francisco's popular front cocktail circuit—while knifing any real struggle that would get them in hot water with the bosses. And then there's the endless series of Bay Area "labor solidarity" committees—for farm workers, PATCO, Greyhound, Chile, El Salvador, South Africa, you name it. They'll call a consumer boycott of anything from Kruggerrands to Hills

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WV Photos

Unionists block street outside SF Greyhound depot, December 1983 (left); at SF airport in support of PATCO strike, August 1981.

For Immediate, Unconditional Independence–Defeat Yankee Imperialism!

Puerto Rico at the Crossroads

For American imperialism, Puerto Rico is a military strong point for controlling the strategic Caribbean region and a launching pad for U.S. aggression in Central America. For years Washington projected its island colony as a "showcase of democracy and development." Today, under the impact of economic depression and militarization, Puerto Rico has become a political powder keg. In the first part of this article ("Militarism and Repression in Puerto Rico," *WV* No. 373, 22 February), we noted that the Reagan administration has chosen to test its draconian "anti-terrorist" witchhunt laws against Puerto Rican independence groups. Last week a speech by FBI deputy director Revell to the National Press Club produced screaming headlines of "Puerto Rican Terrorists: Threat to U.S." But it is Yankee colonial rule which threatens the future of the Puerto Rican people.

A recent news special by New York's WCBS-TV on "Puerto Rico: Trouble in Paradise" (31 January-1 February) noted that, "While the mainland's American citizens slowly dug out of recession, 3.2 million in this visual island paradise still live day to day with economic hard times." It pointed to the collapse of petroleum-based industry, once the linchpin of Puerto Rico's development plans: "Industrial skeletons of Puerto Rico's troubled economy are as abandoned tinkertoys along the island's Caribbean coast. Petrochemical plants which once employed close to 40,000 people. That was 12 years ago, before the Arab oil embargo. Less than 3,000 jobs remain today." Construction has stopped, tourism is down, the number of hotel rooms half that a decade ago. The average income is less than half that of Mississippi, the poorest state, while 70 percent of all Puerto Ricans receive U.S. government aid. The *Wall Street Journal* (30 October 1984) quoted a Puerto Rican pro-independence leader's verdict: "We are a society permanently living on the dole. This has become a ghetto, like the South Bronx, not a nation."

La Verdad

Militant UTIER electrical workers in vanguard of Puerto Rican workers' struggles.

One big Caribbean ghetto—that is Puerto Rico's present and its future under U.S. colonialism. Puerto Rico has few natural resources. Under the Spaniards it was the poorhouse of the Caribbean, and it remained so under the Americans during the first half of this century. U.S. secretary of state Elihu Root warned in 1899 that if Puerto Ricans were "left in huge and hopeless poverty they will be discontented, intractable and mutinous." During the 1930s depression this warning was confirmed: in a combative strike, sugar cane workers broke from the misleaders of the pro-U.S. AFL unions and nationalist sentiment spread. Today, once again, intelligent imperialist circles are worrying about their Puerto Rican "showcase." This concern led the Twentieth Century Fund to sponsor a recent study by British historian Raymond Carr (*Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* [1984]), who warns that "grinding poverty and massive unemployment provide a breeding ground for radical politics and for anti-American feeling."

Puerto Rico's much touted "economic miracle" was the product of Operation Bootstrap, the Popular Democratic Party program to bring in American corporations beginning in 1950. Offering exemption from federal corporate income taxes, a ten-year moratorium on local taxes, ready-built factories and cheap labor, they attracted sweatshop industries, primarily textiles, to the island and produced an economic boom that lasted until the late 1960s. Puerto Rico became known as Profit Island USA. However, as wages rose the runaway shops from Manhattan ran away again, this time to the Far East. Puerto Rican economic planners tried to replace them with more capital intensive industries such as petrochemicals and pharmaceuticals, which paid higher wages but employed a fraction as many workers. But then the 700 percent increase in the cost of oil since 1973 cut the ground from under this development strategy as well. So now the south coast has been ecologically devastated, Puerto Rican agriculture has been destroyed (73 percent of the island's food is imported from the U.S.) and the San Juan slums are filled with hundreds of thousands of poor who have no job and no hope of finding one. Puerto Rico has become Welfare Island USA.

Claridad

U.S. military's use of island of Vieques for bombing practice sparks protest in 1979, broken up by colonial police.

The profit rates are still high (20 percent a year, four times the U.S. average), but this is increasingly due to the federal tax exemption (Section 936 of the Internal Revenue Code) which the Reagan administration is seeking to eliminate. And the superexploitation of Puerto Rican labor is declining as the minimum wage has risen to the mainland level (average factory pay today is $4.50 an hour, whereas next door in the Dominican Republic wages average $4.50 *a day*). Puerto Rico is not, as Carr and the statehooders claim, just another regional economy of the United States. While the island has been economically subordinated to the U.S., industrial production is dependent on superprofits, and when they disappear so will the plants. Already by the late 1960s, 40 percent of the plants established under Operation Bootstrap closed after their local tax exemptions expired. The "commonwealth model" of an "open" export-oriented economy has been exhausted.

This situation has made union organizing particularly difficult. Private industry unions have found it difficult to strike for higher wages, as the competition is not U.S. production but low-paid unskilled labor in Hong Kong, Taiwan or Singapore. Thus the strike struggles of the 1970s were mainly in the public sector—notably the combative electrical power workers (UTIER)—organized in autonomous Puerto Rican unions unaffiliated with the American AFL-CIO. During the mid-'70s *independentista* unionists adopted a policy of raiding the AFL-CIO unions and seeking to drive them off the island. Since the "international" unions are dominant among private sector workers, the heart of Puerto Rican industry, this was an extremely destructive policy. Meanwhile, repeated UTIER strikes have had to face the police and National Guard essentially alone. For communists, as opposed to nationalists, the question of which union affiliation is a tactical matter. What is crucial is to achieve fighting unity in action.

And joint struggle with American workers is vital in a number of sectors, from postal and telephone workers to textiles and electronics. In fact, *only* by mobilizing the power of the mainland unions can workers of multinational corporations like Westinghouse (five plants on the island) be organized. Meanwhile, beginning after World War II and due to the failure of Operation Bootstrap industrialization to generate enough jobs, more than half a million Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland. In the New York metropolitan area, Puerto Ricans fill many of the lowest-paid jobs. And living a welfare existence in bombed-out, run-down ghettos like the South Bronx, El Barrio (East Harlem), the Lower East Side (Loisaida) and Williamsburg, they form a large part of what Karl Marx called the "industrial reserve army" of the unemployed. Thus common struggle against the bipartisan anti-working-class austerity decreed by the Reagan administration is of crucial importance to Puerto Rican working people.

Crisis of Puerto Rican Left

While the island is experiencing the greatest economic crisis in 50 years, with the road to statehood seemingly blocked and the "commonwealth" solution at a dead end, it is remarkable that the Puerto Rican left has been utterly unable to seize the opportunity. In last November's elections, the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) of Rubén Berrios obtained one at-large seat each in the house and senate, but got only 3 percent of the vote for governor, barely 60,000 votes. This was a sharp decline since 1980 when the *pipiolos* received 87,000 votes. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) ran no candidates and implicitly supported the *populares* (PPD) with its campaign slogan, "the entire people against Romero," while former PSP leader Mari Bras publicly called for a PIP vote. The rest of the "patriotic left," from the "Macheteros" guerrilla group (PRTP) and the Puerto Rican Socialist Movement (MSP) to the New Left *Pensamiento Critico* review, mostly advocated voting for Berrios' liberal nationalist party.

The deep crisis of the Puerto Rican left is a reflection of the bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois *nationalism*. Already facing economic depression, the Puerto Rican masses are hardly going to opt for a capitalist "independence" which promises the rapid flight of American corporations and guarantees an end to food stamps, Medicaid and welfare. They are not going to exchange run-down housing projects for shantytowns. The bulk of Puerto Rican workers have voted regularly for the *populares* ever since Luis Muñoz Marin formed the PPD in the 1930s as a liberal pro-"autonomy" party in alliance with FDR's Democrats in the mainland U.S. More recently the annexationists of the pro-statehood PNP have won the working-class districts of San Juan. Only a genuinely communist vanguard can break the hold of these bourgeois colonial parties, by fighting for proletarian revolution from the Caribbean to New York, for a future of plenty under socialism rather than for *pobreza con pachanga* ("poverty with soul").

The PIP is a small bourgeois-nationalist party and part of the social-democratic Second International. (In Europe, the SI is dominated by reformist workers parties such as the West German SPD, but its Latin American affiliates are mainly bourgeois populist parties, including the Dominican PRD.

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Heroic Miners...

(continued from page 1)

of the National Union of Mineworkers voted narrowly to call off the strike. Hundreds of miners fervently lobbied to continue the strike. Even after the vote, Kent and Scottish areas of the NUM vowed to hold out while negotiating for amnesty. There is widespread comradely solidarity for the 700 sacked miners, effectively blacklisted, unable to move or obtain retraining, some facing jail sentences. But defeated and bloodied, *the miners union is not broken.* Assured of her coal stockpiles with the collaboration of her swinish labor lieutenants of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Thatcher cruelly stretched out the strike. She yearned to smash the NUM and watch the workers crawl back in disarray. But in this she failed. In numerous places this morning, the entire community came out—men, women, children and dogs—as they proudly marched back to the pits, the sacked miners with them, bagpipes playing and banners flying. Even then many mines were picketed and workers stayed out.

The rabid bosses' press, from the Tory *Times* to the liberal *Guardian*, glorified committed anti-union scabs like Silver Birch. But especially at the very end many strikers were driven back in desperation by "Iron Lady" Thatcher. Despite this defeat, the miners must above all preserve their fighting capacity. They ought to go back cohesively, not split up. However understandable it is to want to continue the strike or to want to carry out individual reprisals, the immediate task must be to keep their army as intact as possible, to retreat in good order.

The Iron Lady, who vowed to be "vindictive in victory," is itching for new victimizations of militants. But all reports indicate that the miners are defiant in defeat. The existing sackings must be fought, intelligently and collectively, and new ones avoided as much as possible. The way must be prepared for a new workers' offensive. Union martyrs like David Jones and Joe Green, cut down on the picket line, have not died in vain! Down with the despot Thatcher, unpopular even in her own circles for the cover-up of her cowardly butchery of the *Belgrano*'s Argentine sailors in the squalid Falklands/Malvinas war.

Thatcher has taken aim at the entire trade-union movement. *Remember the traitors!* In the hands of the reformist misleaders of all stripes the unions were criminally misused to stab the NUM, to discipline the workers in the interests of the strikebreaking capitalist state. It is necessary to expose the base cowardice and treachery of the "lefts," who kowtowed to their big brothers in the TUC at every decisive point. The Labour Party politically scabherded and now its head Kinnock says he's against amnesty for strikers! Above all the lesson must be driven home of the burning importance of constructing a genuinely revolutionary party to mobilize the working masses in struggle. Without that the struggles of the workers, no matter how militant and courageous, are prey to the sabotage of the reformist traitors. As the great communist revolutionist Leon Trotsky reiterated after the 1926 General Strike: "Without a party... the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."

The courageous miners' strike inspired unusual support internationally among all those fighting capitalist oppression. Food and financial support flooded in from all corners of the world, including black miners in South Africa fighting racist apartheid rule. Miners in France, dockers in Scandinavia fought to "hot-cargo" scab coal. In this country the Partisan Defense Committee initiated an Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund drive among local unions that has collected over $20,000 for the coal strikers, despite the treachery of the Cold War AFL-CIO tops. The bonds of international workers solidarity will triumph over the war drive of the bosses and their labor lieutenants.

Comrade Jon Brule of the *Workers Vanguard* editorial board spent ten months in Britain during the strike. We print below an edited version of a speech he gave at a New York City forum on February 26.

Twelve Bitter Months of Class War

I had the privilege of spending ten months in Britain during the miners' strike. It's a strike in which two miners have been murdered on picket lines, several other miners and members of their families have been killed, something like 10,000 strikers have been arrested, over 600 have been fired from their jobs. And a strike that has gone on now almost one full year, reflecting the grim determination of the miners to fight against great odds against Reagan's best ally, union-buster Margaret Thatcher.

The immediate thing that kicked the strike off was the announcement of the Thatcher government that they were going to close down 20,000 mining jobs, which was only the first drop in the bucket. What it means is not only busting the union, but wiping out whole mining areas in Britain, particularly in Scotland and Wales, in Yorkshire, in areas where the official unemployment rate is something like 18 to 20 percent, areas where if you walk through these villages you find men who are 20 or 21 years of age and have never worked a day in their lives. And because they leave schools roughly at the age of 15, it means that they've been completely out of work for their entire adult life.

I had the opportunity to look at the pay stubs of an older South Wales miner, who's a skilled craftsman in the mines, and his take-home every week was £65, which is roughly that number of dollars. Britain is a particular example of the advanced decay of capitalist society in which there is no possibility of even maintaining the substandard existence for the working masses in that country under capitalism. What is starkly posed in Britain is the alternative between a barbaric solution under capitalism and socialist revolution.

If you look at England, or Britain, it's essentially an island built on coal. It's the motor force of the economy in that country, and therefore the struggles of the miners have become time and time again the clarion call for the working masses as a whole. And the fate of the miners has frequently proven to be the fate of the British working masses. The alternatives in this struggle are either a massive defeat and further leveling of everyone's living standards, or else opening the road forward to the possibility of a workers government.

Among the miners there's a deep historic memory of some of these past battles, going back to the period of the 1920s and the miners' strike at that time which led briefly to a general strike that was betrayed by the labor bureaucracy. One South Wales miner told me about what it was like after that defeat: about his grandfather who was killed in an industrial accident in the mines and never received any compensation. About his father, who lost his leg in a mining accident and received £50 compensation. About his uncle who was blacklisted after the 1926 General Strike and was never able to get work until World War II—for 14 years he was blacklisted from the mines.

John Harris/IFL

Thatcher's uniformed thugs ran riot in the coal fields. Miners' picket line in North Yorkshire in September.

And on the other side, the bourgeoisie also has a certain memory. There's a reason why the miners are Number One on Thatcher's hit list. They remember as well that it was the miners who in 1974 toppled the previous Tory government under Edward Heath. So there's a deep guilt and class bitterness on both sides of this strike.

Thatcher also has a particular hatred for the leader of the union, Arthur Scargill. Scargill was the only labor leader within the union movement in Britain to call Thatcher to order for her support for Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War. When he came back somewhat over a year ago from a trip to Russia, he denounced "Ronald Ray-Gun" and the "Plutonium Blonde," Margaret Thatcher. And he denounced the CIA union in Poland, Solidarnosc, as anti-socialist. That not only earned Scargill the hatred of Thatcher, but also of the pro-capitalist trade-union and Labour Party bureaucrats in Britain, who led a redbaiting attack on Scargill at a conference of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in September 1983. Not a single delegate rose to defend Scargill. It was at that point that Thatcher determined that Scargill was isolated and she could undertake an assault on the miners.

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross

When the pit closures were announced, there was a walkout in the mining area of Yorkshire at a pit called Cortonwood, which was the first target. And from there they set up flying pickets, or roving pickets, that went out to the other mines and shut down the coal fields. The strike was not actually called by the union leadership. They were presented with an accomplished fact. At this point Thatcher and the ruling class set up a huge hue and cry about how there was no ballot taken by the miners. This was picked up also by such people as Neil Kinnock, the head of the Labour Party. But the miners didn't play by the bosses' rules. They voted... with their feet!

The bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants were miffed. They wanted a ballot all right, because they wanted to know where, when and how the strike was going to begin, so they could get their cops, their soldiers and everyone else there beforehand. Well, it didn't work. There were actually areas that voted to remain at work, and when they saw the pickets they came out on strike because they knew the union was determined. That's a fundamental lesson that we had better understand in the trade-union movement in this country—the power of class solidarity and the power of the picket line to hold this strike. And the capitalists have taken dead aim at the picket line: they have made it clear that if they win they will enforce Taft-Hartley type laws requiring secret ballots before any strike, outlawing secondary picketing and crippling the unions.

One of the more obscene things that Labour Party head Neil Kinnock and the labor bureaucrats have ranted about throughout the strike is the "violence" of the pickets toward scabs and cops. According to them, picketing is all right ... as long as it's "peaceful." But what a picket line means is the right to have a conflict, the right to have a battle. We are for picket lines that nobody crosses! Now sometimes you'll find picket lines, like on the New York docks, where it's

usually pretty peaceful. You see one guy there and nobody crosses that picket line. The reason why nobody crosses the picket line is because they know something unhealthy will happen to them if they do. But that kind of peaceful picket line has to be earned in the class struggle. Not by dismantling the class struggle, but by mobilizing the power of labor so that the bosses respect your picket lines and the scabs think twice. In this country we put out a very nice supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," where we publicized a slogan that the coal miners in this country have—which is popular among the British miners now—that says: "Scabbing Is Dangerous To Your Health."

I want to convey the attitude that these miners have toward those who have scabbed on their strike. One story I heard was about a guy who had scabbed in 1926. And he still lived in the same mining village that he lived in at that time. When he died at the age of 85, nobody had spoken to him for 60 years, and nobody went to his funeral. In some of the marginal areas of the coal fields, where there was a fair amount of scabbing, you run into the situation of sharp divisions within a family itself. When I asked this guy what his family was doing, he said, "Well, I've got one brother who's on strike in the northeast and I've got another brother who's scabbing." Then he said, "Let me correct that—I have an ex-brother who's scabbing." So it's a real bitter blood line.

Program for Power

We sought to put forward a program that could lead to victory in this great battle. The problem confronting the miners is that you can't defeat the capitalist state alone. The Thatcher government has marshaled a massive amount of police power. You have 400 cops from Sunday to Sunday occupying a small mining village. If you're on strike they follow you to the store, they follow your kids to school, you can't go to a neighboring village a mile and a half away. If you try to ride a bus to that village, the police get on the bus and throw you off.

So it was abundantly clear that in order for Thatcher to be defeated, the key task was to mobilize other sections of the working class. From a trade-union standpoint, it would seem to be a relatively simple question. The British economy is fundamentally based on coal. If the steel workers, rail workers, longshoremen and power workers refused to handle coal, the country would quickly grind to a halt. And in Britain these kinds of actions are not all that strange to the trade-union movement. It is a union movement that is far less straitjacketed than the American trade-union movement has been within the past two or three decades.

The problem is that it is fundamentally a political question which is posed: once the country is shut down, who is going to start it up again? In short, which class is going to rule this country? Will it be the working class or will it be the capitalist class?

That fundamental question has been posed in any number of miners' strikes in Britain. In 1919 for example, there was an alliance between the miners, rail workers and transport workers called the Triple Alliance. The bourgeoisie was sweating it out, so they called in the three top union leaders. The prime minister Lloyd George told them he was at their mercy—they had the power to shut down the country. But he asked them what they would do next: "If a force arises in the state which is stronger than the state itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the state or withdraw." They had no answer to that. One of the trade-union leaders remarked that from that time on they knew they were beaten, because they were not prepared to exercise power. It's a little highlight on a statement that Marx made well over 100 years ago in the *Communist Manifesto*, that every class struggle is a political struggle.

And despite the sabotage of the labor bureaucracy, the question of power was raised sharply by this strike. The courageous example of the miners' hard class struggle displaced the normal mechanisms of bourgeois society. This was palpably evident in terms of 1) key trade unions, 2) general social relationships between the oppressed layers of the country and the miners, and 3) the loss of self-confidence by the bourgeoisie itself. At least in the ranks of several strategic unions—dockers, rail workers, seamen—there was determination to bypass the established TUC to defend this strike. Had these unions gone on strike alongside the miners, it would be effectively a general strike. What was missing was a leadership willing to have an all-out confrontation with Thatcher.

When instructions were issued by the leadership of the rail union to its members not to carry coal during the strike, the ranks were steadfast, with the exception of two or three areas. These workers have braved considerable numbers of victimizations and in some instances firings in order to carry out this policy of solidarity. There's one area called Leicester, a heavily scab area where out of some 2,000 miners, there are only 30 on strike—they're nicknamed the "Dirty 30," I believe. But in the rail depot adjoining that mining area, called Coalville, for ten months the rail workers have refused to carry coal and have been sent home every day without pay. The leadership refused to back them up with nationwide strike action. And twice the dockers went out, fed up with the government using scab labor to unload imported scab coal into that country. In an island economy like Britain, if you stop what comes in and out of that country, you grind that country to a halt. It was only due to the cowardice of the leadership, which in both instances called off the strike, that the Thatcher government was not toppled.

Secondly, I want to talk about something that's even more startling in certain respects. In normal capitalist society there are numerous divisions promoted by the ruling class. In England there are racial divisions between the white population and the minority of blacks and Asians. And also national hatreds, particularly directed at the Irish in that country. Here you have a union that's predominantly white miners, and not only that, they come from the backwaters. Yet in the course of the strike, there was an amazing social radicalization of the miners. At the same time, those layers of the population which are generally those whose needs are least addressed by the trade-union bureaucracy have rallied most strongly to the cause of the miners.

For example, at demonstrations in Belfast initiated by the Irish Republican movement, there were actually—and this was not reported in the press—large contingents of striking British miners who marched with the Irish Catholics. Throughout these very poor Catholic ghettos, hanging over the streets were large banners that said, "Victory to the Miners!" It was similar in Dublin where large food and money collections have been taken up for the coal miners. And this is very unusual, that the Irish populace supports any struggle of the British proletariat.

You have to understand the impact of this stuff on the miners. You will hear many miners basically say the following thing: that until this strike I never knew what it was like to be an Irishman in Ulster, I never knew what it was to be like a black or an Asian, mistreated by the police. In London, the miners organized collections on the streets in order to finance food for their families. And there's quite a bit of competition among the different lodges to get down to Brixton first and to get a good street corner. Now, Brixton is the West Indian ghetto in London, and it's an area of the city which is far poorer than many other working-class areas of the city. But the miners go down there because proportionately the support they get from the blacks and the Asians is much greater. One miner told me a story, that on one occasion on his picket line the police attacked the strikers and arrested 54 miners. Fifty-two miners were charged with disturbing the peace. Two miners were charged with malicious wounding of a police officer. The two miners charged with assaulting a police officer were both black miners. The striking miners learned something from that.

Then there is the magnificent role played by the miners' wives who have in many ways become the real backbone of the strike. While at the beginning their activities were centered around the food kitchens, it wasn't very long until they pushed their way onto the picket line and took their place beside their class brothers and husbands in fighting against Thatcher's police. I've heard many a story where you've had demoralized miners who were considering returning to work, and it's the wife who has put some backbone into these guys.

You also have a loss of self-confidence in the ruling class itself which continues to this day. The pound has hit rock bottom. Even at the time I went over there in March last year, I think it was $1.40 to one pound, whereas now it's something like $1.10, and going down. Every time that there was a threatened mobilization of the working class, for example during the dock strike, or when the foremen's union in the mines threatened to go out on strike along with the miners, the stock market would shoot down. In the second instance it shot down by a record 30 points in one day. And just recently, Thatcher couldn't even get a vetted [screened] jury to hand down a conviction of a senior official in the defense ministry who had leaked documents about Thatcher's premeditated butchery of 300 Argentine sailors aboard the battleship *Belgrano*.

All of this has happened within a year or two after Thatcher was re-elected with overwhelming majorities on the basis of the Falklands/Malvinas bloody little war. A wave of chauvinism swept over the British populace and her reactionary government was the beneficiary of that. The soldiers who came back from the Falklands had a big banner on the aircraft carrier. At the time there was a railroad strike in England, and the banner read, "Call off the rail strike or we'll call an air strike." But much of this anti-trade unionism and chauvinist prejudice that engulfed the working masses of Britain largely evaporated during the miners' strike.

Workers Hammer

Miners' wives demonstrate in London, 11 August 1984. Militant women were a mainstay of the strike.

There was a particular incident that illuminated this social realignment. In October the IRA set off a bomb in the Grand Hotel in Brighton where the Tories were holding their conference. The responses were quite interesting. The common joke in the mining areas and among other working-class areas was the IRA ought to be shot... because they missed Thatcher. A comrade in a car plant in Birmingham reported that somebody there made the observation that the police had better start rounding up their suspects now because there are 50 million of them.

This is a plant where ten years earlier, after a bomb blast attributed by the press to the IRA killed a number of people in a local pub, the Irish workers were physically driven out of the plant. The reaction this time was much, much different. Even among the bourgeoisie, where one could imagine them whipping up an anti-terrorist crusade, the response was more outrage at the lousy security preparations and the police incompetence.

Cold War Split in the Workers Movement

So when we talk about a program of power and of mobilizing the workers movement to bring this government down in struggle, that makes sense. Because significant sections both of the trade unions and the oppressed populace are thirsting for a fight. The problem here is the leadership within the workers movement. And in Britain the official leadership of the labor movement, like the AFL-CIO in this country, is dead-set against class struggle of any kind, let alone a class struggle that would actually drive out the Thatcher government.

At the same TUC conference where Scargill was redbaited for having told the truth about Solidarność, the TUC adopted a policy called "new realism." It was like the AFL-CIO which just issued a self-criticism saying they'd been too hard on the bosses! Thatcher took this as an invitation to go out and bust unions. One significant thing that

continued on page 10

Press Association

Der Spiegel

Vindictive butcher Maggie Thatcher gratuitously murdered 368 Argentine sailors aboard cruiser Belgrano.

Heroic Miners...

(continued from page 9)

happened was at this spy operation at a place called Cheltenham in England. It turned out that the unionized clerks there were known to take union action on occasion. One of the times they walked off the job was during the KAL 007 provocation that Reagan initiated. That strike was fine with us—but not with the CIA and Thatcher. Under Reagan's orders, Thatcher declared that henceforth there would be no unions at Cheltenham, and the TUC basically sat on its ass and did nothing. This was only, I think, a month before the miners' strike began and it was a premonition of what was going to come. The TUC's been in Thatcher's camp, and has been rewarded for services rendered. In the midst of the strike, the former head of the TUC, Len Murray, and the head of the power workers union, Frank Chapple, a vicious right-winger, were both elevated to peers of the realm. They don't have a lot of money there. Whereas here you can buy off union leaders by giving them big salaries, in England, because it's a very poor country, you make them into lords.

This is a very, very political strike where the trade unions have lined up, not simply on union positions, but on the basis of their attitude to the Soviet Union. Those people in the British trade-union movement who most hate the strike and instruct their members to cross picket lines are those that most redbaited Scargill and hate Russia. You can't defend the unions unless you defend the Soviet Union. Despite the political degeneration in the Soviet Union under Stalinism, we defend the revolutionary gains that were made in October of 1917: the booting out of the landlords and the capitalists, and the establishment of a planned economy. And we seek to extend this to the capitalist countries. Conversely, the social democrats and labor traitors hate with a passion this idea of social revolution and don't want to see it happen at home. So when you raise the question of power, you also raise the question of, politically, where does an organization within the working-class movement stand in terms of its duty to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism?

On this question there's not only a division within the workers movement in Britain, but internationally. In particular, the bitterly anti-communist trade-union movements in the United States and Germany have done nothing to assist the miners. In Germany when collections were taken up for the miners, they were actually sent to the Steelworkers union in Britain, which is scabbing on the miners' strike. The AFL-CIO doesn't even make a pretense. When I came back I called up the AFL-CIO, and just for the record asked what they were doing about this strike. They put me on hold and about two minutes later a woman got back on the line and said: nothing, we haven't given any money. That's fairly well known among active strikers in Britain, so there's a real appreciation there for the solidarity campaign initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. And let's not forget Lech Walesa & Co. During the PATCO strike, this CIA company union was the only so-called union in the world that refused to defend the air traffic controllers, because they wanted to be buddy-buddy with Reagan. Same thing this time around. Lech Walesa issued statements saying that Thatcher is a wise and brave woman, and welcomed a delegation of scab miners from Britain.

At the same time, one of the nice things about the strike is that there are actually some sections of the proletariat internationally where defense of the Soviet Union and hatred of imperialism is a *virtue*. In France, where a good section of the proletariat is pro-Soviet, the large CGT union, tied to the Communist Party, has organized an extensive campaign of fundraising and food shipments. French miners had dumped a series of truckloads of coal that were destined for Britain. And this flew right in the face of the usual protectionist practices of not only the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucrats but also the French Stalinists and British "lefts." They have a program that the way to save your own job is by keeping out imports from foreign countries—that is, blaming foreign workers for the absence of jobs. This was an instance where French workers destroyed their own coal shipments in order to side with their British class brothers. It reflected an understanding that if the British miners could win a major battle against a government that wants to smash their union and eliminate their jobs—the same problems faced by workers not only in Britain but in France, the United States, and throughout the capitalist world—then the struggles could much more easily be fought at home.

no credit

Miners' rally in South Wales on November 13: the hangman's noose is for TUC secretary Norman Willis.

And there was the £1,000,000 donation collected by Soviet trade unions for the British miners. That drove the anti-Soviet left in Britain nuts: they couldn't handle it, so they refused to mention it. It is well known among the Russian miners and the Ukrainian miners that Scargill stuck his neck out to defend the Soviet Union against Reagan and Thatcher. And they appreciate it. And when the Soviets sent this aid, they said we remember what the British working class did for us after the civil war when the imperialists tried to invade our country. We remember that the British workers went out on strike and the dockers refused to load munitions for our enemies.

Now, one of the great crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been to gut that sense of internationalism. A typical example is the conduct of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy under Jaruzelski which has scabbed on the British miners by sending massive shiploads of coal to Britain. But in Russia this time it was somewhat different: the miners' strike demonstrates in embryo how militant class struggle in the West linked to defense of the Soviet Union can crack the nationalist stranglehold of the Stalinist bureaucracies on the working masses. What is necessary to carry this perspective through consistently is the building of Trotskyist parties internationally.

Strike with the Miners!

That was the political context of the strike: on the one hand a considerable section of the British working people that are eager to fight. On the other hand, a Cold War division within the trade-union leadership—the right wing is openly scabbing, and the left wing is talking solidarity, but when anything decisive happens, they retreat in disorder. What kind of program do you put forward in such a situation in order to give the most conscious militants in the workers movement a program to fight around?

We knew there's no point in approaching the TUC. If you want to shut down the country, to call on these guys to do it is the kiss of death. The left groups who shared the TUC's anti-Sovietism felt perfectly at home appealing to their social-democratic brothers for action. They were miles to the right of the miners themselves. I remember when the new head of the TUC, Willis, was invited to speak at a miners' rally in South Wales last fall. One of the strikers climbed a 50-foot pole and dropped a noose about two inches from this guy's head. It was an unambiguous message. So instead we singled out a number of strategic unions that claimed to back the miners—the seamen's union, the Transport and General Workers (which includes the dockers and the truck drivers), the rail unions—to break with the TUC scab policy and go out on strike together with the miners around a program of demands that could unite the working class in struggle: no layoffs, a 10-percent wage hike with full cost-of-living protection, an end to Thatcher's policies of privatizing—or selling the nationalized industries back to the private sector. We demanded no victimizations of anybody by the government and the bosses. It was a fighting program that addressed itself to those sections of the class that were prepared to struggle, it put the left union leaders on the spot, and would effectively mean a general strike.

We raised some other demands that are equally crucial. One is that we wanted to incorporate the most militant pro-miner elements among even those who are not represented formally by the trade unions. We wanted the women's committees in the coal fields to have representatives on the strike committees, and delegates from the unemployed and minorities who have been the most militant supporters of the miners' strike. We said bring the women in and kick the scabs out of the union, who still to this day have not been expelled from the NUM.

Now, we are a fairly small organization in Britain. But when we talked about class solidarity, unlike countless left groups waiting on the TUC or crossing picket lines, we meant business. We had a supporter in a Rovers car plant in Birmingham. Now, they had been running a real dirty operation there. Basically, they'd been sneaking in large quantities of scab coal. The union leadership, Communist Party members, were pretending to back the strike and giving money to the miners, but they were collaborating with this scab operation. So we found out about it and our supporter, Patrick, initiated a campaign against this scab coal.

At one particular miners' support demonstration that Scargill addressed in Birmingham, Patrick had a sign that said, "No Scab Coal in British Leylands!" The miners there remarked on this sign—they were shocked and furious at the scabbing. Then afterwards, one of the trade-union leaders, the equivalent of a Teamsters leader here, came up and said, "You know, I've been reading the Spartacist paper, and we're going to do something about this scab coal." An article appeared for the first time in the bourgeois press on this scab operation. And miners and lorry drivers actually organized a small picket line outside the plant. It wasn't enough—it didn't shut out the scab operation. But it polarized the local trade-union movement.

Unfortunately Patrick, like many other militants who have fought to defend the miners, was victimized. He was fired for putting out a statement that when the car workers' pay claim came up they ought to go out on strike alongside the miners. The striking miners themselves organized a contingent from at least two lodges in the surrounding area to demonstrate at the plant gates in defense of this man who had stood up for them. That showed the potential for establishing unity in struggle among diverse sections of the British masses, if you have principle and determination.

For a Revolutionary Trotskyist Party!

This points to the need for a revolutionary political party of the working class. But what the British working class has got is the Labour Party, which we characterize, in the words of comrade Lenin, as a "bourgeois workers party." While organizationally based on the unions, its policies in practice are to administer the rotten capitalist system. The last Labour Party

International Women's Day

Women and Revolution
No. 29
Spring 1985

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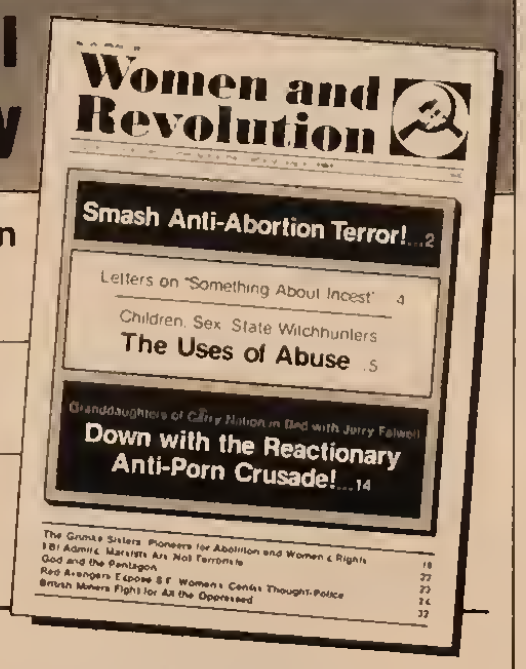

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government closed more mines than Thatcher and the Tories. They called out the troops against striking firemen. They sent the army into Ireland. You name it—they're stewards of the British ruling class.

On the road to the British socialist revolution the Labour Party must be split, its working-class base split from the pro-capitalist tops and regrouped in a revolutionary Trotskyist party. For almost the entire British left, however, the Labour Party is sacrosanct. The Labour Party can be reformed, they claim, into an instrument to achieve socialism through nice, polite discussion and debate, while maintaining it as a party that encompasses every element of the class. This Kautskyan conception of the "party of the whole class" has proven utterly bankrupt during this strike.

"Judas" Kinnock, as the miners call him, is widely reviled throughout the coal fields. Middle-aged strike leaders were resigning their long-time memberships because their local Labour Party branches were run by scabs. Kinnock's own branch in South Wales passed a motion endorsing his expulsion. At a time when class struggle was threatening to blow the Labour Party apart, the Labour "lefts" and their apologists were closing ranks behind Kinnock. The group that publishes *Socialist Action*, which is loosely affiliated with the SWP here, wrote an anguished editorial denouncing the very idea of expulsion as treason.

Well, we'd like to see the CIA-loving

Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain demanded "Shut Down the Country!" at time of second dock strike last September.

right-wingers driven out of the Labour Party. Not because we trust the "lefts," but because we want to make these pseudo-socialists responsible for their treacherous policies before their working-class base. But what these guys want to do is hide behind the coattails of Kinnock & Co. This was graphically demonstrated at the Labour Party conference in October, where there was a partial revolt against Kinnock and his bootlicking. They voted down Kinnock's motion to condemn the violence of the pickets as well as the violence of the cops. They voted to authorize local councils to defy Thatcher's spending limits. Yet nothing came of it. No one wanted to take up Kinnock's challenge which he laid out in his address: if you want to change the government, you do it through the ballot box and Parliament and not by picketing and defying the law. Prominent "lefts" like Tony Benn and Scargill himself did nothing. Even a feeble call for a one-day strike was rejected. Kinnock was unanimously re-elected as head of the Labour Party. Later Benn explicitly justified this by claiming that "unity" is necessary and you can't criticize even Neil Kinnock at a time like this.

Even those like Scargill, despite their militancy and gut desire to win, are chained to reformism and Labourism, which means ultimately subordinating themselves to the class traitors. By refusing to break openly and sharply with the Labour/TUC misleaders, particularly the "lefts," the NUM leaders have greatly weakened the strike. Futile back room negotiations with Kinnock and the TUC scabherders have taken the place of the necessary appeals to the key transport and rail unions for joint strike action. To this phony scab unity with the class traitors we counterpose unity in action on the picket line.

The Labour Party with its millions of members is impotent to defeat Thatcher. It's impotent because the trade-union fakers and Neil Kinnocks who run it don't want to fight capitalism. We seek to forge a different kind of party—a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party which will serve as the general staff of the working class. Such a party has no room for this fifth column of scabherders, racists, pro-imperialists and their left apologists. We seek to forge a party that would embrace the tens of thousands of militants who have been struggling today with all their power to see the miners victorious—a party that consciously will lead the working masses to crush capitalism for good through the road of the class struggle. ■

PDC Miners' Fund Tops $20,000

MARCH 6—The fund drive initiated in November by the Partisan Defense Committee to appeal to American unionists on behalf of the British miners has now raised over $20,000. The PDC's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund campaign was warmly received February 16 at UAW Local 719 in La Grange, Illinois near Chicago. There, workers at the huge General Motors ElectroMotive Diesel plant donated $148.26 after a PDC spokesman, recently returned from Britain, gave an eyewitness account of the hard-fought strike. A UAW International representative had intervened to squash a donation from the local treasury, but one worker rose to demand that a collection be immediately taken up: "Don't you watch television and see what Thatcher is doing to those miners?" The PDC speaker had emphasized that "Iron Lady" Thatcher was bent on giving the embattled miners the union-busting "PATCO treatment" that Reagan & Co. aim to use against labor struggle here in the U.S.

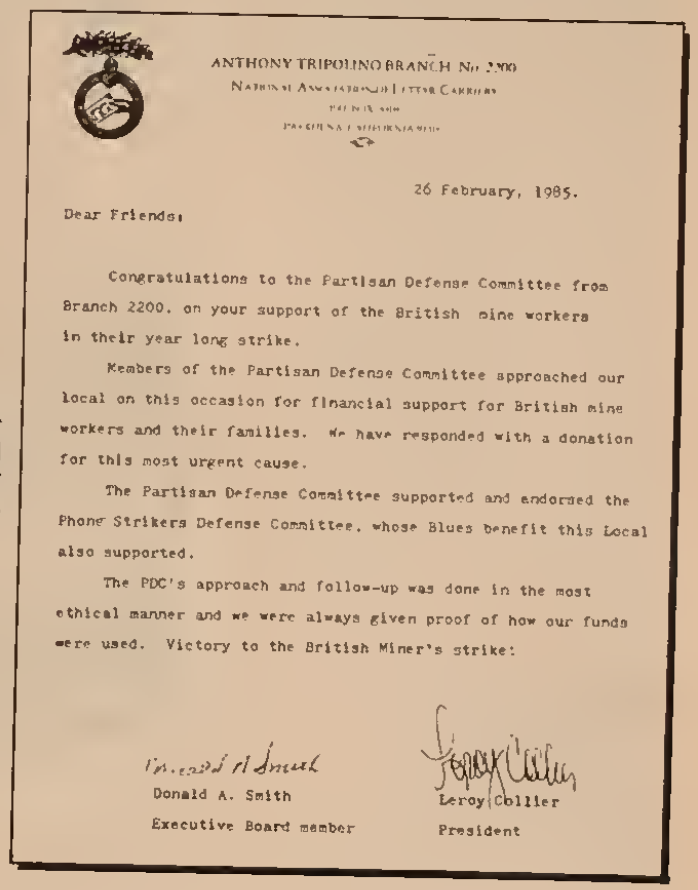
In addition to raising money through its own campaign for the miners, the PDC, in keeping with its announced policy of assisting others involved in parallel fundraising efforts, has also helped secure donations for the NUM's Miners' Solidarity Fund or for particular collieries. PDC representatives have assisted striking miners from Nottinghamshire touring Detroit. At UAW Local 303 outside Toronto, almost $1,000 has been raised for a Northumberland mine after the PDC assisted a visiting miner in appealing to the local. And a miner from the NUM Armthrope Branch in Doncaster (Yorkshire) spent four weeks in Toronto and spoke before the Metro Labor Council and at a Steelworkers meeting, after contacting the PDC. An unexpected dividend from the Doncaster striker's trip came when he forced the fake-leftist Revolutionary Workers League to back down from their three-year policy of cowardly anti-Spartacist exclusionism at a meeting where he was speaking.

The PDC drive has had to combat opposition from right-wing exec board members who, taking their cue from the do-nothing line of the AFL-CIO, have tried to derail the PDC's efforts to enlist American unions on the side of the miners. Among the union locals that have asked the PDC not to publicize their contributions are postal workers and other government employees, uneasily aware of the redbaiting emanating from such union "leaders" as the CWA and American Postal Workers Union tops. Sometimes the obstruction has come from ostensible "leftist" spokesmen. For example, the PDC made an appeal at AFSCME Local 444, representing Bay Area waterworks employees, on February 14. After local members raised over $80 by passing the hat and voted to send another $100 from the treasury, a supporter of the British "Militant" group opposed sending the money through the PDC's fund. This sectarian ploy was spiked when the local voted to split the donation, sending half through the PDC fund, half via the "Militant" backer. A local member rose to challenge the latter: would he be able to give the members as good an accounting of how this money reached the miners as the PDC has scrupulously done for every penny?

Over the past month, the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund has collected over $5,000. Chicago transit workers (ATU Local 241) contributed $300; Carpenters Local 67 in Dorchester, Massachusetts, $500; and Los Angeles freight drivers (IBT Local 208), $250. In Northern California, locals contributing included public employees (SEIU Local 18), butchers (UFCW Local 120) and Teamsters Local 70. Donations were also received from CWA Public Employees Local 4512 in Cleveland and AFSCME Local 171 representing University of Wisconsin employees.

Funds were also raised by passing the hat at union meetings: $136.05 from UAW Local 148 in Lakewood, California; $114.75 from Typographers Union Local 21 in SF. Smaller sums were raised from collections in numerous other locals including Molders Union Local 164 in Oakland, UAW Local 600 M&C Unit in Detroit, as well as SF longshoremen, machinists from IAM Lodge 68 in Daly City, California, Chicago steel workers and Boston area restaurant workers. ■

Pasadena Letter Carriers local supported appeal for British miners.



ANTHONY TRIPOLINO BRANCH No. 2200
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

26 February, 1985.

Dear Friends:

Congratulations to the Partisan Defense Committee from Branch 2200, on your support of the British mine workers in their year long strike.

Members of the Partisan Defense Committee approached our local on this occasion for financial support for British mine workers and their families. We have responded with a donation for this most urgent cause.

The Partisan Defense Committee supported and endorsed the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, whose Blues benefit this Local also supported.

The PDC's approach and follow-up was done in the most ethical manner and we were always given proof of how our funds were used. Victory to the British Miner's strike!

Donald A. Smith
Executive Board member

Leroy Collier
President

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-220

Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

Collected In Last Two Weeks:		
Trade Union Donations		$1,228.00
Union Membership Collections		167.16
Individual Donations		1,784.11
Total		**3,179.27**
Total Previously Reported		**$16,905.63**
Total Collected (as of 6 March 1985)		**$20,084.90**
Amount Sent to Miners' Solidarity Fund (as of 6 March 1985)	16,915.63	**$20,084.90**
Amount on Deposit (as of 6 March 1985)	3,169.27	

Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 7)

Chilean Radicals, Acción Democrática in Venezuela, Manley's PNP in Jamaica and Guillermo Ungo's tiny MNR in El Salvador.) The PIP hates anything that smells of revolution, proposing to negotiate independence by guaranteeing the property of American investors, paying the private and public debt and creating a neocolonial bourgeoisie through government subsidies and tariff protection. This utopian program for negotiated independence is about as real as Ungo's call for a "negotiated solution" to the raging Salvadoran civil war. And if the PIP ever could carry out its program, it would mean replacing Reagan's starvation cutbacks with IMF-dictated starvation austerity, as the PRD is imposing on the Dominican masses next door. The liberation of Puerto Rico from colonial rule will only come through a revolutionary victory against Yankee imperialism.

During the 1970s the major organization of the Puerto Rican left was the social-democratic nationalist PSP. Originating as the petty-bourgeois student-based Movimiento Pro-Independencia of the '60s, the PSP never managed to gain mass working-class support. Liberal academic Raymond Carr notes that "While the PIP served as the party of the liberal bourgeoisie, the PSP became the home of the radical petty bourgeoisie." With its strategy of endless marches to the United Nations to testify before the UN Committee on Decolonization, the PSP achieved exactly nothing. Even in 1982, despite the fictitious "Latin American unity" in response to the reactionary Falklands/Malvinas war, they couldn't get a majority of the bourgeois governments of the continent—the nephews of Uncle Sam—to support Puerto Rican independence. So desperate are they that in 1978 the PSP sponsored a joint resolution with the PPD endorsing "free association" (i.e., commonwealth status) as a form of decolonization.

In recent years the PSP has mainly chased after larger forces, begging Berrios to recognize its presence or alternatively seeking alliances with "autonomist" sectors of the *populares* such as House of Representatives president Severo Colberg. Following the '84 elections this has led to an implosion in the PSP, as Secretary General Carlos Gallisá (formerly of the PIP) denounces Berrios' "sectarianism" and calls for "unity of all *independentistas*"...except the PIP! Meanwhile, his predecessor Mari Bras appeals for a movement of "national affirmation" (earlier he called it the "anti-annexationist front," i.e., a bloc with the PPD *autonomistas* against the PNP statehooders) that would be neither communist nor anti-communist, neither electoralist nor anti-electoralist, neither for nor against armed struggle! Simply to call for such a neither-fish-nor-fowl "movement" is to admit the collapse of the PSP's political perspectives.

The armed groups of the Puerto Rican independence movement, notably the Boricua Popular Army ("Macheteros") and the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), have not been able to shake the Yankee colossus with their actions. Their often desperate blows have included senseless and criminal acts of indiscriminate terrorism, such as the FALN's 1975 bombing of the Fraunces Tavern restaurant in New York which killed five and injured 44 diners and passers-by. The FALN, whose specialty is symbolic bombings of banks and corporation headquarters in the U.S., has been the target of heavy police repression and infiltration, with numerous supporters and mere sympathizers jailed by U.S. grand juries. In June 1983, flak-jacketed police raided the Pedro Albizu Campos school in Chicago, arresting four pro-independence activists on charges of "seditious conspiracy to gain Puerto Rican independence." Currently their defense efforts are concentrated on preventing the extradition of alleged FALN leader William Morales from Mexico.

The Macheteros, on the other hand, have scored some spectacular coups. Most notable was their 1981 attack on the Muñiz air base of the Puerto Rican National Guard, in which they blew up nine planes (most of the fleet) and caused $45 million worth of damage. Recently they grabbed headlines by distributing truckloads of free gifts to Puerto Rican children in Hartford and on the island on January 6 (the day of the three kings, the traditional Hispanic equivalent of Christmas), paid for with loot appropriated from a multimillion-dollar Wells Fargo armored car heist. The Macheteros have also had vicarious support from leftist *independentistas* in Puerto Rico. When Juan Antonio Corretjer, poet and long-time leader of the Liga Socialista (LSP), died recently, his coffin was covered with the Macheteros' flag.

While they may have won sympathy with their dramatic gestures, these nationalist guerrillas offer no way forward for the Puerto Rican working class. In fact the program of the PRTP (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party, the Macheteros' political arm), printed in *Pensamiento Crítico*, March/April 1984, includes only a few lines about industry, while going on at length about developing agriculture. This back-to-the-farm mystique (the party's symbol is the peasant machete) may appeal to nationalist intellectuals who like to mythologize the sturdy Puerto Rican *jíbaro* peasant, but a life of subsistence farming is no answer to the misery of the masses. They call for protecting domestic agricultural producers (like the sugar cane plantations owned by the Bacardi rum empire) and lament the oppression of the native bourgeoisie, such as the Ferré family, prominent in construction, banking and pro-statehood politics!

For a Soviet Federation of the Caribbean!

The nationalists, including the "*independentista socialista*" variety, only offer a future of poverty and continued imperialist domination. The Puerto Rican masses' lack of enthusiasm for this prospect is certainly understandable. Recently groupings have begun to appear such as a "Socialist Collective of San Juan" which not only reject nationalism but even the fundamental demand for national independence (*Pensamiento Crítico*, October-December 1983). Their answer, harking back to the old pro-U.S. Socialist Party of the 1920s and '30s, is laborite reformism. More importantly, the present dead end of Puerto Rican nationalism can be seen in the writings of the Taller de Formación Política (Political Education Workshop), a heterogeneous academic collective with a vaguely Trotskyoid orientation. In a hook on the nationalist movement in Puerto Rico during the 1930s (*La cuestión nacional* [1982]), the Taller pointedly "does not talk of statehood or independence...but of recognition of the right of nations to self-determination."

For Leninists, the right to self-determination for colonies *can only mean* independence. Any other interpretation means conciliating imperialism and pro-imperialist false consciousness among the masses. V.I. Lenin wrote in "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1916) that socialists must

> "...demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation—and this demand in its political expression signifies nothing else than the recognition of the right to self-determination."

And that is what the Spartacist League demands: unconditional and immediate independence of Puerto Rico to remove the yoke of colonialism. (Unlike the Stalinists, who during the World War II "grand anti-fascist alliance" supported the pro-"autonomy" *populares*, the Trotskyists never wavered in their support for independence.) Put another way, while *at present* the Puerto Rican masses do not favor separation from U.S. rule, communists are for independence, like it or not.

Puerto Rico is indeed a separate geographical, cultural, linguistic and economic entity from the United States (it even has its own Olympic team). This contrasts sharply to Hawaii which was progressively integrated as a territory and then a state through a substantial implantation of the U.S. bourgeoisie in the islands. Only by removing the colonial tie will it be possible to move beyond the perennial question of Puerto Rico's "status" and advance in the *class* struggle. Meanwhile, so long as the island is kept in bondage, since Puerto Ricans are taxed by the U.S. (only *American corporations* get federal income tax exemption) and sent off to die in U.S. imperialism's wars, they should have the right to vote on everything from president to Congress. Not that it would alter Puerto Rico's status as a colony one whit, but Washington's refusal to grant Puerto Ricans full rights of U.S. citizens exposes the fraud of statehood.

Marxists are for Puerto Rican independence, but against nationalism. For we seek the unity of Puerto Rican and American workers in common struggle against Yankee imperialism. Not only do Puerto Rican workers work in branch plants of American corporations, providing an immediate link to the class struggle in the U.S., but there are almost two million Puerto Ricans on the mainland, concentrated in New York City. Unlike the nationalist PSP, we do not see *neoricans* as part of a "divided Puerto Rican nation." They are immigrants, who will either assimilate (as many of the English-speaking younger generation are doing) or eventually return to the island.

The Taller de Formación Política claims that petty-bourgeois nationalists, faced with intransigent imperialist opposition, will *have* to go further than they wish. It refers to "the conditions which imperialism creates for revolutionary democracy, forcing it to advance—if it wishes to succeed—to socialist positions" (*La cuestión nacional*). Following the line of pseudo-Trotskyist theoretician Ernest Mandel, they draw inspiration from Castro's Cuba and identify the "Second Declaration of Havana" (which denies that a "national bourgeoisie" can lead the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America) with the theory of permanent revolution. But Leon Trotsky put forward not only a theory but a *program* of permanent revolution: only through workers revolution, *led by a Leninist vanguard party* and proceeding to socialist tasks, he wrote, can the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution be achieved. The Taller's perspective is an objectivist perversion of Trotskyism which guts it of its revolutionary content.

Puerto Rico's strategic location has made it a prize for whatever imperial power seeks to dominate the Caribbean. Hence its liberation will be the product of a struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region and taken into the Yankee heartland. Instead of seeking to divide Puerto Rican workers from their class brothers and sisters on the mainland, Marxists seek fighting unity in class struggle. Instead of echoing the imperialist liberals' call for a treacherous "negotiated solution" in Central America to pull Washington's irons out of the fire, we call for turning the isthmus into a tomb for Yankee invaders—only by *defeating* the colonial-imperial overlord will the day of Puerto Rican independence draw nearer. In contrast to Fidel Castro, who declares "I do not believe socialism is on the agenda in Latin America" (*Guardian*, 26 December 1984), Trotskyists seek

UPI

Puerto Rican National Guard suppressed the 1950 Independentista rising in Jayuya, above.

Puerto Rican nationalists who shot up U.S. House of Representatives in 1954, below from left: Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Lolita Lebrón, Andrés Figueroa Cordero.

Wide World

not an isolated bureaucratically deformed workers state, subjected to decades of imperialist encirclement and harassment, but a *soviet federation of the Caribbean* as part of a socialist united states of Latin America.

Puerto Rico is the principal colony of the principal imperialist power in the world today. Thus its liberation can only be the product of the closest unity in struggle of the working class, both in the colony and the metropolis. Nationalism in Puerto Rico has been, and can only be, a legacy of heroic gestures and hopeless acts of desperation, from the 1937 Ponce massacre to the 1950 revolt of Jayuya and the attacks on Truman and the House of Representatives. This "struggle" will produce endless martyrs and keep the federal prison at Alderston, West Virginia filled with courageous patriots. But it will not contribute one iota to the emancipation of the Puerto Rican people. Puerto Rico will be free only as a result of revolutionary victories that overthrow all the ruling classes of America. And if today imperialism uses Puerto Rican soldiers as its mercenaries, tomorrow class-conscious Puerto Rican workers can play a vanguard role in socialist revolution throughout the continent. ■

Racist Cleveland Cops Sue Their Victims

CLEVELAND—The police here have committed another racist criminal outrage, and this one's downright grotesque. It wasn't enough that they let cop Joseph Paskvan walk after he wantonly murdered an unarmed black motorist, Michael Woods, two and a half years ago. Now this notorious racist killer-in-blue has the audacity to file suit against his victim's father, Lucius Woods, for...defamation of character!

Michael Woods, 24, had driven downtown to buy a birthday cake for his one-year-old son on 23 July 1982. But he never returned home, for he was murdered by off-duty cop Paskvan who fired his personal 9mm pistol into Woods as both were driving away from a traffic light. Paskvan, whose whole career as a cop has been a string of racist atrocities and who boasts of killing dozens of Vietnamese, blew Woods away because of a supposed traffic argument.

This racist murder was followed by a propaganda barrage unleashed by the cop "union," whose newsletter praised "Officer Joe 'the Orkin Man' Paskvan" for exterminating "one of society's maggots." The subsequent cover-up of the murder by a select committee appointed by Mayor George Voinovich led Lucius Woods to launch a campaign to rescue his slain son's reputation and expose the whitewash. He filed a $10 million civil suit against the city in U.S. District Court.

On 9 February 1984, Lucius Woods appeared on a local TV talk show, "Morning Exchange," where he forthrightly accused Paskvan of being "judge, jury and executioner" of his many victims. Now, over a year later, the cop has filed a $150,000 suit against Woods, claiming his talk show remarks were "defamatory."

The continuing agony and victimization of the Woods family speaks volumes about this horrendous racist society. First Michael Woods is murdered in cold blood. His character is maliciously impugned, and when his father expresses outrage, he is sued by the murderer! Lucius Woods has courageously stood up against the cops and the racist courts, and also rejected scurrilous redbaiting attacks leveled against demonstrations in support of his slain son.

The new moves against Lucius Woods come in the midst of an aggressive display of cop power. Police here have recently been issued official .38 special flatnosed bullets because of their greater "stopping power." In return for this, the cops were supposed to acquiesce to an empty "review board" to be appointed by Voinovich—the same mayor who appointed the cover-up committee in the Woods case and personally squelched extension of a police investigation in a subsequent racist cop murder.

A ballot issue was passed in the November elections with the black

Protesters in Cleveland demand "Vengeance for Michael Woods!" at one-year memorial of his death.

East Side and the Near West Side with its Latin concentration voting for the mayor's review board scheme. But the cops bristled at even the pretense of civilian control, and two police "unions" successfully overturned the vote in a reactionary court suit. Now in addition to the case against Woods, we learn that David Sumskis, the racist cop who killed Gregory Williams on the Near West Side last year, is considering court action against the black Cleveland weekly, the *Call and Post*, for denouncing his heinous crime.

Killer cops suing their victims is becoming a national phenomenon. The *New York Times* (20 February) reports that for the past two years the city of New York has been conducting an aggressive policy of slapping citizens who file police brutality cases with stiff countersuits. In Reagan's America, mad dog killer cops are claiming the right to commit racist murder with impunity. Spartacist League posters at a memorial for Woods outside the Justice Center in July 1983 demanded, "Vengeance for Michael Woods!" and "Jail the Killer Cops! For the Right of Black Armed Self-Defense!" The answer, we say again, is "Smash Reagan Racism—Build a Workers Party!" and "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

Edward Cooperman...

(continued from page 4)

Gun Down Vietnamese Patriots in San Francisco." *WV* No. 357, 22 June 1984). The couple were close friends of Cooperman. Responsibility was again claimed by the Viet fascists. Case remains unsolved.

And the death threats continue. Ominously, "investigator" Cassidy hung out in the courtroom hallways during the trial taking pictures of Cooperman supporters. Tony Russo, chairman of the Committee for Justice for Edward Cooperman and a spokesman for the U.S./Vietnam Friendship Association, has been singled out as a target in the 17 October 1984 issue of *Tay Phai* (The Rightist), an organ of the Vietnamese gusanos. "Who Is Tony Russo?" runs the subtitle, next to his photo; only the crosshairs of an assassin's gunsights are left to the imagination.

During his lifetime, Cooperman was subjected to continual government harassment for his activities on Vietnam's behalf. Since his death, they have tried to cripple the work of his U.S. Foundation for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam. When the police first arrived on the murder scene, they seized all of Cooperman's files (without a search warrant) and removed them, including all the records of the Foundation. The records were later returned sealed, and police have refused to allow Cooperman's family and Foundation officials access to them. But attorney May got copies of everything, as did at least three U.S. government agencies (*Herald-Examiner*, 14 January).

For the Socialist Reconstruction of Vietnam

The Foundation, established by Dr. Cooperman in 1977, collected books, medical supplies and equipment to aid in rebuilding Vietnam, and worked for the exchange of ideas and information between American and Vietnamese scientists and physicians. They developed solar-powered rice-processing equipment and low-cost hearing aids; developed techniques aimed at converting bomb craters into fishponds; researched treatments for dengue fever and rotting jungle diseases; studied the effects of chemical defoliants on the Vietnamese land and people. The tons of Agent Orange and other defoliants that the U.S. dumped on the Vietnamese countryside have caused massive increases in birth deformities, miscarriages, cancer, chromosomal damage, as well as widespread deforestation of the countryside. The Vietnamese have lacked the sensitive soil-testing equipment capable of measuring dioxin levels; Cooperman's foundation, with the assistance of a UNESCO grant, was attempting to supply this desperately needed equipment, and to conduct computer studies to detect the effects of Agent Orange.

These humanitarian efforts marked Dr. Cooperman as a target for ultrarightist violence. Despite scare stories in the disinforming press about how Cooperman was secretly shipping contraband computer equipment to Vietnam, what he was shipping—cleared beforehand by the State and Commerce Departments—was about as hi tech as the typical children's video game. But trade with Vietnam is barred under the "Trading with the Enemy Act," and, as one Treasury Department official put it, "you can't ship an old sewing machine there" unless you prove it can't be used to develop the country.

Edward Cooperman devoted his life to helping rebuild Vietnam, devastated by 40 years of imperialist war. He pursued every legal avenue to break through the blockade of technology to Vietnam imposed by the vindictive U.S. government, still stinging from its humiliating battlefield rout by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. This policy was aptly expressed by one Reagan administration official in late 1981: "Hanoi hasn't paid its dues; we aid those countries we defeat, not those that defeat us" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25 December 1981).

The U.S. imperialists tried to bomb Vietnam into submission, and they failed. They have been trying to starve Vietnam into helplessness, and they have failed. The recent victories of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean government troops in wiping out the counterrevolutionary Pol Pot nests along the Thai border demonstrate that the fighting capacity of the Vietnamese—who brought the U.S. military monster to its knees—remains intact (see "Vietnam Creams CIA's Khmer Contras," *WV* No. 371, 25 January).

Fascistic terror against the friends of Vietnam is intended to intimidate Americans from expressing solidarity with the hard-won victory of the Vietnamese Revolution. But the legacy of Edward Cooperman and his work stands as a courageous example of internationalism, and he will live long in the memory of the Vietnamese people. It is reported that the Hanoi government has minted a medal in his honor for the top graduate students in science.

All honor to the memory of Dr. Edward Cooperman! Down with the imperialist blockade of Vietnam—Defend the Vietnamese Revolution! Forward to the American workers revolution, which will finally settle accounts with the Viet fascists together with their imperialist puppetmasters, and will liberate the technological resources of moribund capitalism on behalf of those who have long suffered under the yoke of hunger, disease, backwardness and war—the legacy of imperialist world domination. ■

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

voted by a two-to-one margin for the Sandinista government, in elections the U.S. did everything it could to subvert or prevent?

"You can say we're trying to oust the Sandinistas," said Reagan, unless of course "if they'd say uncle." Hell, the Sandinistas have every right to declare their goal to be the removal of the government in Washington, "in its present structure," of course. Given the bloody war being waged by the U.S. against their homeland, they'd be justified in nuking the White House, to avoid having to use Nicaraguan troops! Reagan screams about Nicaragua being a "strategic threat" to the U.S. What an outrage! Beginning with the occupation of the Atlantic coast port of Bluefields in 1909, the Americans with their battleships have intervened militarily *14 times* this century in this tiny Central American country. In that whole time Nicaragua hasn't invaded the United States once.

It's only because of the tremendous disparity of size and forces that Reagan can get away with such shameless bullying. Just listening to these threats is almost enough to turn you into a Third World nationalist. But not quite—for the U.S. war objectives go far beyond Nicaragua.

While Reagan acts like he's "all but ready to swing into the saddle and charge up the Nicaraguan equivalent of San Juan Hill" like Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders (*Washington Post*, 25 February), Secretary of State George Shultz is proclaiming a U.S. "right" to aid "democratic revolutions" throughout the world, and particularly in the Soviet bloc. "The Solidarity movement in Poland; resistance forces in Afghanistan, in Cambodia, in Nicaragua, in Ethiopia and Angola; dissidents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" all deserve "our support—whether moral support or something more." In this February 22 speech to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, Reagan's von Ribbentrop declared that "America must be the leader of the free world" and back insurgencies against "Communist domination." Shades of Hitler's Anti-Comintern Pact.

The Reagan government is quite as clear about wanting to rule the world as the Nazis were. "Strength lies not in defense but in attack," declared the Führer in *Mein Kampf*. "Peace through strength," proclaim the Reaganites. The Americans speak so clearly, partly because they once ruled the world and it sort of "slipped away"—like in Vietnam!—so they "just" want it back. Whereas the Nazis had to be a little more openly self-serving, explaining that you all have to be conquered so the German *Volk* can get a little *Lebensraum*. Hitler wanted to conquer the world, Reagan wants to *re*conquer it as part of his Manifest Destiny. But Yankees and Nazis have virtually identical programs toward Soviet Russia—to overturn the social conquests of the October Revolution, cost what it may.

Dan Wasserman

Big Brother Reagan's Somozaist Brothers

The Yankees installed the Somoza dynasty, which ruled Nicaragua from 1932 until 1979—almost half a century. Anastasio Somoza I, "the last Marine," who treacherously assassinated anti-imperialist fighter Augusto César Sandino, zealously guarded U.S. interests in Central America. His second son, Anastasio II, "Tachito," for whom Spanish was a second language, graduated from West Point, inheriting his father's power base in the National Guard, and became *jefe supremo* in 1967. The *guardias* were his personal praetorian guard, native mercenaries who practiced the most hideous torture and murder. *Time* magazine correspondent Bernard Dietrich gives a typical example of the National Guard's blood lust, describing a raid on the village of Varilla (which allegedly supported the Sandinistas) in 1977:

> "The soldiers shot, bayoneted or strangled four men, eleven women and twenty-nine children. After dumping the bodies in an unmarked pit, the sheriffs divided the villagers' land among themselves."
>
> —Bernard Dietrich,
> *Somoza* (1981)

And this is what former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick hailed as a "moderately repressive authoritarian" regime!

The 1979 insurrection that toppled the Somoza dynasty was sparked by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, but it was the popular uprising that shattered the National Guard. Although the petty-bourgeois FSLN offered to incorporate "honest" and "patriotic" Guard officers into a new national army, the Guardsmen fled in panic fearing the fury of the Nicaraguan masses. But unfortunately, those few who were captured were not executed. The Nicaraguan masses are now paying the price of this "generosity," as the Somozaist Guard reconstituted itself in the condominiums of Miami and

BARRICADA

Estas bestias no volverán!

FSLN's Barricada: Contra "Beasts Will Not Return!"

training fields in the Everglades, then shipped out to Honduras where it reappeared as the "Nicaraguan Democratic Force."

Just who are these men Ronald Reagan calls his "brothers"? The military chief of staff of the FDN is former National Guard colonel Enrique Bermúdez, who led the Nicaraguan contingent in the 1965 Santo Domingo invasion. As Somoza's military attaché in Washington, Bermúdez made influential contacts in U.S. military and intelligence circles. His general staff today consists exclusively of former Guard officers, most trained by the U.S. at Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone and many of them members of Somoza's elite band of murderous thugs from the Infantry Basic Training School, the notorious EEBI. Some, like Miskito Indian leader Steadman Fagoth, are former agents of Somoza's secret police. And all are bloodthirsty murderers.

"Moral Equals of the Founding Fathers"

"Patriots"? During the repeated general strikes and insurrections which swept the country during 1978-79, Somoza's tanks and planes systematically destroyed Nicaragua's cities, reducing Esteli, León, Masaya and Chinandega to rubble, just as Somoza left the capital of Managua after the devastating 1972 earthquake. After all, who needs a capital if your capital is safe and sound in Miami? The Guardia killed more than 50,000 Nicaraguans in this slaughter, and as they were preparing to flee, Somoza ordered from his underground headquarters (appropriately named El Bunker) to lay waste to every factory owned by dissident capitalists. If Nicaragua wasn't theirs, decided the Somozaist "patriots," it wouldn't be at all.

"Freedom fighters"? Remember the CIA's explanation for publishing their infamous murder manual last year was to get this kill-crazed scum to clean up their act. David Lerner of the Center for Constitutional Rights reported on one massacre in the region of Paiguas in August 1983:

> "...a group of 350 contras assassinated 30 people, torturing and mutilating many of them. Among those killed were a 15-year-old boy who taught classes, and a community leader who was found hung from a beam in his house. One 14-year-old girl was first gang-raped and then decapitated and her head placed on a stake at the entry to the village. Several other victims were beheaded. One had his eyes gouged out before he was killed."
>
> —WBAI National News,
> 5 December 1984

But now that they have read up on the "Selective Use of Violence for Propagandistic Effects" the Somozaist mercenaries carry out murder by the book. One example: the London *Guardian* (15 November 1984) reports on a grim massacre by contras at the state farm of Castillo Norte in Jinotega province last May. The peasants defended their farm until ammunition ran out, then the carnage began:

> "Eleven were caught in their foxholes and killed in cold blood. Rosa had her breasts cut off. Then they cut into her chest and took out her heart. The men had their arms broken, their testicles cut off, and their eyes poked out. They were killed by slitting their throats, and pulling the tongue out through the slit."

And these psychopathic killers are for Reagan "the moral equal of our Founding Fathers"! Well, they certainly are Reagan's brothers. The FDN even named one of its hit squads the Jeane J. Kirkpatriek Task Force.

No Appeasement of Uncle Sam!

The administration is on a binge, trying to bludgeon a reluctant Congress into voting aid to the "contras." Together with the other ex-Marines in the White House basement, the roughneck secretary of state Shultz is itching to get the U.S. into a war somewhere, and Congress be damned. But this gung ho military adventurism could backfire—witness the fiasco in Beirut. As we have said repeatedly, the Reaganite "new patriotism" is extremely superficial—it will prove brittle as soon as it's tested in blood.

The Reaganites took their landslide election victory in November as a "mandate" for their "conservative revolution." But while the Heritage Foundation types talk of spreading counter-revolution to the heart of the Soviet bloc, the U.S. is increasingly bogged down in Central America. The American public, certainly, is not ready for new foreign military adventures. A *Washington Post*-ABC News poll taken after Reagan called for overthrowing the Sandinistas found that 70 percent opposed U.S. involvement in efforts to topple the Nicaraguan government; and this opposition has *increased* sharply since a year ago (*Washington Post*, 28 February). And in Congress there is wide opposition to funding the contras, mainly because they are losers. This ragtag bunch of thugs can shoot down unarmed civilians, but they'll never make an army that could overthrow the Sandinistas. So the administration has been looking for various subterfuges to keep the dollars flowing to its mercenary army, such as a bill for "humanitarian" payments to the contras' dependents (known on Capitol Hill as the "Aid to Families with Dependent Contras" bill).

The Sandinistas keep trying to strike a deal with Washington. The latest offer was an indefinite moratorium on acquiring new arms systems, and plans for withdrawal of 100 Cuban military advisers. When this was dismissed out of hand by the White House as a propaganda ploy, Nicaraguan vice president Sergio Ramirez offered to add more concessions. Their purpose is to induce the U.S. to revive the moribund "Contadora peace process." This attempt by regional bourgeois powers to limit revolutionary conflagration in Central America by negotiations fell apart last fall when Nicaragua accepted a draft peace treaty and the U.S. shot it down. But as Reagan has made utterly clear, there's nothing the Sandinistas could offer to appease Washington short of "crying uncle."

The truly evil American empire seeks to spread bloody counterrevolution throughout the world. When the Sandinistas talk of self-determination, national sovereignty, the World Court and international law, as the cartoon notes, they really are "babbling in Russian" as far as Reagan's concerned. You can only defeat the contra killers and their mass-murdering godfathers—the war criminals who brought us the horrors of Vietnam, Hiroshima/Nagasaki, and the firebombing of Dresden in World War II—through international socialist revolution. It's because the Sandinistas *haven't* destroyed the capitalist "fifth column" inside the country, because the Kremlin *hasn't* extended military protection to Nicaragua that today this petty-bourgeois radical-nationalist regime is tops on the Reaganites' hit list.

Kill the invaders! No appeasement of Yankee imperialism—For revolutionary war throughout Central America! Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba begins in Central America! ■

Westmoreland...

(continued from page 16)

supporters in South Vietnam itself dropped from the monthly "Order of Battle." "Just old men and women in black pajamas," Westmoreland's supporters insisted, "not a military threat." So then why did Robert (Blowtorch) Komer's "Operation Phoenix" CIA program assassinate over 100,000 of them? Komer, who testified for Westmoreland, was one of the filthier war criminals on parade at the Foley Square courthouse—a cast of characters including the likes of the cold, statistics-mongering Robert McNamara, LBJ sycophant Walt Rostow, and dozens of ex-bright young CIA plotters and military men, all of whom got their hands plenty dirty in Vietnam. The debate about the importance of the "home guard" revealed the excruciating dilemma of the Americans in Vietnam: that the whole Vietnamese nation was mobilized to drive them out. A secret 1967 memo by Major General Walter Kerwin that came out at the trial estimated that perhaps as many as *one third* of U.S. casualties to that point were the result of boobytraps, mines and other devices hidden in the jungles and rice paddies; the "grunts" on the ground sure knew they were stepping into hostile territory every day, too. It was a "people's war," and so the bloody U.S. butchers' final solution, even as they *knew* they were losing, was—as in "Operation Phoenix"—to simply kill as many of the people as they could.

About the only one missing from the parade of war criminals was Lyndon Baines Johnson himself, dead but not forgotten. That monstrously wily, paranoid politician and the question of what he knew and when he knew it revealed another dilemma the squabbling ruling class factions tried to evade. It was clear by the end of the trial Westmoreland *had* in fact blocked not only the CIA's but also some of his own subordinates' higher "enemy" estimates—but how could LBJ not have known? Well, he knew what he wanted to: he was one of the big all-time liars about Vietnam himself (something neither side dared admit). The CBS trial was beginning to reveal that the order to lie about the "politically explosive" issue of vastly higher enemy strength came

Nihon Denpa News, Ltd.

Washington claimed U.S. was winning war, but heroic Tet Offensive of January 1968 shattered the lies.

from the top. Veteran columnist Joseph Kraft made the simple point that if anybody was leading anybody around by the nose over Vietnam, given their respective personalities, it was surely LBJ doing it to Westmoreland, not the other way around (*Washington Post*, 29 November 1984).

The bourgeoisie couldn't win, and they couldn't tell the truth. So of course they all lied to the American people all of the time and to each other some of the time: they kept looking for that "light at the end of the tunnel," they chopped and suppressed facts and figures that didn't show the U.S. was winning the war, they knifed other departments in the back—they lied on everything from body counts to bombings to the Army's infamous daily "five o'clock follies" press briefings in Saigon.

How "we" got into Vietnam even started with a lie—the "Gulf of Tonkin" incident in August 1965. President Johnson, Robert McNamara, Walt Rostow were all in on it—they'd had plans ready since 1964 to bomb North Vietnam, they had a resolution all set to let the president unleash American forces, and all they needed was an "incident." So they made one up, claiming the U.S. destroyer *Maddox*, which had been running provocative cruises near the North Vietnamese coast, had been fired on by North Vietnamese torpedoes. The ship's captain didn't think it was true; one of the fighter-bomber pilots searching the waters around the *Maddox* for supposed enemy boats said there weren't any—but Johnson insisted on his "incident" and so the resolution sailed through Congress and the first major U.S. escalation of the war was on.

And as the war escalated, so did the lying. By mid-1967 LBJ was so worried about the economic strains on the U.S. that "he procrastinated, juggling and faking and concealing the statistics in a desperate attempt to avoid increasing taxes," noted Stanley Karnow in *Vietnam: A History*, the companion book to the PBS TV series. Karnow recalls many of the standard, repeated lies everybody exposed at the time, like LBJ's claim the bombing raids over the North were aimed only at "military targets," a lie exposed by *New York Times* reporter Harrison Salisbury, who was there at the time. McNamara lied a lot, too—after a 1966 trip to Vietnam, he told the press progress "has exceeded our expectations," while telling LBJ privately he was "only a little less pessimistic," and that the North Vietnamese could "more than replace" their losses. The Joint Chiefs of Staff lied, issuing statements the bombing was "highly effective," while privately arguing for yet more raids because they weren't working. (And we're only dealing here with the Johnson period—Kennedy before and Nixon/Kissinger after, with their secret bombing of Cambodia, did it too.)

Vietnam Was a Victory!

After Westmoreland left Vietnam in 1968, the war dragged on for seven more years, until in 1975 the North Vietnamese army finally triumphantly swept south to Saigon, chasing the last remnants of the South Vietnamese U.S. puppet troops who retreated in dust clouds of panic all the way. It wasn't Westmoreland's lying about "progress," nor McNamara's, nor LBJ's, nor the Pentagon's, that "lost Vietnam"—the U.S. lost on the *battlefield*, when the gigantic Pentagon war machine could not stop the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants.

That was the meaning of the Tet Offensive of 1968, and why it was such a traumatizing, stunning shock to the U.S. bourgeoisie. They faced in Tet something they couldn't believe could happen: that in the heart of South Vietnam, a massive, all-out drive, encompassing over 100 cities and towns, overrunning the "fortified villages," shelling the massive U.S. base at Cam Ranh Bay, penetrating right into the American embassy in Saigon itself, could explode with such ferocity just as they were assuring everyone the "war of attrition" was being won. Tet brought down LBJ.

Vietnam was a victory for the world's working people. For us the "trauma" of Vietnam was that it took so many years and deaths for social revolution to triumph. Yet ultimately, despite hesitations in Hanoi, despite Moscow and Peking's repeated attempts to enforce sellout deals with U.S. imperialism, the Vietnamese people won, striking a vital blow to America's ambitions for world imperialist domination. The bourgeoisie is still bleeding from that wound, as the Westmoreland trial revealed—and that is a very good thing for the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. It has so far stayed the hand of even the Reagan administration from launching "another Vietnam" in Central America—though time is running out and the Reaganites with their "America über Alles" compulsions are becoming increasingly desperate and war-crazed. But the Vietnamese Revolution showed that U.S. imperialism could be *defeated*. We need "two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" and above all international proletarian revolution to finally sweep the vicious, lying, deadly American imperialist state into the dustbin of history. ■

Traitors' Lackeys...

(continued from page 6)

Brothers coffee, from Delano grapes to Chilean wine. What they won't do is mobilize the unions for struggle. And to make sure the ranks don't get carried away by the solidarity rhetoric, they need some "socialists" to police their events against "disrupters" who want to turn talk into action.

So they deputize their running dogs like Robinson and Keylor, to head it off. Around the South African ship boycott, their action was identical to the treacherous role played by Socialist Action, a group of former Socialist Workers Party members, during the 1983 Greyhound strike when they acted as goons for the SF labor bureaucracy. In early December 1983, just a year before the South African cargo boycott, some 1,500-2,000 militant workers tired of listening to windy bureaucrats mouth off about solidarity took off from a Greyhound strike support rally heading toward the bus terminal with the intention of shutting it down. Despite pleas from Herman and other union bigwigs, the demonstrators blocked the street for over two hours and no buses moved.

The bureaucrats were pissing in their pants. They started a whisper campaign, blaming "the Sparts" for all the trouble. But the next week several hundred workers again defied the labor fakers and set up picket lines at the Greyhound terminal entrances. This time a line of union heavies and "socialist" goons suddenly appeared, the police commander ordered the crowd to disperse, the picket captain announced "the rally's over," and standing next to him, telling everyone to go home, was Jeff Mackler, national co-chairman of Socialist Action and a former teachers union official. At Socialist Action's public debut a week later, Mackler complained that their well-laid plans for "a nice peaceful march" had been disrupted by "ultralefts." Anticipating Keylor, he added:

> "We had a spectacle of a tiny sect of 20 people leading the chants to workers of 2,000. We needed a little proletarian discipline."
>
> —quoted in "Ex-SWPers Goon for S.F. Labor Fakers," *WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984

And the Greyhound strike saw a repeat of almost identical scenes two years earlier during the PATCO battle, where the air controllers fought alone against the full weight of the Reagan government. Machinists and Teamsters could have shut down the airports in a matter of hours, but the AFL-CIO tops tried to hide their treachery by calling an impotent consumer boycott of air travel. Again there were "solidarity" demonstrations in the Bay Area, but in one case a rally of some 600-800 picketers surged into the streets and blocked all traffic into the SF airport for over an hour. California AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer John Henning vainly ordered picketers off the roads, and another pseudo-Trotskyist low-level union official, Steve Bryant, tried to herd demonstrators back to the curb (see "Militant PATCO Pickets Stop Traffic at S.F. Airport," *WV* No. 290, 9 October 1981).

There's a pattern here. When the ranks are "getting out of control," the labor fakers look around for some ostensible reds to run around and police things on behalf of the bureaucracy. That's the role played by Robinson and Keylor at the South African ship boycott, Mackler during the Greyhound strike, Bryant in the PATCO strike—cops for the union tops, deputies to the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. The pattern is more pronounced in the Bay Area because of its more militant labor traditions and radical history. That's also why you have a clot of pseudo-Trotskyist anti-Soviet groupelets here which hardly exist outside California—SA, RWL, WSL, ET—and all aspire to the same function. Talk about brothers under the skin: Socialist Action, newly emerged from the SWP, makes its first splash in the labor movement as bureaucrats' goons against militant workers at Greyhound. Now the ET makes its first organized self-display in the labor movement—as running dogs against militant union action.

Howard Keylor doubtless feels he's made it into the big time over the South Africa ship boycott. This is how you become a media star in the *Guardian*. But the policy he's enforcing is Jimmy Herman's, acting as a fireman to head off a real clash with the bourgeoisie. For Leo Robinson's "deputy dog," it's coming home to Stalinist reformism. Already over PATCO Keylor sided with the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's consumer boycott line against the SL's fight for labor action to shut down the airports. Angling for a slot in the ILWU bureaucracy, he's now paid his initiation fee by sabotaging the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* struggle.

The Spartacist League fought for mass picketing to shut down the airports during the PATCO strike, for a national transport strike together with Greyhound workers, for solid union action against the South African blood ship. As we wrote last year in our supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (over 100,000 distributed), "Solidarity is not sending $500 and a valentine. Solidarity is respecting picket lines, it is secondary boycotts, hot-cargoing struck products." The SL fights for class-struggle unionism, to replace the Jimmy Hermans with a leadership dedicated to independent working-class action, from Soweto to San Francisco, to build a Trotskyist party of world socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Vietnam War Criminals Squabble in Court

Westmoreland—You Lose, Again

The verdict on Vietnam was handed in ten years ago, by thousands of triumphant North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front (N.L.F., "Viet Cong") troops entering Saigon in the early hours of 30 April 1975. As the last panicked American personnel were being lifted off the embassy roof by helicopter, the Saigon CIA station head tapped out a last bitter message. "This experience unique in the history of the United States does not signal necessarily the demise of the United States as a world power. The severity of the defeat and the circumstances of it, however, would seem to call for a reassessment of the policies of niggardly half measures... Those who fail to learn from history are forced to repeat it.... Saigon signing off."

Having failed to learn from history, a section of the defeated U.S. military establishment recently tried to rewrite it in court—with equally humiliating results. The Reaganites need to overcome the still lingering "Vietnam syndrome." When CBS aired its documentary "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception," charging General William C. Westmoreland and the military with deceiving America about the size of the North Vietnamese/NLF forces and thus opening the way for defeat, they thought they saw their chance. Westmoreland, backed by wealthy right-wing foundations, launched a $120 million libel suit against CBS.

The suit was intended not only to have a chilling effect on "dissident" press reporting and establish the government's latest sinister tactic of senior government officials launching multi-million-dollar libel suits in order to harass critics. More broadly it was to pin the blame for "Who Lost Vietnam?" on the far-right's old "enemy within," the "liberal media." But on February 18, only days before the case was to go to the jury, Westmoreland was forced to abruptly drop the suit, signing a "peace accord" with CBS. Westmoreland's withdrawal was widely recognized as another defeat for the general, the commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam from 1964 to 1968, the year the stunning North Vietnamese/NLF Tet Offensive shattered the morale of the U.S. forces, marking the key turning point of the U.S. war.

Westmoreland's right-wing backers were unhappy with the general's latest pullout—but devastating revelations on his cover-ups by his immediate subordinates, including fellow West Pointer Major General Joseph McChristian, Westmoreland's former intelligence chief, were clearly swaying the jury toward CBS. CBS's defense was based on the essential truth of its broadcast (an unusual defense in libel cases), and for Westmoreland to lose on "truth" would have been devastating, so somebody pulled the plug. We don't know who, but it looks like the orders came from the top.

The "Who Lost Vietnam?" Witchhunt

The thesis of the CBS TV documentary, "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception," was that there had been "a conscious effort—indeed, a conspiracy at the highest levels of American military intelligence—to suppress and alter critical intelligence on the enemy in the year leading up to the Tet offensive," and that "we Americans," including Congress and the president, were "misinformed about the nature and the size of the enemy we were facing." The documentary's position was first raised by CIA analysts, one of whom was hired as a CBS consultant for the show. The multibillion-dollar media conglomerate has its *own* thesis on "Who Lost Vietnam?"—that it was essentially the military, Westmoreland and their lying cover-up numbers games over "enemy" strength. They wanted to get Westmoreland for subverting the "integrity" of the CIA's intelligence, and to uphold the need of the bourgeois establishment, especially its military, for reliable, accurate information. CBS, of course, is only interested in the "truth" that fits *its* bourgeois purposes. Those same "great liberals" declared outright on "60 Minutes" that Lt. Col. Anthony Herbert was lying when he brought charges of Army massacres of civilians in Vietnam in 1969.

The entire CBS/Westmoreland fight was carried out in the context of a frustrated and humiliated bourgeoisie *still* seeking desperately the elusive "enemy within" that supposedly was responsible for its great defeat. We Marxists did follow the CBS/Westmoreland trial with interest: the spectacle of U.S. war criminals squabbling in court, trying to stab each other in the back, had its own grisly humor, while revealing the ruling class's continuing failure to overcome America's longest, dirtiest, and above all *losing* war.

Since they couldn't beat the Vietnamese, Westmoreland and his right-wing backers (including the Capital Legal Foundation and the far-right Scaife foundation, which contributed over $2 million to his case) tried to get the "liberal media." It's no accident that CBS TV has also been singled out, simultaneously with Westmoreland's lawsuit, for a takeover bid by a far-right conglomeration headed by Republican Jesse Helms. Reagan kept the press out of his Grenada invasion, and he'd like to keep them out of Central America, gagged and toeing the far-right "party line" at home. Westmoreland's libel suit was supposed to be a show trial to break "the media," though in the end he had to cut and run. But it should be clear this is not the last Reaganite attempt to try to create the 1980s equivalent of the McCarthyite loyalty purges of the '50s, which started with the "Who Lost China?" issue and ended up stifling *all* dissent.

For both sides, of course, the squabble over and fascination with the numbers, with juggling the estimates and subdividing the categories of the "enemy," only serve to obscure the truth neither side can admit: that Vietnam was a *popular war* there, waged by an entire people steeled in over 30 years of battle to defeat imperialism, and that they would not stop until they had won their national freedom and social revolution. As Ho Chi Minh warned the French a generation before the Americans went in, "You can kill ten of my men for every one I kill of yours, but even at those odds, you will lose and I will win." Vietnam was an increasingly *unpopular* war in America, including among a sizable section of the ruling class, and increasingly in the armed forces themselves, composed of largely working-class and black draftees who didn't see why they should be sent to some far-off jungle to kill and die, or for what. So *everybody* in the administrations, both Democratic and Republican, that ran that dirty war lied, necessarily.

Lies, Lies, Lies

One of the central charges the CBS side made against Westmoreland was that he had the NLF's "home guard"

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UPI

Rentmeester/Life

U.S. embassy, Saigon, April 1975 (left), loser Westmoreland (above). Humiliating scramble out of Vietnam as revolution triumphed still haunts U.S. bourgeoisie.

Vietnam Was a Victory!
2, 3, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 375 ×523 22 March 1985

For Workers Revolution in South Africa!

Black Masses Battle Apartheid Repression

Black revolt against apartheid repression in South Africa took to the streets of Crossroads, the defiant squatters settlement near Cape Town, last month. This tightly organized community of 100,000 black toilers has been a living symbol of resistance to the white supremacist regime. Under the dictates of apartheid, in which more than 3.5 million blacks have been deported to the starvation poverty of the bantustans since 1960, this community of "illegal" black squatters should not exist. And Pretoria has tried time and time again to bulldoze its humble shacks, schools and clinics into the dust and deport its Xhosa-speaking inhabitants to the bantustan hellholes of the Ciskei and Transkei. Recently, the Botha regime announced plans to "consolidate" the entire 250,000-strong black population living around Cape Town (including those with "legal" residence) into a concentration camp with one access road called Khayelitsha where the rents are too high and the cell-like "homes" too small for the desperately impoverished black workers and their families.

But on February 18 Crossroads residents took to the streets to protest their threatened removal. They built flaming barricades out of oil drums, old tires and logs. Three thousand protesters battled South Africa's heavily armed, brutally racist police for two days with stones and their bare hands. Eighteen blacks were murdered by these apartheid butchers, including two babies only two and six months old who suffocated from tear gas fumes; nearly 300 were wounded. But 28 police vehicles were damaged and 26 of the racist thugs were injured, and as a result of their defiance the courageous Crossroads residents once again have forced Pretoria to back down. On February 21 the white supremacist minister of "black affairs" (a post akin to Hitler's minister of "Jewish affairs") Gerrit Viljoen indicated that plans to move the residents of Cape Town's three main black townships would be scrapped. And five days later he proclaimed that Crossroads would be rebuilt as a "legal" black township, albeit with 70 percent of its inhabitants shipped off to Khayelitsha or the bantustans because of "overcrowding."

English/UPI-Reuters

Defiant Crossroads residents fight for their homes, face down bloody apartheid police attempt to remove them.

Free the UDF 16 and All Anti-Apartheid Prisoners!

While black protesters battled apartheid's police in Crossroads, apartheid's security agents were busy busting into 70 offices and homes of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its supporters. Eight leaders of this anti-apartheid coalition were rounded up and jailed on "treason charges." Together with eight colleagues arrested last year on similar charges, they are fighting for their lives.

The popular-frontist UDF is composed of more than 600 organizations, from black unions to merchant groups and sports clubs. The UDF and its liberal-utopian policies of "peaceful change" are backed by South Africa's oldest anti-apartheid nationalist

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Bloody Zionist Rampage in Lebanon

It's an "orderly withdrawal," Israeli style. The army said it was wrapping up its Lebanon adventure, moving south from the Litani River as part of a disciplined phased pullback. Well, shortly before dawn on March 11, they smashed into the Shi'ite village of Zrariyah, in south Lebanon. Bursting through the thin defenses of a handful of Lebanese soldiers and militiamen, some 1,000 Israeli soldiers, backed by over 200 tanks and armored personnel carriers, with choppers whirling overhead and cannon fire, rained terror and devastation on the sealed-off town for 14 hours. When journalists finally obtained entry, they saw the grisly handiwork: the Israeli army acted like the "contra" death squads they arm in Nicaragua. There were at least 40 corpses—with more being discovered. Murdoch's *New York Post* (12 March) gleefully reported that "Bayonets were used and bodies with their stomachs slit open were scattered along the roadside." The overwhelming majority of the dead were unarmed civilians, like the middle-aged man shot dead on the road into town with a truckload of lemons. At least two dozen cars had been destroyed, blown up or smashed by tanks. Bodies lay inside, crushed in the wreckage.

The June 1982 "Operation Peace for Galilee," as they called it, was announced as a 25-mile cakewalk to supposedly "protect" northern Israel from Palestinian guerrilla attacks. (That in the preceding eleven months *not one* Israeli civilian had been wounded in sporadic shelling across the border was beside the point to the Zionists—they had other things in mind.) As then Israeli chief of staff Rafael Eitan stated at the outset of the invasion: "Do you think for a moment that we've built up this tremendous army with the intention of not using it?" The Israelis' real plan was "Operation Pines": would-be führer General Ariel Sharon secretly boasted his blitzkrieg would reach Beirut in 48 hours. The Zionists were aiming at the "final solution" to the Palestinian "problem," the "purification" of Lebanon of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO): to deal a devastating blow to the Syrians, and put Lebanon straight—in addition to grabbing a little "Lebensraum" in

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New York Times Admits: Star Wars Means First Strike

Overshadowed by Chernenko's funeral in Moscow, the U.S. and Soviet negotiators sat down in Geneva last week to discuss arms control. In preparation, Reagan put on his "man of peace" garb, but made it clear that his massive and dangerous arms escalation will go ahead full tilt—the talks are just sucker-bait for lily-livered liberals in Congress. Russian détenteniks and the like. Last year the first-strike MX missile was supposed to be a "bargaining chip" to get the Soviets to the negotiating table; this year Reagan tells Congress "a vote on the Peacekeeper [MX] is a vote on Geneva"—i.e., the Geneva talks are just a "bargaining chip" to get the MX! And Reagan has made it clear that his pet "Star Wars" scheme is not up for discussion at all—the only thing the U.S. will negotiate is a reduction in Soviet land-based missiles. Orwell's "War is Peace" is the White House slogan, and the anti-Soviet Democratic "doves" do nothing but coo along. Who could object to "research," they ask, as they vote *billions* for "Star Wars."

What use is the theoretically super-accurate MX, liberal critics queried, if they're in the same vulnerable silos as the older Minuteman III? Wrong question. They won't even *be there*: the U.S. missiles will have been launched already, for the purpose of such pin-point accurate missiles is to "take out" the Russian missiles in *their* silos in a U.S. *first strike*. The whole idea, as Weinberger & Co. put it, is for America to "prevail" in a "nuclear exchange," while assuring that every white, middle-class American will come through unscathed. That's also how they're selling Reagan's "Star Wars" plan—promising to make (Russian) nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete" by providing a technological umbrella of "defensive" space weapons for the U.S.

Exotic weapons like x-ray lasers, particle beams and electromagnetic rail guns would shoot down a Russian retaliatory strike. Liberal criticism focused on the immense cost, and the present impossibility of building a leak-proof shield against a surprise attack. "Technology does not offer even a reasonable prospect of a population defense," noted former Defense Secretary Harold Brown (*New York Times*, 8 March). This misses the point. Reagan's first-strike plans aim at putting the U.S. back in the saddle again, to reassert world hegemony through nuclear blackmail. They want to replay the '62 Cuban missile crisis, to make Gorbachev blink, or, to use a contemporary Reaganite idiom, "cry uncle." Only this time they aim to dismantle the Soviet "evil empire" by threatening and, if necessary, carrying out a first strike.

Dept of Defense

Artist's conception of "Ronald's Rail Gun."

It's beginning to dawn on even relatively nearsighted imperialist organs like the *New York Times* that there's a nuclear nut in the White House, and they're worried. The *Times* recently published a lengthy six-part series (3-8 March) on Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) which suddenly discovered the "Dark Side of 'Star Wars': System Could Also Attack"! Ex-State

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Rose Mary Woods and the KAL 007 Tapes

The 1985 Rose Mary Woods Achievement Award must surely go to the United States Air Force. Ms. Woods, you may recall, set the record back in the early '70s when, as Nixon's secretary, she tried to explain away the mysterious 18-1/2 minute gap in the Watergate tapes by demonstrating how her foot "accidentally" stepped on the recorder pedal as she reached across her desk to answer the phone. Now the USAF is claiming that it *routinely erased* tapes of the radar tracking of the doomed Korean Air Lines Flight 007 as it penetrated Soviet airspace on 31 August-1 September 1983. They would have us believe that the records of this earthshaking event, which had the war drums rolling from Washington to Moscow, were treated as if they were mere videotapes of the evening news.

The Air Force claim recently leaked out of secret court proceedings in a lawsuit brought against the U.S. government and other parties by relatives of KAL 007 victims. A Justice Department trial attorney, Jan K. Von Flatern, tried to explain it away by saying that the tape from the USAF Regional Operations Command Center at Anchorage, Alaska was "just Air Force data—air defense data," that the tape is routinely "recycled every 15 days," and that the Air Force didn't preserve it because they "had no idea" they would be involved in subsequent litigation (*Washington Post*, 5 March)! Later in the same court session, Von Flatern inexplicably reduced his estimate from 15 days to 30 hours, but that didn't help him. "The Air Force...customarily impounds any information relating to an aviation disaster," noted the *Post*.

Only an idiot could believe the Air Force's absurd subterfuge. The fact is the U.S. intelligence "community" was practically salivating in public after the downing of KAL 007 because of the "intelligence bonanza" which the incident gave the U.S. about Soviet defense capabilities—indeed, that was the *whole purpose* of the U.S.-planned provocation. Hence KAL 007 *twice* deviated from course that night in order to fly over the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, triggering Soviet defenses. (See our Spartacist pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation," and "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984.) USAF chief of staff Charles A. Gabriel himself publicly bragged only one week after the disaster:

> "We got a rather good picture of what happened in those 2-1/2 hours, when the airliner's course over Kamchatka, the Okhotsk Sea and Sakhalin was followed by the Soviets.
> "What we learned gives us a little more faith in the capabilities of the USAF, when necessary, to overcome the enemy's defenses."
> —*Der Spiegel*, 15 October 1984

The USAF, along with the CIA, NSA, DIA and a host of other U.S. agencies, obviously analyzed their tapes in minute detail. If anybody destroyed those tapes—routinely, accidentally, deliberately—there would be dead bodies all over the Pentagon, Langley and Fort Meade!

The U.S. lying in court about the tapes is only part of a continuing cover-up of the 007 affair. As the liberal *Nation* (16 March) magazine noted after this latest incident, the "pattern of suppressing information" started the morning after the airliner crashed, when the civilian National Transportation Safety Board was told to hand over all its information to the State Department, which promptly clamped a lid of secrecy on the whole affair. The U.S. also asked the Japanese to turn over their tapes of Soviet air defense conversations even though the U.S. had more extensive tapes. Aside from the misleading, "edited" tape of the Soviet pilots' conversations played by Kirkpatrick at the UN, the U.S. has sat on all its collected tapes and data since then, while orchestrating a hysterical anti-Soviet propaganda campaign to fuel its drive toward World War III.

But if the Air Force wants to pretend it has no tape, that's hardly the end of the matter. The U.S. had a massive array of electronic gear coordinated to pick up every kind of electronic emission in the Far East that night. To begin with there were the *several* RC-135 electronic spy planes crammed with sophisticated listening/tracking/recording gear (figure three tapes), the USS *Observation Island* and its Cobra Judy radar in the North Pacific (at least one tape); the 2,000-mile-range Cobra Dane radar on Shemya Island (one tape); the NSA listening posts at Misawa and Wakkanai in Japan (two tapes); and a "ferret" spy satellite, specifically designed to pick up radar signals, coordinated with the flight of KAL 007, most likely relaying its data to the NSA/CIA station at Pine Gap, Australia (another tape).

That's eight tapes right there, and we're sure we've only scratched the surface. They or copies of them were certainly forwarded to NSA headquarters at Fort Meade, Maryland for extensive analysis. And they're still there, we can assure you—just "unavailable" to a mere U.S. court. The families of the victims of Reagan's KAL anti-Soviet provocation are supposed to be satisfied that their loved ones are Cold War martyrs...and to keep their mouths shut. But Reagan will need an army of Rose Mary Woods to handle this one, and even then, as Richard Nixon discovered, the ship of state still leaks. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Lenin on Communist Education

Addressing a national congress of the Russian Young Communist League in October 1920, Lenin stated:

I must say that the tasks of the youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organisations in particular, might be summed up in a single word: learn.

...it would mean falling into a grave error for you to try to draw the conclusion that one can become a Communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind. It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result. Marxism is an example which shows how communism arose out of the sum of human knowledge.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" (2 October 1920)

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Spartacist Forum

FBI Forced to Admit: Marxists Are Not Terrorists

Speaker: Ed Clarkson,
SL Central Committee

Friday, April 5, 7:30 p.m.
University of Illinois, Circle Center
Room 713
750 S. Halsted
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Reagan Bombs Down Under

The following article is abridged from Australasian Spartacist *No. 110, March-April 1985, published by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.*

10 MARCH—The crisis over ANZUS has brought a blast of Cold War reality "down under." Having fought in two world wars without suffering the agony of occupation, protected from bigger enemies by bigger allies, Australia and New Zealand have long lived as if they existed outside the real world. Remember Ava Gardner in *On the Beach* where a remote and idyllic Australia ends up the last stop in a nuclear war? Here in the real world in 1985 things don't look that way. U.S. retaliation against New Zealand's refusal to dock U.S. nuclear ships, and [Australian prime minister Bob] Hawke's attempts to toe the U.S. line after having to back down from his secret agreement to aid U.S. MX missile testing, have polarised both countries—shaking up all manner of isolationist complacency and puncturing the illusion that Australia and New Zealand can opt out of a northern hemisphere nuclear Armageddon.

Reagan's drive to war against the Soviet Union and its allies threatens to plunge the whole world into nuclear barbarism. Billions are being spent on the first strike "Star Wars" program to militarise outer space. All of Western Europe bristles with nuclear missiles targetting every major Soviet city and military installation. In the Pacific the U.S. fleet is being equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles, 350 of them nuclear-armed, aimed at Russia and Vietnam while the U.S. plans to store nuclear depth charges at its bases in the Philippines and at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

For years under "Piggy Muldoon" New Zealanders mobilised in mass anti-nuke demos and protests against South African rugby teams. [New Zealand prime minister David] Lange apparently figured no one would notice if he played by the same rules in power. But the Reaganites fear the spread of "nuclear allergies" both to Australia and elsewhere internationally, particularly Japan and Europe. Now they are actively promoting the destabilisation of the Lange Labour government, and using Hawke as their local enforcer—a policy which already has the ALP's left wing up in arms.

The New Zealand Labour government insists it still wants to be a good American ally. "We went to Vietnam" was Lange's response to charges he was defaulting on ANZUS, adding he had no intention of pulling New Zealand's contingent out of the Sinai, nor stopping the various spy operations New Zealand carries out for the CIA in Southeast Asia. In this sense he's right: the Australian and New Zealand imperialists have loyally volunteered their troops for big and small imperialist and colonial wars for 100 years, from the Sudan to Gallipoli to the Second World War to Korea and, of course, Vietnam where Australia and New Zealand sent troops to fight beside the U.S. in that long, dirty, losing war. All their fighting has been in someone else's country, as virtual mercenaries first for the British and then the Americans. This is the price the ruling classes pay for protection of these remote white imperialist enclaves in Asia—Australia most of all.

ANZUS has always been based on "yellow-peril" racism overlain with anti-communism. After World War II the Australian and New Zealand bourgeoisies clamoured for a security pact with the U.S., primarily as a guarantee against Japanese rearmament. Established in 1951, ANZUS immediately became a Cold War instrument. Today its central target remains Soviet-allied Vietnam, still under attack a decade after the victorious Vietnamese workers and peasants defeated the U.S. giant and its lackeys. The unravelling of this imperialist war treaty poses a real opportunity to the Australian and New Zealand working classes who have every interest in its destruction.

Even before the furore within the Australian Labor Party forced Hawke to back down over the MX missile tests, heightened disaffection and division in the ALP was reflected in the large informal protest vote in last December's election, and the big showing (nearly 7 percent nationally) for the fledgling Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP). Many Australians deeply distrust the fact that Hawke acts and talks like Reagan's personal envoy, and hundreds of thousands of marchers are expected to turn out for the upcoming 31 March Palm Sunday peace marches. But these protests can go nowhere if tied by the ALP and NDP organisers into a perspective of pressuring this Cold War Labor government. What's needed is independent *working-class* action: if waterfront unions had shut down the Sydney waterfront with the arrival of the USS *Buchanan* in early March after its rejection from New Zealand ports things would look a lot different.

Hawke calls the shots with the ALP and ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] tops, but not so with the ranks of labour as shown when Sydney wharfies [longshoremen] refused to go along with the ACTU's anti-Soviet bans over KAL 007. The CIA's role in bringing down the 1975 Whitlam government, its backing of clericalist NCC anti-union sabotage in the 1950s, and not least the Vietnam War, have left a legacy of hatred for the bourgeoisie's partnership with U.S. imperialism in broad sections of the Australian proletariat. Now Hawke says he wouldn't want to be prime minister without the American alliance and the U.S. bases which are at its core. Fine! We say the bases must go and so should Reagan's man Hawke! Mass working-class action challenging the bases and the U.S.-Australia alliance would create the conditions for the rapid crystallisation of a revolutionary party through splitting away militant sections of Labor's mass working-class base.

Australian unions, especially maritime, have a history of internationalist class action: in solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution; with the Indonesian independence struggle against the Dutch in the 1940s; with the black masses fighting apartheid slavery in South Africa. These traditions and practices must be revived and put into practice around an internationalist class-struggle program. This will take a fight not only against Hawke and the bourgeoisie, but also their agents in the trade-union bureaucracy. U.S. bases out of Australia and the Indian and Pacific Oceans! Australian/New Zealand troops out of the Sinai and Southeast Asia! Smash ANZUS and all the imperialist war alliances! Down with Reagan's man Hawke! Defend Vietnam and the USSR!

Der Spiegel

U.S. bases in South Pacific target Vietnam, Soviet Union. Below, CIA's Pine Gap, Australia radar intelligence station.

U.S. Bases and "Star Wars"

At the centre of U.S. war plans in this region are the secret spy and communication bases at Pine Gap, Nurrungar and North West Cape, part of the chain of bases running from Diego Garcia to the Philippines to Japan. When Hawke was in Washington, U.S. defence secretary Weinberger swore that the "joint facilities" in Australia had nothing to do with "Star Wars." But even the pro-Reagan *Australian* admitted Hawke and Weinberger are lying:

> "The assistant director of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists, John Pike, has argued that under the SDI [Strategic Defence Initiative] program Nurrungar would be involved in not just early warnings but also in tracking missiles as part of the US attempt to attack and destroy these missiles. It would be an integral part of the Star Wars strategy."
>
> —"Star Wars: Best to Be Frank on Bases," 15 February

North West Cape has long been known as a key communications station for the U.S. nuclear-armed submarine fleet in the Indian Ocean. Pine Gap is the most important U.S. spy satellite station monitoring the Soviet Union outside North America and was an operating ground station in the U.S.'s deadly KAL 007 war provocation in September 1983. And while space shuttle Discovery on its last voyage in January was parking $300 million of new-generation super-spy satellite in orbit over the USSR, the U.S. was flying in planeloads of sophisticated new equipment to upgrade the Pine Gap base.

Through these bases Australia is already an integral part of U.S. plans for nuclear first strike capacity. The nationalist pacifism of the NDP and the social-democratic left can only play the role of obscuring this reality. The NDP leaders in advance pledge their Cold War allegiances to Australian imperialism by demanding the Soviets get out of everywhere from Cam Ranh Bay to Afghanistan. They show their patriotism by focusing on traditional White Australia fears of an expansionist Indonesia and a rearmed Japan. As for ANZUS the NDP's leading spokesman, rock star Peter Garrett, had this to say when interviewed by the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 March): "We believe that Anzus came before nuclear weapons and we can't see any reason why Anzus can't be here after nuclear weapons. However this obviously is up to the senior partner in the alliance to determine."

Against the so-called "neutralism" of the nationalists and social democrats Trotskyists fight for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and its Vietnamese and Cuban allies against imperialist attack, for these collectivised economies are historic gains for the workers of the world. It will take proletarian political revolution to clean the bureaucratic usurpers out of the Kremlin and return the USSR to the road of Lenin and Trotsky—the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution. Meanwhile the workers and oppressed peoples of the world can only be thankful for the Soviets' nuclear missile capacity—the threat of nuclear retaliation is all that restrains the Reagan gang.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Events on both sides of the Tasman sharply evoke memories of ten years ago

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Hanly/Sygma

New Zealand anti-nuke protest in January. They don't want to be sheep in Reagan's nuclear slaughter.

British Miners Defiant in Defeat

The following article is abridged from Workers Hammer *No. 67, March 1985, published by the Spartacist League/Britain.*

LONDON—She had her courts, her cops, her press, her billions of pounds, but it still took Maggie Thatcher a solid year to beat back the miners. And when she finally forced them back, after 12 long and bitter months, they *marched* to the pit gates, heads high, banners unfurled. The strike has been defeated, but the NUM has not been broken.

The bloodthirsty bitch in Downing Street tried to hold the strikers to ransom by starving women and children. She ended up with an army of working-class women warriors and children whose first word is SCAB. Thatcher vows to be vindictive in victory, but the miners are defiant in defeat. And in the wake of that defeat the lessons must be hammered home, to pave the way for future struggle to bring down the Iron Lady and her whole system of murder and misery. *Hail the heroic miners—Remember the traitors!*

In the final analysis, it was not the cops and courts that defeated the NUM [National Union of Mineworkers]; it was the fifth column in labour's ranks. [Trades Union Congress leader] Norm Willis and [Labour Party chief] Neil Kinnock opposed this strike from the first day to the last; now they'll try to tell us class struggle doesn't pay. And from the TUC "lefts" who could have shut down the country and achieved an historic victory for the working class, there came plenty of hot air speeches and even more backroom sabotage.

When NUM delegates gathered in Congress House on 3 March to vote on a return to work, several hundred miners stood outside in the rain demanding the strike continue. Anger and bitterness, frustration and tears were everywhere when Arthur Scargill finally came out to announce the end of the strike. "Remember Davy Jones, remember Joe Green, don't sell us out!" they shouted. "We cannae go back." As Mick McGahey drove away from the scene Scottish miners shouted abuse and yelled, "Tell us how you sold us down the river, Mick!"

Franklin/Sygma

Strike ends: entire mining village of Grimethorpe, Yorkshire turns out to salute heroism and courage of miners.

This wasn't a sellout, not in the ordinary sense of the word. The NUM leadership under Arthur Scargill took this strike about as far as it could go within a perspective of militant trade-union reformism, and still it lost. Why? Because militancy alone is not enough. From day one it was clear that the NUM was up against the full power of the capitalist state. The problem with Scargill, put simply, is that he is not a revolutionary. *The key lesson of this strike is the burning need to forge a revolutionary workers party so that the next battle can end in victory.*

Bring Down the Iron Lady!

Every worker in the world should be proud of the way the miners marched back. At Barrow colliery near Barnsley, with Arthur Scargill present, a lone piper led the march, followed by the women, and when they approached the pit gate and were confronted by a line of pickets they turned around. Not today would they start crossing picket lines. At Troeton colliery near Rotherham every man, woman, child and dog in the village turned out for the march back. And after they reached the pit gate they continued to the cemetery to pay tribute to a fallen comrade, a woman who had been a strike leader and died before it ended.

At Maerdy, they marched back to the beat of drums, proud that not one of their number had been driven to scab through 12 months of hardship unrivalled since 1926. As the march approached the pit gate, the drumbeat changed to a slow, funereal cadence, a wordless recognition that this was not a march of victory but of orderly retreat. But the faces were not those of broken, beaten men. Explained branch chairman Arfon Evans, "They've got determination, they've got strength. That's more important for the future, that we can carry on the fight."

In many areas they did not return at all that day. Kent stayed out for another week, as did parts of Scotland and some Yorkshire pits, demanding amnesty for their sacked comrades. Flying pickets from Kent made it north of the Dartford Tunnel before the cops had a chance to regroup. And wherever a lone picket stood, no self-respecting miner passed.

It is key now that the union preserve its fighting capacity. Especially towards the very end many strikers were being driven back to work in desperation. The 700-plus sacked strikers are effectively blacklisted, unable to move or obtain retraining, some imprisoned or facing jail sentences. Yet after the vote to end the strike many of them were instrumental in pressing for an orderly return without waiting for amnesty.

Thanks to the treachery of her swinish TUC lieutenants, Thatcher is today in the saddle, but not firmly. The way must be prepared for a new workers' offensive. The existing sackings must be fought, intelligently and collectively, and new ones avoided as much as possible. Above all it is necessary to understand what went wrong in this historic battle.

Capitulation or Class Struggle

From the start the Spartacist League argued that with the open hostility of the TUC traitors to any serious class struggle and especially to the NUM, the road to victory lay through spreading the strike on the ground, particularly through the strategic "left"-led rail and transport unions. Even in the last days of the strike the TUC *openly collaborated with Downing Street* against the NUM.

Through the past 12 months Scargill demonstrated his mettle as the only significant figure in the labour officialdom prepared to take on the Iron Lady in struggle. He fought hard, but he also sharply demonstrated the limitations of reformist trade unionism, which *proved incapable of providing a winning strategy*. It is not a matter of criticising one or another mistake Scargill made but of coming to terms with the fact that he remained tied to the same Labourite perspective as the Willises and Kinnocks—that the final answer for the working class is to install a Labour government aimed at defending Britain's (decrepit) nationalised industry through reformist schemes like the Plan for Coal.

While complaining that their hands were tied by Willis and the rights, the truth is that the "lefts" were decisive in sabotaging every concrete strike initiative *by their own members*: from the derailment of a rail strike last spring, to the sellout of the two potentially explosive dock strikes over the summer, to the Seamen's leaders' eleventh-hour withdrawal of union support for their members' blacking ["hot-cargoing"] action in the face of a court injunction.

Typical of the TUC "lefts" was the role of the so-called Communist Party. From the first day to the last the *Morning Star* covered for the betrayals of Kinnock and Willis with rubbish about "unity." Meanwhile leading CPer Mick McGahey signed the deal allowing scab coal to pour into Ravenscraig early on in the strike while TGWU [Transport and General Workers Union] convenors Jack Adams and Joe Harris connived to keep the coal stockpiles building up in British Leylands Longbridge and Rover Solihull.

Crisis of Leadership

Thatcher has taken aim at the entire trade-union movement. But in the hands of the reformist misleaders—right and "left"—the unions were criminally misused to stab the NUM, to discipline the workers in the interests of the strikebreaking capitalist state. Kinnock went into last September's Labour Party conference despised by much of Labour's rank and file. But when he argued that Labour's way was changing the government through the ballot box and not through "violence" (meaning the miners' strike), he met no challenge from the "lefts," not from Tony Benn, not from Arthur Scargill.

"Voting" was not going to stop the 10,000 cops who roared into the coalfields in the first week of the strike with their truncheons and Zulu shields. Here was the capitalist state in all its raw, naked brutality. The only way to stop that was through the combined and united mobilisation of the working class. And when it came to taking on the state, the lefts' hot air turned to cold feet. What the Russian communist revolutionist Leon Trotsky wrote in the midst of the General Strike was equally true today:

> "We must look facts in the face: the principal efforts of the official Labour Party leaders and of a considerable number of official trade union leaders will be directed not towards paralysing the bourgeois state by means of the

UPI

Miners' leader Arthur Scargill, arrested outside struck Orgreave plant last May.

British Miner: "We Too Require A Bolshevik Party"

The following letter was addressed to the comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain shortly after the NUM called off its heroic year-long strike. Dick Hall was a member of the NUM strike committee at Warsop Main, North Derbyshire, England.

Dear comrades,

Please accept my apologies, but owing to a longstanding promise (which I nearly forgot) I am unable to speak at the dayschool. However I am sure my substitute will make my absence insignificant.

Although I think it's wrong in general to make a statement (ie no one has the opportunity to ask questions) today I'll break that chain of thought.

It seems to me that myself in particular and the strike committee in general at Warsop Main colliery owe a deep debt to the SL.

In the first instance, the economic factor, with the raising of money, which enabled many pickets to alleviate the hardships they endured during the dispute.

Secondly, the comradeship shown by all the members of the SL towards many of our pickets. For instance feeding and finding free accommodation for pickets every time we asked.

Thirdly, and most importantly the political factor. Unlike the rest of the fake left in British politics the SL never wavered or capitulated their basic principles. They put forward a strategy for the winning of the dispute, which was unfortunately not taken up.

So on behalf of the Strike Committee at Warsop Main we thank the SL for their tremendous efforts on our behalf not only in Britain but throughout the rest of the world.

Personally I pay tribute to the SL in the following way. It seems to me that in this century in the Soviet Union in 1917 the Bolsheviks led the Russian masses to the greatest victory of the working class. Therefore it would seem logical that to achieve our aims we too require a Bolshevik party.

Having bummed around the left for twenty years, it now seems to me the SL is the nearest thing to develop into that party.

Fraternal greetings comrades,
Dick Hall

Fired Auto Militant Speaks to Miners Rally

Miners' Martyrs Did Not Die in Vain

We reprint below the speech by Patrick Sliney to a March 16 rally of Nottinghamshire miners called on the anniversary of the death of David Jones, a striking miner murdered on the picket lines by Thatcher's scabs and cops. Patrick, a militant auto worker and well-known supporter of the Spartacist League/Britain, was fired for advocating that his union strike alongside the miners. In the forefront of those who defended Patrick were the striking miners themselves. Sliney was introduced by Mick McGinty, treasurer of the Nottinghamshire central strike committee. Mick met and was assisted by SL comrades in Detroit while raising funds for the miners.

Mick McGinty: During our 12-month long struggle, we have lost 600 miners that's been sacked from our industry. But we never heard this on the media when there has been 400 lorry drivers also sacked for refusing to move coal. A lot of these lads here, Patrick Sliney that works at British Rover plant in Birmingham, that went around his factory with leaflets and asking his comrades to support the miners financially and otherwise, was sacked from his job. He has no job today because of his involvement in the miners' strike. Now I will ask you to welcome Patrick [applause].

Patrick Sliney: Well, first of all I want to say how proud I am to be able to speak here today. And I am sure I speak for millions of other trade unionists in this country who wanted to stand behind this union in its struggle against this Thatcher government.

Now, with this savage Tory government that's in power today, which sought to destroy the NUM, nay, to *smash* the NUM, this union has emerged with a defeat—it must be recognised—but in a position to fight another day. And that's very unusual after the attacks that this union has suffered over 12 months, attacks by the full force of the state against this union. It's a remarkable achievement. One year, comrades. And when we talk about this government, we're talking about that vicious bitch in Downing Street [applause] who is fighting not only for her own decrepit, corrupt, decaying capitalist class but also for American imperialism as well [hear, hear!].

But what brings us here today, comrades, is to commemorate Davy Jones, Joe Green. When we marched up there today, I nearly got emotional at that spot where Davy Jones fell. He and Joe Green did not die in vain—*did not die in vain*. Their death will be repaid, mark my words. This strike has been hard, it has also been a bitter strike, and this government and its police force so vicious that the miners in this strike and other workers have learned lessons and those lessons better not be forgotten. They came hard, those lessons. They came with blood.

Other sections of working people in this country who are also exploited and oppressed have been kept apart many times when there've been struggles. Nay, not this time. It broke down many barriers. It has involved black people, Asians, it has involved the Irish, who want those troops out of Ireland once and for all, want the English off their island [applause]. It's involved working-class women, who are doubly oppressed. All of these people have found inspiration in this strike. Again, these are precious lessons. They've been learned through struggle, through blood, through death. And these lessons we have to incorporate into our future struggles, so that we can smash this rotten and corrupt capitalist system once and for all.

Hundreds of miners have been sacked. It's important for the miners to carry on agitation around these men. Let's not forget also there's been lots of international support, and I know from the people that I know in particular in America that support has come from an organisation called the Partisan Defense Committee, which is an arm of the Spartacist League of America, which collected money from trade unionists' branches throughout the country, from militants in America, from socialists, and collected over $20,000 to send to the miners throughout this strike.

It's pretty clear that this strike would never have been defeated, never, if there had been solidarity on the picket lines (and not sweet speeches from platforms around the country) from other sections of the working class. Now you all know what the swinish [Trades Union Congress leaders] Lord Murray and the Lord Chapple and the future-to-be-Lord Willis were going to do in this strike. They witchhunted Arthur Scargill in 1983 at the TUC conference because he called that Spencerite [scab] "union" in Poland anti-socialist. There could have been and should have been strike action by railmen, seamen and by my own union, the T&G. This is what I have tried to fight for alongside others inside the plant I worked in, in Leyland. I fought to enforce blacking of scab coal, from the beginning of this strike, I fought to

Workers Hammer

Auto militant Patrick Sliney, fired for fighting to spread miners' strike to British Leyland.

spread the miners' strike around our recent pay claim, for which I was sacked. Now as Mick has said, I'm not the only one: 400 T&G men have been sacked, Coalville men, NUR [railway] men have been victimised up and down the country.

What I said, I mean. We have got to learn the lessons of this dispute. We cannot just let them fade into the past. And to learn those lessons we need a party, which is going to change things in this country once and for all. Now I am going off after this and I hope some people will come with me to a *Workers Hammer* dayschool to actually draw out some of these lessons. We must go forward, but we must go forward in a way that the next time around we are actually able to win and be victorious, and by being victorious we can get rid of this capitalist system with our own leadership and our own party. Thank you very much for your support. ■

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strike but towards paralysing the General Strike by means of the bourgeois state."

—6 May 1926

The Russian Revolution of 1917 showed in real life that the capitalist state can be defeated, its apparatus shattered and replaced by a workers state governed through workers councils (soviets). Mobilised in struggle the Russian workers swept away the bosses and created a planned economy based on the collectivisation of the means of production. Even after Stalinist degeneration the Soviet Union, with decent social services and no unemployment, looks pretty damn good from Thatcher's Britain.

There were plenty of Labour "left" types in Russia in 1917 who argued for going slow, for going through the established capitalist institutions, for beheading the workers' struggles. But there was also a Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Trotsky, who organised the workers and provided a strategy for victory.

Enough of Judas Kinnock—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In the course of this unprecedented 12-month battle, tens of thousands of militants have come to hate the official leadership of the labour movement with a vengeance, to mistrust or despise key institutions of bourgeois society—the police, the press, the government. Where do they go from here?

The NUM leadership is now urging strike activists back into the Labour Party fold. Thus Mick McGahey shamelessly declared, "I have no dispute with the leader of the Labour Party," even as Kinnock openly opposes full amnesty for the sacked strikers.

The Spartacist League is a small organisation. But those militants who have been reading *Workers Hammer* during this dispute know that what we do have is a programme for victory. Our paper told the truth, as a revolutionary workers paper must. We nailed the anti-communist witchhunt of Scargill at the 1983 Blackpool TUC for denouncing anti-Soviet warmongers Reagan and Thatcher and the Polish Spencerite [scab] "union" Solidarność. We exposed the refusal of Labour "lefts" like Tony Benn to defy (or even criticise) scabherder Kinnock and Cold War rights like Denis Healey. We stand in intransigent defence of the Soviet Union against Reagan/Thatcher's imperialist war drive.

We said, "The miners must not stand alone!" And from the start we fought for it where we could. NUR [National Union of Railwaymen] and TGWU members fought to enforce blacking action and to win strike action. For his efforts, Land Rover TGWU militant Patrick Sliney became one of the hundreds victimised for supporting the miners' strike. If there had been a few thousand more like him, there would have been victory not victimisation.

When the dockers came out and brought the country to the verge of an explosion, it vindicated the strategy we'd been fighting for. We rushed out 15,000 copies of a special supplement to NUM strike centres and rail, transport and seamen's branches around the country calling for a fighting Triple Alliance to "Shut down the country!"

We base ourselves on the lessons of past victories, especially the Russian workers' conquest of power. We are part of a revolutionary international, which incorporates the experiences of the most militant struggles of the workers and oppressed around the world. A party is needed which acts as an organising centre for those militants who want to fight, which draws in the women and minorities who are doubly chained by capitalism and thus make doubly fierce fighters. Without it the struggles of the workers, no matter how militant and courageous, are prey to the sabotage of the reformist traitors. As Trotsky reiterated after the 1926 General Strike: "Without a party...the proletarian revolution cannot conquer." ■

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-235

Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

Collected In Last Two Weeks:		
Trade Union Donations		$503.85
Union Membership Collections		30.24
Individual Donations		1,040.14
Total		**1,574.23**
Total Previously Reported		**$20,084.90**
Total Collected (as of 19 March 1985)		**$21,659.13**
Amount Sent to Miners' Solidarity Fund (as of 19 March 1985)	20,626.90	$21,659.13
Amount on Deposit (as of 19 March 1985)	1,032.23	

Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

With "Iron Lady" Thatcher vowing to be "vindictive in victory" over the British miners, hundreds of sacked strikers face blacklisting and criminal charges for their defense of the National Union of Mineworkers. The NUM has informed the PDC that the union's Miners' Solidarity Fund will remain open for several months, and money received will be used for hardship cases among the miners, especially the more than 700 fired strikers. The PDC's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families will continue to forward pledged contributions from trade-union locals and individuals to the Miners' Solidarity Fund in Britain.

The PDC fund drive stands at $21,659.13, with over $1,500 received in the last two weeks. The comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand forwarded over US$800, including US$149 from postal and telecommunications workers. Additional contributions include $100 from the United Stanford Workers (Stanford University), SEIU Local 680; and more than US$200 from a public employees union local in Toronto. *Workers Vanguard* will publish a final report on the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

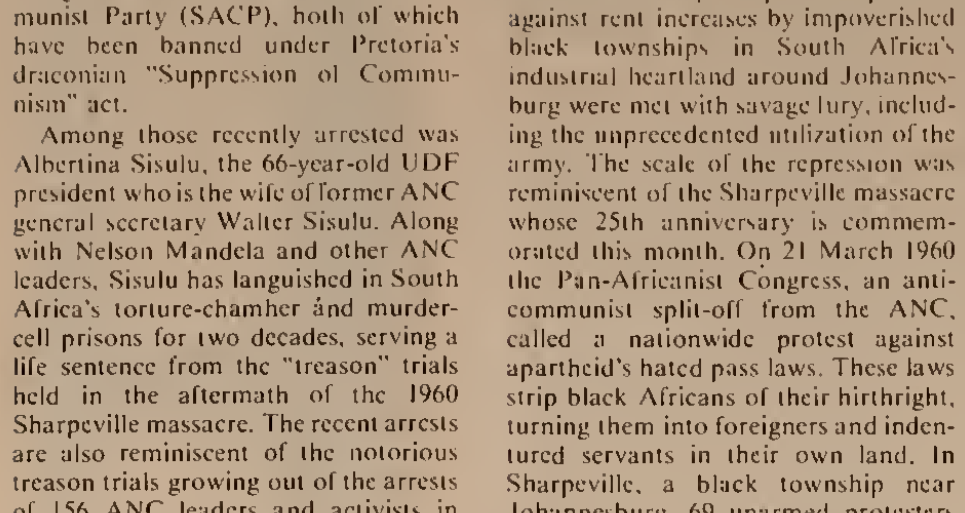
South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

organization, the African National Congress, and the allied Stalinist Communist Party (SACP), both of which have been banned under Pretoria's draconian "Suppression of Communism" act.

Among those recently arrested was Albertina Sisulu, the 66-year-old UDF president who is the wife of former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu. Along with Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders, Sisulu has languished in South Africa's torture-chamber and murder-cell prisons for two decades, serving a life sentence from the "treason" trials held in the aftermath of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. The recent arrests are also reminiscent of the notorious treason trials growing out of the arrests of 156 ANC leaders and activists in 1956. In order to dissipate growing support for the ANC's pacifist campaigns against mounting apartheid repression in the 1950s, the regime tied up the ANC in legal proceedings for five years. Finally in 1961 even apartheid's own courts found the last 30 defendants innocent.

The roundup of UDF leaders also included the leaders of its most important trade-union affiliate, the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU). Dedicated to a policy of non-racialism, SAAWU was formed in March 1979 after splitting with the "black consciousness"-inspired Black Allied Workers Union. SAAWU considers itself "as much a mass movement as a union" and has been heavily involved in anti-apartheid battles transcending the shopfloor, especially against the brutal oppression of the apartheid puppets that lord it over the Ciskei bantustan where many SAAWU members are forced to live. SAAWU itself split early last year into an East London-based wing led by SAAWU president Thozamile Gqweta and a Durban-based wing led by former SAAWU general secretary Sam Kikine. Gqweta at 31 is South Africa's most persecuted black union leader, having been detained at least nine times and narrowly escaping assassination attempts. He was one of the eight UDF leaders charged with "treason" last year.



Keystone

Workers revolution will avenge Sharpeville massacre, 21 March 1960.

The recent roundup included Kikine.

The Botha regime is most threatened by the unions that link the power of labor to the more general struggle against apartheid slavery, even if it is under the auspices of the class-collaborationist UDF. Free Mandela, Sisulu, the UDF 16 and all anti-apartheid prisoners!

Avenge Sharpeville Through Workers Revolution!

The UDF was formed August 1983 in opposition to a new white supremacist constitution which elevated apartheid's führer P.W. Botha to "Executive President" with dictatorial powers. At the same time, to divide South Africa's non-whites the constitution established powerless ethnic puppet "parliaments" for the "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian minorities while reinforcing the complete disenfranchisement of the 23 million blacks who constitute almost three-quarters of the population. The UDF led mass boycotts of these sham elections.

The successful boycott humiliated Pretoria. Subsequent peaceful protests against rent increases by impoverished black townships in South Africa's industrial heartland around Johannesburg were met with savage fury, including the unprecedented utilization of the army. The scale of the repression was reminiscent of the Sharpeville massacre whose 25th anniversary is commemorated this month. On 21 March 1960 the Pan-Africanist Congress, an anti-communist split-off from the ANC, called a nationwide protest against apartheid's hated pass laws. These laws strip black Africans of their birthright, turning them into foreigners and indentured servants in their own land. In Sharpeville, a black township near Johannesburg, 69 unarmed protesters were brutally murdered, another 186 were wounded. Subsequently, both the ANC and PAC were banned, their leaders hunted down, imprisoned and murdered, anti-apartheid struggle stilled for a decade.

But in that decade a mighty giant—South Africa's six million strong black proletariat—was gaining the strength, organization and self-confidence to break the chains of apartheid. With the development of a nascent but potentially explosive black union movement, the thunder of the 1973 Durban strikes broke the post-Sharpeville silence. And last year township protests spilled over into the factories and mines of the Rand. In mid-September the economic foundations of apartheid were shaken as the first legal (under apartheid's corporatist labor codes) strike by black gold miners exploded in battles with the armed forces. And in early November, in the most significant action to date, black unions joined with students for a two-day general strike which paralyzed the Transvaal industrial belt around Johannesburg.

The police shoot to kill in the townships. Black union and anti-apartheid leaders are jailed. But the apartheid rulers hesitate at trying to behead the black union movement for fear of proletarian upheavals which would shatter apartheid slavery. They cannot escape their dependence on black labor. It is the spectre of workers revolution that frightens the racist rulers, not only in Pretoria, but also their big brothers in Washington, London and the other imperialist capitals. For them, South Africa is not only a strategic producer of precious metals and minerals, but with its military and economic domination of southern Africa and its control of key shipping lanes, it is a strategic ally in their anti-Soviet war drive.

No to Imperialist Saviors of Apartheid!

The rulers sense that token concessions cannot head off the boiling black revolt. "More than any other single event, the Transvaal general strike convinced everyone that we were in a crisis, that we had to act," said a South African company director. Sure enough, Chambers of Commerce representing 80 percent of South Africa's industry have now come out with a statement against the bantustans, detentions without trial and racist laws limiting blacks' economic mobility, and for "meaningful political participation" for blacks. But every attempt at "reform" opens another crack for popular resistance while repression only fans the flames of revolt. Hence the apparent zigzags of the racist apartheid regime.

Afrapix

UDF rally celebrates successful boycott of sham parliament elections.

Thus, on the one hand, recent statements from sections of the ruling class that it will be necessary to negotiate with the ANC and rumors of talks in the offing, P.W. Botha's "offer" to release Mandela and talk with the ANC if they will only renounce "violence"—these would have been unthinkable five years ago. Clearly their aim is to exploit the liberal illusions of the ANC (whose own "Freedom Charter" calls for a form of "power-sharing" that virtually guarantees white *economic* supremacy, i.e., the maintenance of capitalist rule) and the prestige of the ANC's courageous decades-long struggle against apartheid, in order to split and co-opt a neocolonial and comprador wing. But Mandela defiantly rejected Botha's "offer" with a challenge: "Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid." Botha's answer was "treason" arrests of eight more leaders of the UDF, which explicitly repudiates "violence," and the racist rampage of his apartheid thugs in Crossroads. These actions are the fruits of Reagan's "constructive engagement" which emboldens Pretoria's savage repression.

Teddy Kennedy's recent grandstanding tour of South Africa was part of the strategy of "liberal" imperialism which, seeing the writing on the wall for apartheid, seeks to distance itself from the regime and cultivate credible and "moderate" black leaders who can one day keep the country safe for continued exploitation. Kennedy was invited by anti-communist Nobel "Peace" Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, a patron of the UDF, and his visit was welcomed by the ANC, which met with him—but his steps were dogged by demonstrators led by the "black consciousness" Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) carrying placards with slogans like "Socialist AZAPO vs. Capitalist Kennedy" (see "Black South African Militants Protest Imperialist Swine," *Young Spartacus* No. 124, February 1985). We solidarize with AZAPO's just denunciations of this hypocritical imperialist politician, which left bourgeois commentators worrying over the chord of hostility to capitalism that they struck among black South Africans.

For Permanent Revolution in South Africa!

Given the clear strategic importance and social power of South Africa's black proletariat, all these nationalist groups pay lip service to it. Thus, the UDF hails "the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle for freedom." ANC president Oliver Tambo declares: "the offensive of the working class is, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle." AZAPO and its allies in the eclectic National Forum grouping call in the Manifesto of the Azanian People for a "democratic anti-racist worker Republic." What each of these groups has in common is they want to use the proletariat as cannon fodder in the service of an *alien* class program.

The ANC wants to give South African imperialists a democratic face-lift, turning Harry Oppenheimer and Anglo-American into "equal opportunity" exploiters. AZAPO and more radical nationalists want to displace the Harry Oppenheimers with a petty-bourgeois elite that aspires to exploit its *own* proletariat. It is indicative that AZAPO holds up Mozambique as a model. But Samora Machel's Frelimo has only displaced the Portuguese colonialists as labor contractors selling Mozambique toilers into the super-exploited semi-slavery of South Africa's gold and diamond mines. And under the boot of Pretoria's economic domination, Machel has been turned into a policeman for apartheid while Pretoria-backed Mozambique "contras" wreak havoc on that country's desperately poor and backward economy.

Throughout the African continent, ravaged by centuries of colonialism and imperialism, the questions of democracy and genuine emancipation are integrally linked to a socialist reconstruction of society. Given the weakness, politically as well as socially, of the proletariat in most of the balkanized states of sub-Saharan Africa, "independence" has meant imperialist-dominated bonapartist dictatorships based on tribal genocide, mass famine and pestilence. Given the tremendous social power of South Africa's black proletariat, it can command a better future for itself, and be the motor force for social revolution throughout the continent. But to do this it must, through the forging of an internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, overcome its own tremendous political backwardness which is in inverse relation to its potential social power.

The root cause of this backwardness lies in South Africa's peculiar internal colonial structure, the product of uneven and combined development. The dispossession through war of African land laid the basis for permanently settled European populations to organize on a mass scale a huge, migratory, superexploited and hideously oppressed black labor force. The black toilers confront a ruling class and tyrannical police state which is white. Given the extent to which oppression is shared by all strata of the black population it is relatively easy for them to be held under the sway of a nationalist agenda limited to the amelioration or elimination of white minority rule.

Yet economism, including its "left" variants, which divides the struggle for proletarian self-organization from the more general struggle against apartheid repression in all of its manifestations, is as much an obstacle to the proletariat becoming what Marx called a political "class for itself" as are the nationalists. The urgent necessity is for the black, coloured and Indian proletariat of South Africa to crystallize its communist vanguard based on the program which links the struggle for national emancipation to its own proletarian dictatorship and which sees the smashing of apartheid as the road to workers revolution—the program of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution. ■

Class Struggle vs. Liberalism at NYC Labor Conference

No Imperialist Shackles On South Africa Black Unions!

Since last August South Africa has been rocked by wave after wave of black revolt: election boycotts, student stayaways, striking miners, now massive resistance to evictions of black squatters near Cape Town. Above all, there was the massive two-day strike last November in the Transvaal which shut down shops, took out schoolchildren and brought the wheels of South African industry to a standstill. This flexing of its muscles by the powerful black proletariat has so alarmed the racist rulers of this white supremacist police state that President P.W. Botha has started talking about talks with the outlawed opposition African National Congress (ANC), if only they would renounce "violence," i.e., resistance to apartheid terror. Leading businessmen are pressuring for reforms to defuse the explosive situation. And concern that the South Africa powder keg will blow has extended across the Atlantic to the apartheid regime's main imperialist backer, the United States.

Financial Mail

Striking black auto workers in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1980.

While the Reagan administration tries to shore up Botha through its phony "constructive engagement" policy, Democrats in Congress are particularly worried, as seen by Teddy Kennedy's recent trip to South Africa. But when he visited the vast black township of Soweto outside Johannesburg, the imperialists' "great white hope" was run out by radical blacks who want no "condescending saviors." Now American labor officialdom has been drafted by its imperialist masters to head off the burgeoning black labor movement which is breaking through the apartheid shackles that were supposed to contain it. This was expressed at two recent labor conferences. The first, called by Lane Kirkland's AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C. in January, ended in a morass of deep hostility and suspicion; thereupon the "progressive" wing of the labor bureaucracy stepped in with a conference held earlier this month in New York City. But they couldn't silence the voice of class-struggle unionism, raised by supporters of the Spartacist League, which called for internationalist labor solidarity action rather than pressuring your "own" imperialism.

WV Photo

Leaders of South African black trade unions speak to NYC labor conference March 1. From left: Nelson Nthombeni, Emma Mashinini, Edward Mogane.

The January Washington conference was called by the AFL-CIO's A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, headed by right-wing SDUSA social democrat Bayard Rustin, a member of notorious CIA fronts such as Freedom House. Its real purpose was "an attempt to bring black South African unions under the influence of the United States by offering them organizational and political aid," bitterly remarked one leading black unionist (quoted in "South African Unions Resist CIA Intrigues," *AfricAsia*, March 1985). The conference was co-sponsored by the African American Labor Center (AALC), founded by notorious CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown (currently head of the AFL-CIO International Department) and 90 percent funded through the State Department's AID agency, a frequent CIA conduit. The Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) refused outright the invitation to attend. And even the relatively "moderate" Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), affiliated to the anti-communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), was wary of the AFL-CIO's embrace, pointedly denouncing "trade-union imperialism" at the Washington conference.

And well they should worry. For the friends of U.S. imperialism, like Reagan's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność, the AFL-CIO has shelled out millions, setting up clandestine printing presses and more. But for unions that fight the capitalist bosses, like the British miners, *not a penny*. Even the desperately superexploited South African black miners contributed generously to the British coal strikers during their epic 12-month battle: from the fat cat bureaucrats of the Kirkland gang—zip. In Chile in the early '70s, the CIA-financed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) played a key role in "destabilizing," i.e., preparing the bloody overthrow of the Allende popular front government. Now these sinister "labor" spies are trying to set up an AIFLD, South African-style, wrapping their insidious tentacles around the South African black unions—to "control" them, or if they cannot, to smash them outright.

Since 1973 the African American Labor Center has been headed by Patrick O'Farrell, who as a field rep for the organization in Ghana, according to his own résumé, "helped to restore democracy to the labour movement of the country following the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, December 1982). South African black unionists shunned a September 1982 AFL-CIO delegation led by Brown and O'Farrell, which awarded the "George Meany International Human Rights Award" (!) posthumously to Neil Aggett, the jailed union organizer whose death in prison after hideous torture sparked a 100,000-strong work stoppage and mass funeral protest in February 1982. Aggett was a white organizer with the black Food and Canning Workers Union, the strongest member union of the Communist Party-backed SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions), affiliated to the banned ANC. Obscenely, the AFL-CIO publicized the award with a quote from Aggett accusing SACTU of "taking a wrong path." Yet this quote (whose source was the police) was supposedly made by Aggett to his interrogators under torture shortly before he died! The outraged Food and Canning Workers denounced the AFL-CIO award which "we consider...to be a gross insult to his memory."

The Washington conference organizers talked about selective consumer boycotts of some South African products and pushed the "Sullivan Principles" (concocted by black GM board member Leon Sullivan) for U.S. corporate slave drivers to pose as "equal opportunity" employers in the apartheid state. They even brought in a Mobil Oil executive to praise American corporations for training South African blacks for top jobs! The whole affair was taken by South African unionists as an insult. So with the crude AFL-CIO operation now widely discredited, the liberal social democrats of Michael Harrington's DSA, the "progressive" face of the "AFL-CIA," are hoping to do what the Meanyite/Kirkland gang can't—namely, to fence off the South African black workers from any hint of communism.

No to the Divestment Diversion!

The "New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid" was set up in 1983. And this March 1-2, they hosted three black South African trade unionists for a "Labor and South Africa" conference. About 400 black unionists, local-level labor officials and lefty junior bureaucrats turned out for the event, held at DSAer Victor Gotbaum's AFSCME/District Council 37 union hall in downtown Manhattan. Various other DSA leading lights sponsoring the event included the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Jack Sheinkman, Bill Lucy from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and DSA Democrat Ruth Messinger.

These guys run a more sophisticated operation: in place of the notorious CIA agents who operate under AFL-CIO cover, they schlepped in a troop of black Democrats, Congressional assistants, ICFTU Cold Warriors and the like. Their program: "bear witness" against arrest and persecution of South African unionists; organize boycott campaigns against purchases of South African coal and steel; "send telegrams" and "write your Congressman." The symbolic arrests at the South African embassy and consulates were hailed as the high point of struggle (TransAfrica protest organizer Randall Robinson was pointedly *not* invited to the AFL-CIO's Washington conference). But at all cost, do nothing that threatens the capitalist order (Reagan's or Botha's).

"Divestment" of everything from Krugerrands to coal was motivated by disgusting protectionism ("make it in Massachusetts—not in South Africa") and appeals to corporate portfolios ("it is profitable to be socially responsible"). It is no accident that labor bureaucrats from the garment trades unions such as ACTWU and ILGWU, hard hit by foreign competition, find the divestment movement so convenient. In the closing session ACTWU leader Sheinkman wrapped it up with a repulsive chauvinist appeal: "My own union first became concretely involved in the struggle against apartheid by discovering children's headwear imported from South Africa being sold in New Haven clothing chains. We launched a public information campaign which won pledges...to stop these imports."

The three black South African trade unionists attending, and subsequently touring the U.S., were: Emma Mashinini, general secretary of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa, a leading unaffiliated black union representing workers in the retail trades; Edward Mogane, a former leader of the Black Consciousness Movement and now president of the Building, Construction and Allied Workers Union affiliated with CUSA; and Nelson Nthombeni, president of the

continued on page 8

South Africa Black Unions...

(continued from page 7)

National Union of Textile Workers, an affiliate of FOSATU. These South African union leaders are in a fluid situation, a fast-developing black revolt. They came to the United States aware that they have enemies, both open and covert within the American labor movement, but also real allies. They were eager to talk with union militants and activists fighting apartheid and Reagan racism at home.

In November 1981, Mashinini was arrested by the apartheid police state and held under the Terrorism Act until her release in May of 1982—the courageous unionist was later hospitalized for injuries sustained during her detention. In her speech at the opening conference session, Mashinini conveyed the urgency of the black unions' situation:

> "I stand here speaking to you a few days after our colleagues, numerous of them, mostly in the trade unions, have been detained again. It's unbelievable that these people who have been detained are being detained for the tenth time, and have never been ever charged before. We are told that they have committed a crime and they are going to be charged for treason... It is 'treason' because the trade unions today are calling and are enforcing that we must have our rights.... Please know that, comrades, that is no crime that those people have committed."

Mashinini expressed disappointment that there hadn't been solidarity statements from the AFL-CIO and ICFTU. ACTWU official John Hudson assured her they had been invited to attend. The liberal social democrats are, in fact, up to their necks in pro-imperialist anti-communist manipulation of the labor movement (the ICFTU is their creature). At the NYC conference the Spartacist League and its supporters were unique in demanding: Down with the bloody AIFLD and the AALC! Labor: Break all ties with the CIA "union" operations!

Sheinkman and the other social democrats presented divestment—calling on U.S. corporations and institutions to dump their South African holdings—as the axis of the "struggle." The AFL-CIO is against divestment because it *supports* American corporations in South Africa, but black South African trade unions are uneasy about divestment for opposite reasons: a full-scale pullout of foreign corporations will not only increase unemployment but would hit precisely those areas where the black union movement is strongest. The conference organizers, pushing divestment, muzzled the visiting black unionists from speaking on this subject, supposedly because it is against the law in South Africa. But in fact, several of the black union representatives had previously expressed less than wholehearted support to this program of pressuring the companies.

Phiroshaw Camay, CUSA general secretary, reported in January that "after a long and agonizing debate," CUSA had decided to press for selective disinvestment targeting foreign firms "particularly propping up the apartheid regime" such as those dealing with computer and defense technology (*Washington Post*, 11 January). Philip Dlamini, general secretary of the Black Municipal Workers Union, says, "We'll support disinvestment if it will bring genuine change, but at this stage we are not convinced it will." And a June 1984 FOSATU statement notes that while "pressure for disinvestment has had a positive effect," FOSATU's "own focus of attention must be the building of a strong worker movement in South Africa that...ensure[s] that the factories, machines and buildings presently in South Africa will be retained."

Today, everyone is getting in on the "divestment" game. Even right-wing Republicans are talking about "selective" measures, and New York's racist mayor Ed Koch is dumping the city pension funds' South African stocks. As opposed to the petty-bourgeois leftists who call for boycotting everything South African from sardines to gold, who look to their "own" imperialism, the mass murderers of Vietnam, to "clean up" South Africa, the Spartacist League has consistently pointed out that divestment offers less than nothing for the South African black masses, and at most it will allow some speculators to buy up shares at bargain rates.

Fireworks in the Workshops

Because the intensity of the black struggle and the harsh realities of apartheid rule place the South African black unions at great distance from the American social dems' worldview of comfortable class collaboration, the conference organizers were not able to whip up sentiment for excluding reds. In the workshop on "U.S. Policy in South Africa," when the chairman tried to squelch discussion, CUSA's Edward Mogane said he had come here specifically to talk to American unionists about the AFL-CIO and the AALC. Many in the room welcomed a Spartacist spokesman who responded to Mogane saying, "It is no accident that the Kirkland leadership is referred to as the 'AFL-CIA'" and pointed instead to the need for union action such as the SF longshoremen who refused to unload South African cargo despite sabotage by the union tops and fake-leftists. "It's clear that we can't pressure the U.S. government, any more than we can pressure Botha. What we need to do is talk about power—both in South Africa, like the stayaways in the Transvaal, like the gold miners strike, and the question of strike action here. Powerful action to shut down Ford here in solidarity with the workers fighting Ford there."

A TWU Local 100 subway worker and SL supporter talked about the support of many unions, especially in New York City, for the state of Israel "which is the main conduit for American military technology, including nuclear weapons" to the apartheid state. "And I might add that they import from South Africa many of the racist apartheid practices which they in turn impose on the Palestinians." He continued:

> "Counterposed to divestment, which is essentially an appeal to the people who manage portfolios in this country, is a labor-centered strategy, based on labor boycotts of military goods to South Africa, sympathy strikes, and protest strikes against the mass arrests and even murder of trade-union leaders in South Africa... This points in the direction of 'divestpient' by those who created the wealth and should possess the wealth—not the board of directors of Harvard University and Chase Manhattan Bank, but the black proletariat of South Africa."

Workshop participants roundly applauded the Spartacist supporters' class-struggle program. A group of municipal workers continued the discussion afterward, and later that afternoon saw a videotape of the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982.

Meanwhile, there were fireworks in the workshop on "Solidarity with the Independent Black Trade Union Movement in South Africa." Emma Mashinini documented some of the apartheid state's vicious anti-strike legislation. Former candidate for president of Transport Workers Union Local 100, Ed Kartsen, commented on parallel anti-strike laws here, such as the Taylor Law prohibiting strikes by city employees, adding: "The similarities extend also to the kind of racist murders that are going on. A woman named Eleanor Bumpurs was shot here in the Bronx, basically in the same manner as [blacks have been shot down] in Crossroads." In the workshop, the so-called "progressive" bureaucrats hinted coyly about "problems" with the AFL-CIO tops going to South Africa uninvited. Sandy Boyer, co-coordinator of the Labor Committee Against Apartheid commented, "I'm not going to name names" but "we have had some problems in that direction."

A unionist recalled that during the fight for Zimbabwe, Rhodesian chrome had been stopped at 13 ports; she said she had heard about the struggle over the ship in SF, "but from reading the newspapers I can't understand what's going on." Boyer said, "I can answer your question," and started going on about court injunctions and no-strike clauses, making excuses for actions "short of a total shutdown." At this point Gene Herson, leading oppositionist in the National Maritime Union and SL supporter, then rose to take up the battle over the apartheid blood ship:

> "I want to talk about labor action and why it doesn't happen in this country, why it's sabotaged from the top, as Brother Camay found out in Washington, D.C. a month ago. And I don't want to withhold names and cover up for the bureaucracy as some people want to do. The tragedy of the West Coast action was that it was called for as an official union action, it was approved by the membership, even though it was watered down. But the bureaucracy refused to give official union sanction to that action. The Communist Party supporters and a group called the 'External Tendency of the Spartacist League' helped to cover up for the bureaucracy. I have the leaflets, which I will give to Sister Mashinini, which call for the action and explain how that action was sabotaged.
>
> "Independence of the trade unions—this is key for American trade unions to support the black South African trade unionists, and the only way that the black South African trade unions can actually lead the way for genuine liberation, for the overthrow of apartheid, and to form a black-centered workers and peasants government. The AFL-CIO is tied hand in glove with the CIA. The Democratic Party are phonies. They wanted to go sit in those embassies until after the election. [At this point the bureaucrats burst out with heckling, catcalls.] If people feel like I'm stepping on toes, just say 'ouch.' The Democrats wanted to go sit in the embassies until long after that two-day general strike in South Africa [screeching, stomping] because the Democratic Party did not want to be associated with labor action.
>
> "And I will say that the people who are Solidarność-lovers, who want to destroy the Soviet Union, that it was the Soviet Union who defended Angola [howls, hanging on chairs] and stopped a Grenada in Angola, and that's what stopped the South African troops in Angola—the Soviet Union's guns and the Cuban troops.
>
> "What South Africa needs is a workers party, to go beyond the trade unions, a workers party to lead a revolution—a Bolshevik party."

WV Photo

SF longshore militants fought to "hot-cargo" South African blood ship.

Brother Herson sat down amid applause from many unionists and hooting from the bureaucrats.

When the conference reassembled, session chairman John Hudson of ACTWU muttered an "apology, as we understand some of the workshops did not go as well as we had hoped." That is, despite attempts to drown us out, the voice of revolutionary class struggle came through loud and clear amid a sea of liberal moralizing. In the final session, Brooklyn Democratic Congressman Major Owens called for the unionists to look to "leadership there in Congress," to apply maximum pressure on South African business interests to make the apartheid government "open some kind of negotiations." At the conference, class-struggle unionists and Spartacist spokesmen fought for militant labor action, not appeals to the imperialist state, for powerful labor solidarity, not backstabbing accusations that South African blacks were "stealing American jobs."

The liberals and social democrats who ran the NYC anti-apartheid conference have a common purpose not only with Kirkland and Kennedy, but also with Reagan and Botha—to keep the South African black unions "free" of communism. They all tell South African blacks to look to their capitalist masters, to one or another wing of the exploiters, for salvation. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League, in contrast, say that the conditions of the apartheid police state—the superexploitation of black labor and denial of every basic democratic right to blacks, Indians and "coloureds" (mixed race) alike—are the bedrock of South African capitalism. The black masses must free themselves from the chains of wage slavery and racial oppression by mobilizing the strength of the international proletariat against imperialism. From South Africa to the U.S., the fight for black liberation is the fight for socialist revolution led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party. ■

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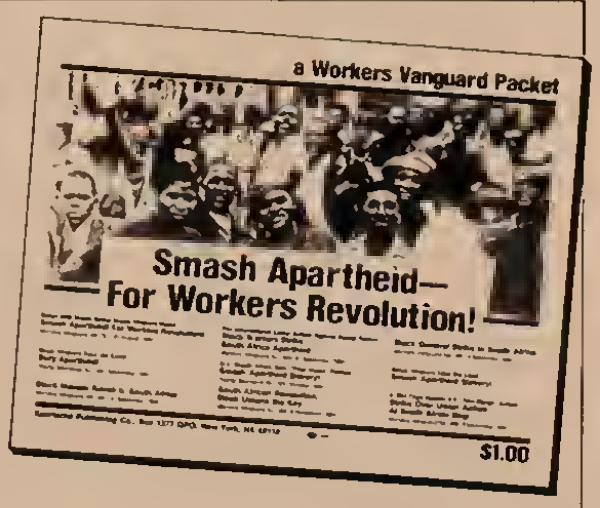

Gruesome NYC Cop Hit-Run Murder

It was wanton police murder, a grisly hit-and-run homicide. The New York police squad car roared down the street, leaving mangled bodies lying in the gutters, with blood and human gore splattered all over the death car. And it occurred on Park Avenue at 72nd in Manhattan's posh Upper East Side. On Friday night, March 15, a berserk, liquored-up police sergeant, accompanied by two other cops, ran down and killed an elderly doctor as he was crossing the street, then slammed into a 72-year-old apartment house doorman as he tried to dodge the careening police cruiser. The cop car didn't stop.

Sergeant Sherman and his two partners, patrolmen Conte and Collazo, had been brought in from the Bronx along with hundreds of other extra police to help clear parked cars for Saturday's St. Patrick's Day parade. Dr. Hyman Chernow, a 70-year-old clinical psychologist, was out for a late walk, while East Side doorman Jack Sitowitz separately approached the corner. As the two old men were crossing Park Avenue at about 11:40 p.m., Sgt. Sherman gunned the patrol car's engine and smashed into Dr. Chernow at top speed, throwing his broken body up over the vehicle, and then hit Mr. Sitowitz, dragging him about 80 feet down the road.

So you had this psychotic cop, but there were two other policemen there in the car with him. They sat there and watched murder being done. And what did they do? Absolutely nothing. They kept their mouths shut until it was his skin or theirs. *Because every New Yorker could only expect a total cover-up.* The driver of the death car is guilty of second-degree murder at the very least, and his brother cops at a minimum are accomplices after the fact to this crazed hit-and-run killing. And since they're wearing a badge and carrying a gun, the charge ought to be more.

This was not your ordinary police brutality case. It wasn't cops beating up or gunning down blacks and Hispanics. And because it occurred on Park Avenue instead of a Brooklyn or Bronx ghetto there was an immediate outcry. The grisly incident casts a sharp light on what happened to young black graffiti artist Michael Stewart, beaten to death by NYC transit cops, to senile black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, shotgunned to death in her home, and even with the Jewish Bernhard Goetz, whose crime in the eyes of the city's rulers is that he wasn't a cop. While racist mayor Koch is running for re-election on a "law-and-order" platform, his killer cops put everyone at risk who walks the streets of New York.

Of course the cop trio expected to get off. They coolly drove over to the Fifth Avenue police command post, then proceeded back to their Bronx station house where Sgt. Sherman filed a report claiming that somebody had tossed a brick at them. Meanwhile their cruiser had a shattered windshield, a smashed left front headlight, extensive damage to the hood where a body impacted. Some "brick"! They didn't even bother to remove the human blood and hair and gore smeared all over the car. Why bother? Who was going to do anything about it?

On Saturday, Sherman, Conte and Collazo were brought in for questioning. But no charges were filed. The first news stories emphasized that witnesses "could not provide a detailed description or give the car's precinct number," insinuating that maybe some Puerto Rican kids had grabbed a car and spray-painted it blue and white so it would resemble a cop car. (Like in Central America, where the juntas always excuse the latest army massacre by accusing guerrillas of dressing up like soldiers.) The first official police statement said only that the victims "were crossing against the light"!

Schwartz/NY Post

Armed and dangerous: 10,000 New York City cops surround Bronx court building, February 7.

Instinctively, immediately the cover-up began on all sides. But this time there were too many witnesses and the locale was *Park Avenue*, it just wouldn't wash. So now killer cop Sherman has been charged. But his two tight-lipped buddies only face departmental charges of "conduct unbecoming an officer." Namely, they got caught.

Now it turns out that in 1973 Sgt. Sherman was twice denied appointment as a police officer because he had been declared unfit for military service for "psychiatric reasons." In August 1978, while off duty, Sherman crashed his car into six parked cars on Mosholu Parkway, then brandished a revolver at the witnesses. A man in one of the cars was hospitalized for five days, but no criminal charges were filed. In May 1982 Sherman ran into a nine-year-old boy in the Bronx, breaking his leg. The next year he was appointed sergeant.

For this "distinguished" record, the psychotic sergeant has received ten "meritorious citations." Currently, Sherman is co-defendant in a police brutality suit by a Bronx resident, Jonathan Smith, who is seeking $500,000 in damages for wrongful arrest and beating by Sherman and another cop on Christmas Day 1981. The criminal charges against Smith were later dismissed. But as a result of a new NYC policy, the city is now suing Smith for $1.5 million, claiming that he attacked his cop assailants!

Sherman obviously felt he had a license to get away with murder. But it's one thing to act like marauding pigs up in "Fort Apache, the Bronx," and quite another to kill an elderly doctor on Park Avenue. The cop that gunned down infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in a Bronx housing project "only did his job," as Patrolmen's Benevolent Association chief Phil Caruso insisted. Sherman evidently didn't realize that he was supposed to act differently in the affluent Upper East Side.

Normally, white middle-class citizens assume that police brutality is a problem only for ghetto minorities. As we have said before, Mayor Koch, bosom buddy of Israel's General Ariel Sharon, is running New York City like it's the occupied West Bank. Blacks and Hispanics are treated like Arabs, turnstile jumpers like PLO "terrorists," and anyone who gets in the way, look out. But when a prominent doctor is run down by a wild-man killer cop while taking an evening stroll, everyone knows that nobody is safe.

The killing of Dr. Chernow comes in an atmosphere of escalating police bonapartism, the naked assertion of "cop power" against anybody and everybody who tries to rein in these uniformed gunmen. When Stephen Sullivan, the Emergency Service Unit officer who murdered Mrs. Bumpurs, was indicted last month, the entire ESU asked for transfers. Shortly after, on February 7, some 10,000 armed police surrounded the Bronx Supreme Court building demanding that District Attorney Mario Merola must go. Merola rightly compared this military insurrection to a Hitlerite mob, but backtracked when PBA chief Caruso growled.

Who are these cops? A bunch of dim ethnic white thugs who barely made it through high school then become "New York's finest," getting paid good money, far more than they could otherwise earn, for what? For terrorizing the population. Crime in the streets? The 35,000 cops out there certainly don't stop crime—in fact they're a big part of crime in the streets, from drugs to beatings and killings. They're a praetorian guard like the Roman emperors liked to keep around. And they're backed up by a whole apparatus to whitewash their crimes, from D.A. Morgenthau to Koch's coroner, the ghoulish Dr. Gross.

According to the civics textbooks, the cops are supposed to protect the public. But who's going to protect the public from the cops? *An armed workers militia, drawn from responsible elements in the labor movement with prior military experience.* Several times over the past 25 years the situation in New York City has been so bad that this somewhat utopian socialist demand has become immediately practicable and urgent, as it is now. A man such as black transit worker Willie Turks, lynched by a mob of racist Italian punk kids in the Brooklyn neighborhood of Gravesend, should have been one of those participating in such a body organized to defend society against racist terrorists, muggers on the block and the paid-to-kill thugs who murdered Dr. Hyman Chernow. ■

Reagan Bombs Down Under...

(continued from page 3)

and the CIA-inspired sacking of Gough Whitlam's Labor government. Washington deeply resented Whitlam's anti-U.S. moralising over Vietnam but when his "independent" nationalist posturing threatened their Pine Gap base, a mere threat by the CIA to cut off intelligence to Canberra set off his downfall. This time around it's all very public: New Zealand is being cut off from sensitive intelligence, ANZUS military exercises with New Zealand have been cancelled, a new U.S.-Australia military alliance is being floated, and the Reaganites openly discuss plans to turn down the screws on the vulnerable New Zealand economy, cutting off preferential access for its dairy and meat exports to the U.S. and other markets.

It sounds like a re-run of the CIA's destabilisation program against Allende's Chile, except this bizarre overkill is directed against tiny New Zealand's right-wing social-democratic government. But then the Reaganites are not exactly rational and it was Christopher Boyce, that admirable young American imprisoned for passing intelligence secrets to the Russians, who said that the CIA's campaign against Whitlam reminded him of Chile. Freedom for Christopher Boyce! All opponents of imperialist war, particularly in Australia, owe this man a debt. He told us more about what was really happening to this country than any Labor politician.

As with Whitlam in 1975, Washington wants to polarise the country internally to bring down the Lange government. The U.S. is applying pressure through its close connections in the New Zealand military and intelligence establishments but Lange has little room to manoeuvre, his deputy, Geoffrey Palmer, warning the New Zealand parliament of widespread civil disorder if any U.S. warship breaks the ban and visits New Zealand. To successfully fight these imperialist intrigues requires learning the lessons of the Whitlam experience. In 1975 the working-class outrage that greeted Whitlam's sacking was still tied to Laborite and parliamentarist illusions and was easily channelled off into parliamentary impotence, with Hawke as ACTU president chiefly responsible. Like Whitlam before him, Lange is using his nationalist popularity to ram through anti-working-class austerity and a political break with him and the "lefts" who support him is crucial to finding a class-struggle road to victory. The fight against CIA-type destabilisation and the New Zealand ruling class are one and the same: the main enemy is at home! ■

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Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

southern Lebanon.

It's been almost three years now, and the army is still mired in Lebanon. The economy has been hled white, the army is demoralized hy the mounting casualties, there are antiwar demonstrations at home. And Israel's ever-expanding horders are *less secure* than ever. They've made mortal enemies of the Shi'ites in southern Lebanon, who initially welcomed the invading Zionists with rice and flowers, hoping to get rid of the Palestinians. If the Israelis think an occasional shell lohbed across the border hy the PLO was had, wait until they see what a half million enraged Shi'ites can do. Lehanon has been a political dehaele for the Zionists. The "iron hoot" of a Nazi-style occupation didn't work, Israel replaced it with an "iron fist"—but they have stuck it in a hornet's nest. They could have asked the Iraqi Ba'athists, or the Americans, who would have told them: don't mess with the Shi'ites.

Vindictive in Defeat

In Marakah, a town eight miles east of Tyre, a bomb was detonated on March 4 outside the Shi'ite religious assembly hall and office building, killing 15, including two prominent guerrilla leaders. Almost certainly the bomb was placed by the massive Israeli task foree that conducted a search operation the day before. And when several dozen people assembled at the local hospital in response to an appeal by first aid workers to donate blood, Israeli troops charged them, throwing concussion grenades and shooting into the ceiling. Those waiting in the hospital to give blood were seized, beaten, kicked and then arrested. According to witnesses, 25 men were blindfolded, their hands tied behind them and foreed to kneel in the dirt outside for several hours. Some were driven away strapped to armored personnel carriers, while the hospital director was taken into the emergency room and badly beaten.

On March 10 a suicide bomber attacked an Israeli army convoy just inside the border of Lebanon and left 12 soliders dead. Within 12 hours the Israelis had begun their merciless artillery barrage of Zrariyah. Red Cross ambulanees and journalists who sought to approach the town during the operation had shells lobbed at them. The Israeli troops went into Zrariyah like the Nazi SS went into the Ukraine. One eyewitness reported that the soldiers, some with leashed dogs, fanned out through the town searehing for men, while an armored vehicle with loudspeakers ordered all males to muster in the town square. Then a list of names was read off and verified by a local informant wearing a hood with one eyehole over the right eye. Later the hood was yanked off the informant—apparently a captured member of Amal, the Shi'ite militia. Some 200 males were driven off in four buses—to face torture, death and concentration camps (*Washington Post*, 13 March). As Professor Edward Said, a member of the Palestinian National Counell, said eorrectly, this is the Nazi policy of "collective punishment":

> "They will go into a village where it is rumored that 'a terrorist' came from or lives, blow up three houses, round up the young men of the village, shoot them, put them in concentration camps, take 15 or 20 people away and bring them back, or not bring them back.... Which is exactly what the Nazis did in World War II in countries like France and Greece and Czechoslovakia."
>
> —WBAI News interview, 16 March

The savage bloodletting is not the work of a few bonapartists like Ariel Sharon, but the policy of the entire Zionist establishment. Labor "defense" minister Rabin hailed the Zrariyah butchery as a "first rate operation." No longer the façade of the oh-so-moral "Israel Defense Forees" operating on the creed of "purity of arms." No longer hushed-up atrocities, or blaming them on "deviations" from Israeli military norms. The mask is off. Zionism equals terror and the Israeli stormtroopers want all their "enemies" to know it. The "people of the book" have made it clear that "Yahweh" is indeed a vengeful god.

Villagers throughout southern Lebanon all tell the same stories. The Israelis ruin their food stores by mixing together grain, sugar and flour; kerosene is thrown in with cooking oil. The troops enter the mosques where police dogs are unloosed, pages of the Koran are torn out and stamped underfoot. Only those with the Zionists' arrogant master-race mentality could believe that they could get away with their bloodthirsty savagery with impunity. The Israelis have turned the whole Shi'ite population against them.

One resident of Tyre who noted that they used to be regarded as heroes said, "But now it is open season on them [Israelis] and even old men want to become martyrs" (*Washington Post*, 21 February). The Israelis have consolidated on their northern horders a hostile population increasingly sympathetic to the *Hezbollah*, or Party of God, Shi'ite fundamentalists. "This is purely an Israeli creation," said one Western intelligence officer. "We never had this religious fervor here before" (*New York Times*, 10 March). And the easualty rate for Israeli soliders has risen steadily—130 dead as a result of guerrilla attacks in southern Lebanon alone.

Back at home the population is groaning under the weight of the bloated war machine, where nearly two thirds of the national budget goes to direct and indirect military spending. Last year inflation spiraled to 1,000 percent, followed by imposition of onerous wage controls. And this in spite of the massive U.S. subsidies—in 1983 one third of all U.S. foreign aid and one fourth of its overseas military aid went to Israel. Were Israel a country like Mexico, the State Department would send them packing to the IMF. But the U.S. has gone so far as to end all tariffs on trade with Israel by 1995—that's like making it the 51st state. And the only currency that counts in Israel is the dollar.

Kilner/NY Times

Shi'ite Muslim women mourn their dead, victims of Zionist troops' savagery in Zrariyah, Lebanon.

But it's largely the rampant demoralization within the army ranks that has convineed the Zionists that they must cut their losses and retreat in Lebanon. There's a saying that "Israel is not a state with an army, but an army with a state." The army is everyone's father, hrother and son. Today the military prisons are overflowing with deserters. As the senior Israeli military correspondent Zeev Schiff put it:

> "What the people who have initiated this war have done to the Israeli army is unforgivable. You no longer talk about 'what the Israeli Army is defending' but about 'who will defend the Israeli Army.' You see the change first of all in the eyes of the soldiers. It is a look that reminded me of the look in the eyes of the American soldiers I saw in the final stages of Vietnam. It is the look of soldiers and officers who know that their chances of winning in Lebanon are less than negligible."
>
> —*New York Times*, 20 February

The Zionist war machine has suffered a sethaek, its aims frustrated—and it is dangerous in defeat. Waiting in the wings are the fanatical Sharons who tomorrow will seek to gear the army up and go to any lengths to "avenge Lebanon."

Israel Up the Lebanese Creek.

Lebanon has been a major political debacle for the Zionists. The U.S. imperialist "peacekeepers" got blown out—and the Israelis ended up shit creek. They tried to set up Amin Gemayel, the brother of the son of the faseistie father, founder of the Mafioso Maronite Christian Phalange dynasty, to police the eountry for them. But that puppet president can't even hold together his own Phalangist thugs, who can only butcher unarmed Palestinian refugees, not govern Lebanon. Gemayel went off and sold himself to the Zionists' arehenemy, the Syrians. Meanwhile "Haddadland" is no more, as the Israelis' handpicked South Lebanese Army has all but disappeared. Those who didn't have the foresight to relocate to Israel have been mopped up by the local population as the Israeli army retreats; the rest have vanished. Now instead of having the Palestinians on their northern horders, the Zionists have ereated in their place an angry, seething mass of Khomeiniite fanaties. But still the Israelis are lneky—they could he dealing with the Druze. Gemayel's Phalange tried to take them on in the Shuf mountains and soon regretted it.

The one suecess the Israelis have had is driving out the PLO. The Palestinians, the unambiguous losers in Lehanon, are largely defenseless today, not only in the face of the Israeli oppressor hut also before the feuding communal elements within Lehanon, including the Shi'ites. Yet it was not simply the military force of the Israelis that defeated the Palestinians. Once the invasion commenced, the PLO was of course abandoned by the Arah regimes, which similarly have ignored the Lehanese Shi'ites. Reagan's Marines and his imperialist allies at Arafat's request moved in to disarm the PLO. Arafat gave up the guns, the PLO was packed off—and the Palestinians got the Sabra/Shatila massacre. Today Arafat, chained to *Pax Americana*, remains a miserahle vassal of King Hussein, the buteher of Black September. While Arafat is prepared to give up even the demand for a token mini-state on the West Bank, such capitulations are not enough for Reagan, who demands that the PLO recognize Israel, while the Zionists don't even admit the right of Palestine (or the Palestinians) to exist.

In the U.S. the fake-left served as cheerleaders for Arafat. Some, such as Workers World, even campaigned for "effective U.S. action" in Lebanon. Of course, Washington armed the Zionists to the teeth, and applauded and aided the destruetion of the PLO forces. While the U.S. imperialists would prefer a broader anti-Soviet alliance encompassing as well the Arah sheiks and colonels, they stick hy the mad dog Zionists as their best ally in the Near East. The Spartaeist League asserted that there was an alternative to eapitulation to warmonger Reagan: we emphasized during the siege of West Beirut that "If the Palestinians can inflict heavy enough casualties on the Israelis, however heavy their own, there could well he a rehellion on the home front against Begin's Lehanese adventure" ("Zionist Final Solution," *WV* No. 309, 9 July 1982). And indeed this assertion has heen borne out helatedly today. What has shaken the deeply racist Israeli society is the shedding of its own blood.

At the outset almost the entire Hebrew population supported the Lebanon adventure; today Israel is polarized. The London *Guardian* (13 Mareh) eaptured it well: at a funeral in a northern Israeli town the rabhi eulogized a dead soldier. "We must eontinue with the iron fist against the terrorists." But at a funeral in a nearhy town for a 19-year-old private who died in a truck blown apart 100 yards from the Israeli border, there were eries of "Get out of Lehanon." The fissures in Israel provide a crucial opportunity to hreak through the garrison state mentality. But the Zionist, Arab-exclusionist "Peace Now" movement is tied to the Labor Party of Peres and Rabin that today implements the "iron fist." ("Labor" is not a reformist workers party like the British Labour Party, but a pillar of the bourgeois order and indeed the architect of the Zionist state.) Israel out of the occupied "North Bank" (southern Lebanon), Golan Heights, Gaza and West Bank now! Self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples through a bi-national workers state in a socialist federation of the Near East!

Lebanon is a graphic and bloody demonstration of the fact that Zionist expansionism and mass terror against the Arabs ultimately lead to the self-destruetion of the Hebrew people. Three million Jews cannot eonquer and rule 150 million Arahs. If today the demoralized Zionists are attempting to burn everyone and everything in sight in southern Lehanon, tomorrow these genocidal madmen with their "Masada complex" are prepared to reach for the nuclear triggers. The Zionist state must be exploded from within. The Hebrew-speaking proletariat must hreak from all wings of Zionism. Only by championing the eause of Palestinian national justice, hreaking from their Zionist rulers and exploiters, ean the Hebrew masses have a future in the Near East, hy joining with their Arab brothers in proletarian revolution. What is necessary is the forging of a revolutionary internationalist party among the Hebrew and Arab masses, uniting them in struggle against the Sharons, Rahins and Husseins, and opening the road to a socialist federation of the Near East. Only then will the bloody perpetrators of Sabra and Shatila and Zrariyah he brought to justice. ■

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Nicaragua...

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counterrevolution.

Now Reagan & Co. have "come out of the closet" with their real policy in order to put Congressional critics up against the wall—vote for the contra mercenaries or be labeled "soft on Sandino-Communism." This will have an effect on the Democrats, who voted for every contra aid budget until the CIA's overt mining of Nicaragua's harbors last spring made it impossible for them to hide behind the pretense of "covert" action. During last fall's U.S. election campaign, Democratic loser candidate Mondale went out of his way to call for a "quarantine" of Sandinista Nicaragua. Emphasizing the Democrats' *tactical* differences with Reagan, Representative Michael Barnes recently said, "I continue to struggle with trying to find a compromise that could achieve the ends the administration wants to achieve, while getting us out of this [contra] program" (*Washington Post*, 28 January).

As part of his hard sell to Congress, Secretary of State Shultz claims that Nicaragua is a "Marxist totalitarian state" that has fallen "behind the Iron Curtain." Even intelligent spokesmen for U.S. capitalist interests such as *Business Week*, which can hardly be accused of "pinko" liberalism, find this questionable. Its March 11 article calls the Sandinista regime a "partly pluralist society," noting the strong opposition representation in the constituent assembly ("more than in Mexico's Congress"), the anti-Sandinista militancy of the Catholic church and *La Prensa* paper and "even some Americans still running their own businesses in Nicaragua." They conclude:

> "The result, if current Administration policy prevails, may be to push Nicaragua toward a more authoritarian, militarized system—and toward increasing dependence on Soviet and Cuban arms and economic support."

Vietnam Was a Victory!

A new Gulf of Tonkin resolution is indeed what Reagan is after with his contra aid bill: a virtual declaration of war, with the added advantage that it will be debated in secret. Today he claims no American troops will be needed to oust the Sandinistas, or make them "say uncle," but tomorrow when the U.S. is knee-deep in the Central American swamp it will be easy enough to manufacture the necessary "provocation" providing the pretext for sending in the troops. Meanwhile, administration spokesmen are opening the door to U.S. air strikes, naval blockade of Nicaragua's ports, and massive joint military "exercises" in Honduras. The latter are already underway after a brief election-year pause in 1984. Next month some 5,000 American troops will join the Honduran army in the Big Pine III maneuvers, including for the first time the use of tanks and heavy artillery.

A new Gulf of Tonkin resolution, a new pretext and "legal" cover for naked imperialist aggression, cannot be ruled out. Unlike the reformists and rad-libs who have endless faith in the Democrats, Marxists combat illusions in the imperialist "doves" who are united with Reagan by the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. We also warn that if Congress turns thumbs down, and "the policy begin[s] to unravel," as senior administration officials told the *Times*, it will not mean an end to the counterrevolutionary threat against Nicaragua. The very factors cited as pluses by intelligent imperialist spokesmen like *Business Week* represent the Achilles' heel of the Sandinista regime. To defend the revolution it is necessary to complete it and extend it. Rather than looking to the treacherous "Contadora process" for a "negotiated solution" to the Central American conflict, communists fight for revolution throughout the region.

The rad-libs and reformists of the Central American "solidarity movement" demand "No more Vietnams." This reflects the outlook of the eternal objects of their affections—the Democratic liberals who took the U.S. into Indochina only to see the Vietnamese masses hand America its first defeat in war. But for the oppressed of the world, when the Yankee imperialists became bogged down in the swamps of Indochina, and then they and their puppets were finally smashed, this represented a tremendous victory. The Vietnam War also produced tremendous radicalization inside the United States, which threatened to explode as the war dragged on. Reagan may figure he can win backing for a Central American intervention by appealing to his election "mandate," and controlling the "enemy within" by press censorship and "anti-terrorist" witchhunts. But a new imperialist adventure would test the shallow "new patriotism" in blood, and working-class protest which came only at the very end of the Vietnam War would begin from the start of this one.

The Spartacist League says: "Vietnam Was a Victory—2, 3, Many Defeats for Yankee Imperialism!" Organizers of the April 20 march of squeezed lemons call for lobbying Congress to "reverse the arms race" and "build a just society"—something that capitalists can never do. The Trotskyists look instead to the working class, fighting as we did during the Vietnam War for militant labor action against the Democratic-Republican war policies. Real solidarity with heroic fighters against imperialist aggression in Central America means sharp class struggle at home. It means unconditionally defending the historic conquests of anti-capitalist revolutions, from Cuba and Vietnam to the Soviet Union, and fighting to extend them internationally by reforging a Trotskyist Fourth International of world socialist revolution. ■

Pan Am...

(continued from page 12)

"control," there were 102 midair near-misses in 1983 and 1984 which the FAA failed to report. Job pressures are so great that even strikebreakers hired during the PATCO walkout are now begging for a union.

The company's phony offer of a "20 percent" pay hike over three years *included a 14 percent increase that has been due Pan Am workers since 1982.* Not satisfied with wage concessions during the last four years which amounted to *$30,000* from each TWU member, Pan Am now wants to introduce two-tier wages with starting pay as much as 50 percent below scale, part-time workers and much more. Two years ago, TWU air transport division negotiator John Kerrigan barely managed to get a giveback agreement approved nationally after overwhelming rejection by the big New York local. But not this time. When Kerrigan presented Acker's promise to restore the deferred wages over a period of several *more* years, the TWU bargaining committee "practically threw Kerrigan out of the meeting" (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 March).

Pan Am has been gearing up for this strike for a long time. Early in 1984, Acker hired C. Raymond Grebey as VP for industrial relations. Grebey spent 20 years at viciously anti-labor General Electric before provoking the 1981 pro baseball strike as the owners' representative. In August of last year, Pan Am stopped making payments into the employees' pension plans and as soon as the strike began, the company dismantled its commissary operations in three cities, contracting Marriott In-Flight Services to perform the work of 700 TWU members. Pan Am has a $400 million war chest—the same amount that Kerrigan & Co. gave back to the company in concessions since 1981!—and Acker and Grebey are trying to restore service, particularly on international flights, with an army of scabs.

Unionized pilots and flight engineers are cutting their own throats by crossing the TWU's lines. After Continental broke the Machinists union, they cut the pilots' pay almost in half. Pan Am is reportedly seeking to replace its striking flight attendants with scab stewardesses hired in the Far East at a fraction of U.S. wages. At a March 5 rally in Manhattan, strikers carried signs attacking "foreign labor" and one hand-lettered placard said, "Pan Am no longer an American airline." Scapegoating foreign workers for the loss of American jobs breeds racism and ties workers to the class enemy. An unsigned "Open Letter to the Board of Directors" passed out at the same rally stated, "We are still willing to sacrifice" for the sake of "our great company."

The Pan Am bosses like their company to be seen as America's flagship airline and the New York strike rally was festooned with American flags. But waving the Zionist flag hasn't done the El Al strikers (out for a year now) any good, any more than backing Reagan helped PATCO. The AFL-CIO, particularly "socialist" Winpisinger's Machinists and the Teamsters, could have shut down the airports in hours. Instead they stabbed PATCO in the back while joining Kirkland in sending millions to Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność. Flag-waving doesn't save jobs—class struggle does!

The airline industry, especially Pan Am, is international in scope. Counterposed to flag-waving chauvinism is the demand for international class-struggle solidarity as was demonstrated by the European and Canadian controllers with PATCO. Shut down Pan Am from New York to Berlin to Tokyo!

Under the blows of Reagan's all-out war on labor, hard-fought battles such as the copper workers' 19-month walkout at Phelps Dodge have been repeatedly sabotaged by the pro-capitalist union tops in league with the Democratic Party phony "friends of labor." Every serious fight with the bosses inevitably leads to a confrontation with the capitalist state, particularly in the face of this virtual government-ordered strikebreaking. The working class must have its own political party—to fight for a workers government. TWU strikers need class-struggle leadership which will fight for what was denied to PATCO—mass militant picket lines and solidarity *action* from the labor movement. Avenge PATCO! Victory to the Pan Am strikers! ■

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Star Wars...

(continued from page 2)

Department "politico-military" honcho Leslie Gelb wrote in the lead-off piece that Reagan's SDI "could be new and more powerful offensive and defensive capacities that could be used for a decisive nuclear first strike." William J. Broad reported the next day that Reagan adviser Edward Teller, the inventor of the H-bomb, had sold "Star Wars" to the U.S. president with the promise of "assured survival on terms favorable to the Western alliance." And then Charles Mohr discovered Soviet scientific opinion:

> "A report on 'Star Wars' written by a commission of which Mr. Sagdeyev was co-chairman, said that 'although it cannot be regarded as an effective means of defense against a massive first strike, [Star Wars] may create illusions about possible defense against the retaliatory strike'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 6 March

Bordering on Cold War heresy, Mohr says Sagdeyev's conclusion "is in close agreement with the opinion of several United States scientists." Of course, in their usual "balanced" manner the *Times* talks about "both sides," though only the U.S. is presently pushing for space weapons. The U.S. was the first with the A-bomb and the first and only country to actually use it in war. Every single escalation in the "arms race" has come from the Americans—nuclear subs, MIRVed (multiple warhead) missiles, cruise missiles, neutron bombs. And now they're seeking a "technological end-run on the Soviets," as "Star Wars" enthusiast Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham put it (*New York Times*, 4 March).

Ever since Churchill called for throttling the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution "in the cradle," the imperialists have sought to reconquer Russia for capitalism. Defeated in Vietnam after only 25 years of the "American century," U.S. rulers once again seek salvation in aggressive technology. But as the *Times*' Mohr noted, "the Soviet Union has always managed to match any major United States weapon innovation from early fission bombs to multiple warheads on missiles and high missile accuracy. The catch-up period has usually been shorter than American policy makers expected." (The U.S. imperialists also think they can bust the Soviet economy, but this too will backfire.)

In case there's any doubt, Soviet Marshal Ogarkov re-emphasized the point shortly after the U.S.' KAL 007 provocation: "Retaliation will be inevitable in all cases." And for that, the world's peoples should be deeply grateful, for the Soviet bomb has stayed the hand of the imperialists till now.

It is high time that the world proletariat takes the wheel of history from the imperialist madmen. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

2, 3, Many Defeats for Yankee Imperialism!

Nicaragua: Reagan's Vietnam?

MARCH 18—The White House has declared an all-out drive to pry dollars out of Congress to pay for the CIA's mercenary army besieging Nicaragua. It's not the $14 million request that counts, says the administration, it's the official endorsement of U.S. support for the counterrevolutionary war whose aim is and always has been to overthrow the Sandinista regime. The Democrats are reluctant to pick up the tab for Reagan's "brothers," the killer "contras"; above all these sadistic murderers are *losers*, and after its Vietnam debacle the last thing the American bourgeoisie wants is another humiliating defeat in a Third World conflict. So Reagan & Co. are upping the ante, openly declaring that approval of contra aid will be the trigger for a major escalation of U.S. intervention in Central America. Whatever fairy tales the Reaganites tell Congress, this whole exercise is nothing but a referendum on an invasion of Nicaragua.

Business Week (11 March) comments: "President Reagan's statement that he wants to remove the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua—and his expected request to Congress for renewed aid to the anti-Sandinista rebels—are certain to stir memories in Congress of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Lyndon B. Johnson used that resolution as authorization for his policies in Vietnam. Although Reagan does not propose to send U.S. troops to Nicaragua, congressional approval of funds for the *contras* now would amount to endorsement of Reagan's goal of throwing the Sandinistas out of power. Such a green light would make it more difficult for legislators, in the future, to oppose deeper U.S. involvement." Maybe

Barricada

U.S. tanks and landing craft in Honduras: dress rehearsal for invasion of Nicaragua.

Reagan isn't proposing *today* to send troops, but make no mistake—that's the only way he can even hope to oust the Sandinistas, and everyone knows it.

With names like "Suicide," "Poison" and "Vulture," it's been hard for the Reaganites to sell their murderous contras as "freedom fighters" and the "moral equals of the Founding Fathers." But above all this gang of Somozaist mercenaries couldn't fight a war if they had to—that's why Somoza lost in the first place. They're only suitable for terrorizing unarmed civilians, and they're even having trouble there since the Sandinistas began distributing arms to the population. After three years they have been unable to hold a single piece of Nicaraguan territory so that Reagan could recognize a phony contra "government." General Paul Gorman, the retiring head of the U.S. Southern Command based in Panama, told a Senate committee last week that the contras cannot expect victory "in the foreseeable future": "I don't see any immediate prospect that these guys in blue suits in the hills are going to march into Managua" (*New York Times*, 28 February). Thus Washington is faced with the choice: accept the Sandinistas, tacitly or openly, or send in the Marines.

Reagan Exports Counterrevolution

For several years now the Reagan administration has pursued its dirty war against the Sandinistas with ever-changing justifications: first to stop alleged Nicaraguan arms shipments to leftist Salvadoran rebels, then to pressure Managua to "moderate" its internal policies. But in fact during five years of civil war, and with all the U.S. radar stations, surveillance flights and coastal patrols, a grand total of one truckload of arms has been discovered being smuggled into El Salvador. A former CIA analyst, David MacMichael, whose job was to supply data for Washington's estimates on the Salvadoran guerrilla war, declared after resigning: "...we had nothing solid on amount of weapons, types, routes, the methods of delivery, or storage facilities. They kept saying we have it, but they never showed it to me" (London *Guardian*, 8 January).

So while Reagan rails against the Sandinistas for "destabilizing" Central America it is the Yankees who have turned Honduras into a weapons platform and launching pad for aggression against Nicaragua. It is the Reagan administration which has mined the harbors and armed the counterrevolutionary terrorists victimizing the Nicaraguan population. U.S. sources say that after Congress "cut off" the contras' aid pipeline, it was simply rerouted through Israel, El Salvador and Honduras. If Congress turns Reagan down again they're talking about enlisting U.S. anti-communist allies Taiwan and South Korea as conduits, channeling millions as "humanitarian" aid to Miskito Indians and the like. They're even floating plans for "contra bonds" which promise to be as worthless as tsarist war bonds and Confederate dollars. In every way they can think of, the U.S. imperialists are exporting

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Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

Victory to the Pan Am Strike!

Fed up with years of concessions to "save the company," nearly 6,000 members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) rejected Pan American World Airways' takeaway "offer" and hit the bricks on February 28. The first major strike at Pan Am in 20 years has crippled the airline in the heaviest booking period for the peak summer season. Still in the red while the rest of the industry is now in the black, the company can't take a solid strike. But while the Independent Union of Flight Attendants (whose contract expires April 1) and 6,000 Teamster reservation agents are honoring the TWU's lines, pilots and flight engineers are *scabbing*, enabling Pan Am to run many flights. Picket lines mean don't cross! Pan Am unions should strike together against the boss. There must be mass pickets to effectively shut down Pan Am's operations, particularly the Worldport hub at JFK Airport in New York. Facing contract battles of their own, NYC labor and especially the strikers' 36,000 brothers and sisters in TWU Local 100 must beef up the picket lines together with workers from all the airline unions. Mass pickets should ground scabbing pilots!

Since Reagan busted PATCO in 1981 and deregulated the airlines the next year, a wave of union-busting has swept the industry. Emboldened by the $380 million in givebacks which union misleaders handed over to Eastern Airlines a year ago and the utter destruction of organized labor at Continental in 1983, cutthroat bosses are turning airline after airline into People Express—low-wage, non-union, fly-by-night outfits which are unsafe at any altitude. (Pan Am chairman C. Edward Acker came over from non-union Air Florida which sent an ice-coated 737 aloft in January 1982 only to have it crash into the Potomac River moments later, killing 74.) As for air traffic

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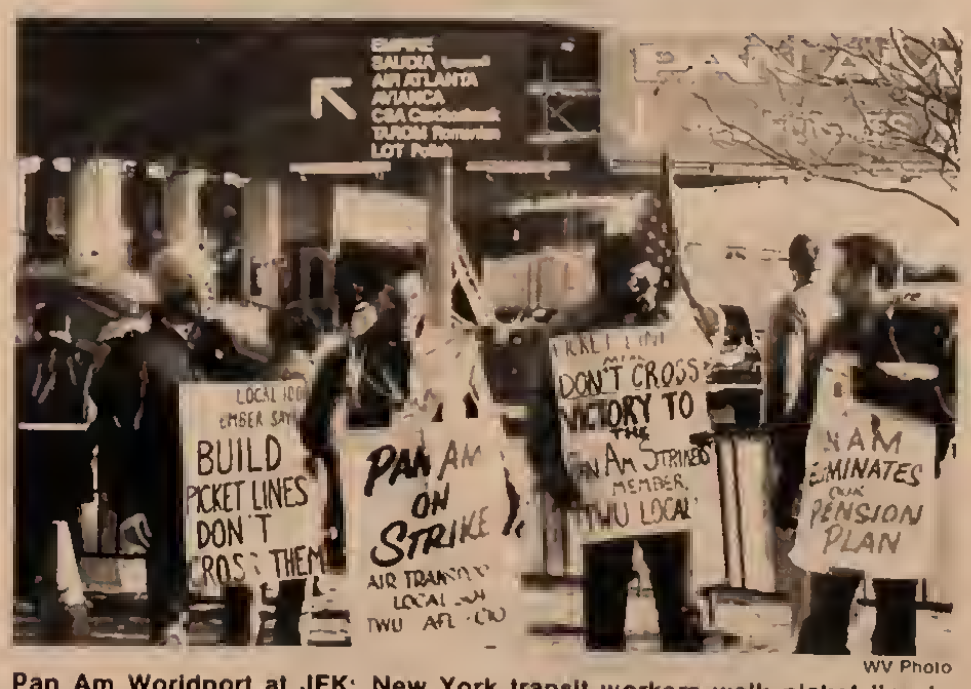

WV Photo

Pan Am Worldport at JFK: New York transit workers walk picket line in solidarity with striking union brothers.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 376 X-523 5 April 1985

Nationalism Is a Deathtrap for Black Masses— Build a Proletarian Party to Smash Apartheid!

South Africa: Razor's Edge

On Thursday, March 21, rallies were held in South Africa to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the massacre at Sharpeville, the black township near Johannesburg, where police of the white supremacist regime mowed down 69 black demonstrators peacefully protesting the apartheid pass laws. This year black students in Sharpeville put up barricades and boycotted classes. At the strategic Vaal Reefs gold mine, the largest in the world, 40,000 black workers went on strike. And in the Eastern Cape province after a three-day "stayaway" shutdown by the black population of Port Elizabeth, the authorities celebrated Sharpeville by staging another massacre.

In Washington that evening, U.S. president Reagan vilely excused the police massacre at Uitenhage, saying that "rioting was going on" and that among South African blacks there is "an element...who want a violent settlement, who want trouble in the streets." The administration's South Africa policy of "constructive engagement" was revealed as nothing but embracing

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Durand/Sipa

Uitenhage, South Africa: Massively armed apartheid police state wants bloodbath. Black struggle for freedom needs program for proletarian power.

Campbell/Time

Reagan's Dollar Boom Going Bust?

"We are literally living on borrowed time."

—Paul Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board

And on borrowed money—hundreds of billions of dollars in foreign capital which has financed the most massive budget and trade deficits in U.S. history. The U.S. government's banker made his warning to Congress last summer as this country was rapidly overtaking Brazil as the world's largest debtor. Since then the vast flow of foreign funds into the U.S., which has pushed up the value of the dollar 70 percent since 1980, has increasingly alarmed the capitalist world. Britain's Iron Lady, Margaret Thatcher, warns her Washington ally of a possibly "brutal" shakeout in the currency markets. The conservative and pro-Reagan London *Economist* (2 March) editorializes, "everybody should understand why Superbuck is a menace to the planet."

Throughout February the dollar soared to new heights. The British pound, worth $2.40 in 1980, was down to $1.05; French francs went from 4.5 to the dollar to 10.5 over the same period. But with volatile interest rates and nervousness over the soundness of the U.S. banking system, suddenly in mid-March the dollar began to fall sharply. Gold shot up almost 20 percent in less than a month. Hoping to dispel jitters on Wall Street, Reagan made an appearance at the New York Stock Exchange March 28, proclaiming that "We're going to turn the bull loose." But despite the bullshit, after rising six points the market then tumbled ten. Is Reagan's dollar boom on the skids?

Increasingly, U.S. manufacturers are screaming that they're being priced out of the export markets and undercut in the home market. Chrysler's loudmouth president, Lee Iacocca, stormed: "I don't care about the cause of it anymore. I know the effect, and the effect is no good for America." Behind the plaint, "we can't compete with an overvalued dollar," are increasing demands and pressure for protectionism and trade war. The Japan-bashing has already begun. On March 28, the U.S. Senate voted unanimously (92-0) to condemn Japan's "unfair trade practices," while Republican Robert Packwood vowed: "We're going to have to give them an eye for an eye."

Reaganomics has produced unprecedented budget and trade deficits and threatens double-digit inflation, sky-high interest rates, and international financial crisis and trade war. Liberal Democrats and also some right-wingers have criticized Reagan's economic policies for undermining American competitiveness and mortgaging the country to foreign moneymen. In the last election, Mondale's sole domestic

continued on page 6

Der Spiegel

NYC Cops on Rampage

Cop Beats Woman at Abortion Center, Jails Her

The New York City cops are *really* out of control. On March 16, as NYC's rampaging "finest" were stepping off up Fifth Avenue to get their St. Patrick's blessing from the Reaganite archbishop O'Connor, a young woman was grabbed coming out of a Brooklyn abortion center. She was beaten up and arrested by an "off-duty" cop, then held for over 24 hours in a jail cell as the sadistic police repeatedly refused to treat her injuries.

The bigot cop Russell Bjune was outside the abortion center that Saturday with a group of "right-to-lifers," screaming obscenities and harassing the women patients, when 26-year-old Patricia Toro went in with a friend seeking an abortion. When the two women came out, Bjune was waiting. For all he knew, Toro could have just had a major operation: he grabbed her and threw her against a wall. When the injured woman went back into the clinic—to call the cops!—this "off-duty" cop in street clothes charged back in to arrest her.

They took Patricia Toro to the 72nd Precinct in Brooklyn and locked her up in a jail cell overnight. The clinic's Dr. Levy told the press, "I called the precinct several times and pleaded with them to take Miss Toro for medical care, because she had a bruise the size of a fist on her head" (*New York Times*, 21 March). They never did treat her.

Patricia Toro is lucky she isn't dead. The police think they're "the law"—and therefore above the law. Lately NYC cops have made open threats of military insurrection against even the mildest slap-on-the-wrist indictments for the cop murders of black artist Michael Stewart, the son of a retired transit worker, and Bronx black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, as demonstrated by the 10,000 armed cops that swarmed around a Bronx courthouse last month. The night before the violent attack on Brooklyn homemaker Toro, a liquored-up NYPD sergeant and two cop buddies ran down two old men, a doctor and an East Side doorman, walking on Park Avenue.

The *Daily News* (19 March) editorialized that "There are many people in this town who believe that no matter what the circumstances, the men and women in blue close ranks automatically when one of their own gets into hot water. But in this case, quite the opposite appears true." But in this case, as usual, the cops are following the Mafia code of *omertà* and refusing to "squeal" on each other for the hit-and-run murder on Park Avenue. D.A. Morgenthau complains of a "conspiracy of silence," while the cops are pissed that he's trying to change the rules of the game—after all, the conspiracy is supposed to be organized out of the district attorney's office.

Inspired by the vicious social reaction emanating from Reagan's White House, an escalating wave of Moral Majorityite terror-bombings, death threats and harassment directed against women's elementary right to abortion has terrorized hundreds of medical clinics across the nation. And just as in the South sheriff's deputies by day are often white-hooded KKK terrorists by night, "off-duty" NYC cop Bjune spends his spare time terrorizing women at abortion clinics. No official charges have been brought against him. A Congressional hearing in New York City in 1983 concluded that "racism appears to be a major factor" in police brutality here—an utterly self-evident truth. Koch's cossacks' kill rate has been 35.8 per year (*Village Voice*, 1 November 1983), and in the ghettos it's routine—like the young Latino man blown away by transit cops in February because there were complaints of somebody throwing lightbulbs onto the subway tracks.

The police think they are a law unto themselves, an enclosed society which, like the Mafia, runs a giant (self-) protection racket. Patrolmen's Benevolent Association chief Caruso's comment that the cop who gunned down Mrs. Bumpurs "only did his job" is the pretext they use to give legal cover to all their criminal activities. They figure they can do anything to anyone anytime, from the normal rampant corruption and shakedowns to bonapartist "cop power" mob action in periods of mounting reaction.

NYC cops were supposed to have cleaned up their act after the 1970s Serpico/Knapp Commission hearings, but they're the same old hardcore racist white ethnic army of thugs on the take they always were. Most have barely a high school education, and those who make it as cops are the ones who enjoy inflicting violence and brutality in this violent and brutal city. The cops use this desperate situation to impose their own terror, understanding they will be protected from accountability for their actions by politicians who need their hired killers—not to "stop crime," but to keep the population paralyzed and fearful of fighting back.

When challenged the cops always claim they're a "thin blue line" standing between a helpless citizenry and "the jungle." But they're among the most dangerous marauders in "Fear City." And when the cops are terrorizing the population, who's going to protect society from the cops? As we stated in "Gruesome NYC Cop Hit-Run Murder" (*WV* No. 375, 22 March), what's needed is "An armed workers militia, drawn from responsible elements in the labor movement with prior military experience. Several times over the past 25 years the situation in New York City has been so bad that this somewhat utopian socialist demand has become immediately practicable and urgent, as it is now."

One of those times was in 1963-64, when the civil rights movement was spreading north, massive rent strikes swept Harlem and NYC police were unleashed, leading to bloody cop riots against blacks. The outcry against cop terror extended even into parts of the liberal establishment, who hoped to defuse the exploding social struggle by calls for "civilian review boards." We called instead for the self-organization of the ghetto into block committees and tenant councils to organize the struggle. As we noted in "Harlem Riot and After" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965), "such councils form a natural basis for the organization of defense patrols to protect the community against future police riots—and such patrols are the embryo of that workers militia which will defend the coming American Revolution." ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Communist Manifesto and Trotskyism in South Africa

In his introduction for the first Afrikaans translation of the Communist Manifesto, *which was produced by South African Trotskyists on the 90th anniversary of the* Manifesto, *Trotsky wrote:*

"The Communists," declares the *Manifesto*, "everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things." The movement of the colored races against their imperialist oppressors is one of the most important and powerful movements against the existing order and therefore calls for the complete, unconditional, and unlimited support on the part of the proletariat of the white race. The credit for developing revolutionary strategy for oppressed nationalities belongs primarily to Lenin....

As the heir to the great tradition, of which the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* forms the most precious link, the Fourth International is educating new cadres for the solution of old tasks. Theory is generalized reality. In an honest attitude to revolutionary theory is expressed the impassioned urge to reconstruct the social reality. That in the southern part of the Dark Continent our cothinkers were the first to translate the *Manifesto* into the Afrikaans language is another graphic illustration of the fact that Marxist thought lives today only under the banner of the Fourth International. To it belongs the future.

—Leon Trotsky, "Ninety Years of the *Communist Manifesto*" (October 1937)

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No. 376 **5 April 1985**

Letter

Remember Jackson State

Atlanta, GA
16 February

Editor, *Workers Vanguard:*

Unfortunately, in the article "Blacks Hated the Vietnam War," *Workers Vanguard* left out some of the atrocities committed against black people during the late '60s and early '70s (which were fairly thoroughly covered up by the media): "...hundreds of thousands of students were marching against the war, driving army recruiters off campus, even being shot down by the National Guard at Kent State." While the murders at Kent State are appropriately mentioned, we should remember that murders and attempted murders of blacks on black campuses were all too common. At Texas Southern University, May 16, 1967, police fired several thousand rounds into the dorms; at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, February 7, 1968, 33 students were shot with three dead at the hands of state troopers backed by the National Guard. In this regard, within ten days of the Kent State murders, there was a similar event at Jackson State College in Mississippi. Kirkpatrick Sale in the book *SDS* says the following: "On May 14, white police and state patrolmen in the city of Jackson, Mississippi opened fire on an unarmed and unsuspecting crowd of black students at Jackson State College, killing two and injuring twelve. Another wanton murder by officials of the state, but this time, no doubt because the students were black, the country was more subdued in its reaction: *The New York Times*, which had given a four-column headline and fifty-one inches of copy to the Kent State killings, gave this story a one-column headline and six inches; the students, who had been outraged at Kent State, mounted protests this time at only some fifty-three campuses, most of them black" (p. 638).

LNS

1970: Dorm at Jackson State riddled by cop bullets.

Comradely,
Joe Vetter

P.S. To my knowledge, the only GI ever successfully court-martialed for a fragging was black and then he had to be brought to California for trial.

TWUers Get No Contract, No Strike, Big Shaft

Lawe/Cuomo Strangle NYC Transit Union with Arbitration

At 12:01 a.m. on April 1 the 36,000-strong Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), powerhouse of NYC labor and long known for the tradition of "no contract, no work," joined the rest of New York's municipal unions in working without a contract. The last-minute arbitration deal worked out by Local 100 president John Lawe and Governor Cuomo and pushed through the state legislature is a *set-up* for transit workers: not only will wages and working conditions take another beating, but the city's union-busting, takeback offensive will be escalated. The union tops' headlong retreat from doing *any* battle has so emboldened Koch and Transit Authority head Kiley that they smell real blood. It used to be that just the threat of a strike by the TWU would bring the bosses to their knees, but now it's Kiley who's denouncing arbitration because he prefers the iron fist.

NYC's workers and blacks are getting murdered on the job and off the job. The racist cops are on the loose. Almost every day it's a new victim, from Michael Stewart to Eleanor Bumpurs; even elderly doctors on the Upper East Side aren't safe anymore. The heavily black and minority TWU, which once set the standard not only for New York but for transit unions throughout the country, now has among the worst wages and pension plans. The power is there to smash the racist union-busters, but while Koch is turning this traditional labor town into Open Shop Fear City, the union leaders are engaged in the disgusting spectacle of hiding behind each other's skirts. What is necessary is for the unions to *fight and strike together*—and the TWU has the muscle to make that happen.

But this is impossible without a leadership willing to take on the Democratic Party, from Koch to presidential hopeful Cuomo, who hired Kiley to do the job on the TWU. Only class struggle will teach the arrogant bosses and bankers of this town some respect. This is the perspective of the Committee For a Fighting TWU, whose leaflet of March 29 we reprint below.

Committee For a Fighting TWU Leaflet: "For a Hard Solid Strike to Win!"

Our contract expires Sunday midnight. Most municipal unions are working without a contract as Koch turns NYC into an "open shop" town. Lawe crawled to Albany this week to beg Cuomo for a behind-the-scenes arbitration sellout like he gave us in 1982. Lawe is selling the most powerful municipal union in the country down the drain for a seat on the MTA board. For the last four years he has tried to put our 36,000-strong membership in the straightjacket of "binding arbitration." But all this bootlicking class collaboration has blown up in Lawe's face. Kiley, backed by Koch, Cuomo and Reagan want a bloody, union-busting confrontation. Cuomo, who took our COPE money and gave us Kiley and Gunn, told Lawe to go to hell. Accepting the TA's terms is total surrender; working without a contract means the same thing piecemeal. No wonder Kiley thinks he can get away with offering new hires $4 an hour. We have two choices: *Eat shit from Kiley or fight!* We should have fought a long time ago—but we better fight now. Our union is at stake!

Backed into a corner, Lawe mumbles about a strike while cynically complaining he can't "control" the ranks. No sane transit worker can trust this Judas. We don't need a strike like 1980 where we had the TA by the balls but Lawe sent us back with nothing but givebacks and Taylor "Lawe" fines to show for it. We need *a hard solid strike* but that requires a fighting strike leadership to shut NYC down like it did in 1966, and take the *lead* in bringing out *all* city labor.

We need to take control of our funds from the TA and replace the dues checkoff with a system of elected shop stewards who collect dues and organize the shop floors, crew rooms and quarters! Immediate establishment of a strike fund! For immediate election of strike committees in all sections and regular mass meetings to run a strike and negotiations. Picket lines mean don't cross! In March 1984 we called for the TWU to express its solidarity with the Supervisors' Association when they were under the gun from the TA tops. Supervisors should join our picket lines to win back the rights they lost in the last contract.

Koch, Cuomo and Reagan want to give us the treatment that Thatcher's troops give the Irish in Northern Ireland and Botha's police give the blacks in South Africa. The Democratic House just joined with the Senate to pass Reagan's multi-billion dollar MX nuclear first-strike missile battery and both parties intend to pay for this monstrous anti-Soviet war build-up out of the hides of labor and blacks, the elderly and youth. To stop the PATCOs, Phelps Dodge and Pan Am defeats, the racist murders of Willie Turks, Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart—we've got the power but we've got to play hardball to win.

WV Photo

NYC transit workers on eve of 1980 strike demand: "Don't sell us out!"

We need an end to "probation," all new hires to get top pay from day one and full TWU rights and protection! MORE, Not LESS! A $5000 increase across the scale with a 100% COLA. No split shifts! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Restore the TA-paid 20-year pension! Abolish the beakies! End "controlled substance" victimizations! We want safe, clean, free mass transit. For the right to strike over safety! Restore the tradition of "No Contract, No Work" and the January 1 contract deadline. Let Koch ask "How am I doing?" in sub-zero weather!

Our union is going to have to mobilize its power to shut NYC down! It must take the lead in a militant strike of all city labor, especially the strategic sanitation workers, to smash the slave-labor Taylor law (as we smashed Condon-Wadlin in 1966), stop the racist cutbacks and begin to turn this city around. Dump MX union-buster Reagan and the union-busting, warmongering Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government.

COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU

29 March 1985

TWU Militants Call for Union Action Against Cop Terror

Transit militants in Local 100 fought for this resolution to mobilize against racist police terror. Cops need to start feeling tens of thousands of outraged unionists breathing down their necks.

On September 15, 1983 eleven TA cops brutally beat to death Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old son of a retired transit worker.

On October 29, 1984 Emergency Service Unit cop Stephen Sullivan blew away with two close-range, 12 gauge shotgun blasts Eleanor Bumpurs, a black 67-year-old, infirm grandmother.

On February 7, 1985 after Sullivan received a slap-on-the-wrist indictment, 10,000 armed cops rallied in the Bronx for the "right" to commit racist murder with impunity.

On March 15 a berserk, drunken police sergeant and his two partners committed a homicidal hit-and-run in their squad car, murdering a 70-year-old doctor and critically injuring a 72-year-old doorman at 72nd and Park Ave.

On the next day an "off-duty" cop-bigot harassed, beat up and then, refusing her medical aid, jailed overnight a 26-year-old homemaker for seeking an abortion from a Brooklyn clinic.

BE IT RESOLVED: That TWU Local 100 mobilize its membership and call on all NYC labor to join it for a protest rally at City Hall against the wanton rampage of intimidation, terror and racist murder by Koch's cops, backed by his killer-cop cover-up DA Morgenthau and coroner Gross.

submitted by:
Committee For a Fighting TWU

25 March 1985

WV Photo

20 July 1983: Transit workers demand vengeance for lynch mob murder of black TWUer Willie Turks.

**Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth League
Public Offices**

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S.F. Cops Manhandle Movie Star

Hands Off Marilyn Chambers!

SAN FRANCISCO—Seems like a woman can't take her clothes off in Reagan's America without being mugged by the self-proclaimed "guardians of public decency." First it was Vanessa Williams, the black Miss America dethroned by bigots because of nude photographs with a white woman. Now it's Marilyn Chambers, the former Ivory Snow girl and star of porn classics like *Behind the Green Door*. On February 1, thirteen of Mayor Feinstein's vice boys—with a dozen or more "backups"—raided the city's renowned Mitchell Brothers' O'Farrell "adult" theater and arrested Chambers at the close of her strip show. Claiming they were operating on a tip, the cops slapped Chambers with a prostitution charge, alleging that men in the audience "groped for her private parts." The cops are not admitting it if the groping involved any of the roughly 250 cop fingers present at the scene of the crime.

This small army of cops then grabbed the dangerous Chambers and tried to hustle her out the door stark naked. Downtown, they clapped her in jail for five hours while numerous cops dropped by with their Polaroids. During her show, one undercover cop had tried to entrap Marilyn on a "soliciting" charge by tossing $5 bills on the stage, but Chambers—who says she refuses tips—didn't pick them up (finally the janitor got them).

One week later a dozen cops hit the Mitchell Brothers again and spent three hours searching the place—during several ongoing strip acts—for records of Chambers' employment, which was never in dispute. Under mounting negative publicity and with tongues beginning to wag around the Board of Supervisors offices, the D.A. "temporarily" dropped the charges.

Marilyn seems to have weathered the ordeal like a trouper, emerging from jail in a blue fox coat. She did admit worry over breaking the news of her first-ever arrest to her mother: "She just got over the X-rated films." In an interview with *Chronicle* columnist Warren Hinckle, Chambers observed, "I can't believe this happened in San Francisco. I've been coming here 13 years and it has always been a great town for strippers. Now it's turned into a place that no one would want to play. The cops here are just out of hand" (*Chronicle*, 4 February).

Next, the vindictive SF cops came after Hinckle, who had penned a couple of pointed and witty columns lambasting the arrest of Chambers. It was he who pointed out that the vice squad raid on Chambers was linked to legislation pending before the Board of Supervisors which would remove police department power to license "adult" theaters. The vice boys wanted to score big, and Marilyn looked like the biggest score in town. But their little plan blew up in their faces. As Hinckle quipped, "If the vice squad is allowed to continue to run amok, it won't be long before the SFPD becomes known, in Meneken's phrase, as a thundering herd of jackasses led by jackals."

Fegley/Playboy

Ressmeyer

Their morals and ours. We like Marilyn just fine. It's SF's own cop-loving "Iron Lady" mayor (right) who's the menace to society.

So the cops actually staked out the *Chronicle* building and arrested Hinckle as he emerged from work. His "crimes": an expired car registration and two old charges, walking his basset hound (now deceased) without a license or a leash. "Tit for tat," Hinckle philosophically commented the next day. It just happened they pinched him the very night he had finished a column saying Police Chief Murphy should be fired. Funniest of all, Hinckle noted, was that his cop computer readout also listed a warrant out for him on a "lewd conduct" (215 MPC) charge, the same charge they busted Chambers for. "I think some of the fun-loving vice cops I'd been criticizing had hacked into the computer," Hinckle concluded.

The Cops Are Running Out of Control

This tale of the stripper and the columnist busted by vindictive cops on the make reads like something out of Dashiell Hammett. Whatever happened to San Francisco's freewheeling image? Two things: Dianne Feinstein and Ronald Reagan. And the cops want their piece of the action—or maybe a little more. Behind the idiotic excesses of these latest busts there's a far broader, more sinister pattern of police ambition to terrorize San Francisco and run the city as their own fiefdom.

Last September the plainclothes cops pulled a commando raid on Lord Jim's, an "upscale" singles bar frequented by many attorneys. Cops held the terrified patrons at gunpoint for up to two hours while searching for the owner on charges that have since been dropped. Millions in potential damage awards are pending. Of course, this kind of harassment and terror are standard cop tactics against blacks and minorities, who don't have the clout to stop police shakedowns.

The cops have run riot against even timid, peaceful protests. During last summer's Democratic Party convention, they practically held the delegates hostage while cracking heads of tame marchers outside. And then in November, the cops smashed the lights of all the TV cameramen filming them as they repeatedly waded into demonstrators protesting the appearance of war secretary Caspar Weinberger. That time the media got a taste of the kind of cop treatment routinely handed out to minorities, leftists and labor.

We've had our own run-ins with Feinstein's cossacks. Ritchie Bradley, who tore down the Confederate flag of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center last year, was repeatedly harassed and subjected to racist slurs by cops who kept him in jail for hours. On the wall of the Northern Station the cops had posted a picture of the notorious "cowboys" of the Richmond police, models for the SFPD for their racist killings of blacks.

In the East Bay, phone worker Lauren Mozee—whom the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee defended along with her coworker Ray Palmiero against a racist management scab attack during the CWA strike—had an old mug shot of her flashed on TV by the cops, trying to paint the union militant and former member of the Black Panther Party as some kind of terrorist desperado.

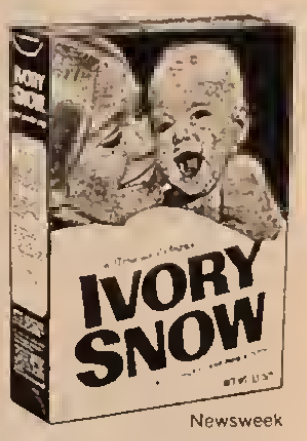
Last November *Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen reported an incident illustrative of the ominous mood growing among the San Francisco cops. At 2 a.m. after the presidential elections, a police cruiser on Clement Street announced over the loudspeaker: "Ronald Reagan has just been re-elected president of the United States. Martial law has been declared. Please clear the streets!" This was no joke—it's a *program*. The cops' appetites are increasingly bonapartist: they want to be able to roam the streets, terrorizing, beating and arresting at will, without having to be accountable to anybody.

Mayor Feinstein's vicious attack dog cops unleashed.

For years they've done exactly that to blacks and Hispanics. Now they want to do it to everyone. The appointment of the sinister Edwin Meese as U.S. attorney general, the nation's top cop, is another green light for the marauding cops.

The police are developing more ominous, sophisticated methods. A few days after Hinckle's "lewd conduct" charge got slipped into his computer file, it came out that the cops had also developed a program enabling them to break into and spy on confidential data files of the Public Defender's Office, via a computer shared with other city agencies. Chief Assistant Public Defender Peter Keane states that in over 1,000 major cases, "There is a presumption that (the defendants') right to independent counsel has been violated because of the police penetration of attorney-client confidence...and the only remedy is dismissal" (*Chronicle*, 20 February).

Meanwhile, Mayor Feinstein has her own ambitions. We've been calling her "Dixie Dianne" since her vicious, losing effort to keep the hateful Confederate flag flying in the face of the SL's determination that it would stay down. Maybe we should add "Frigid Feinstein"? With a hairdo that Herb Caen suggests is borrowed from *Planet of the Apes* and a demeanor to match, this power-mad would-be "Iron Lady" is preoccupied with sex—wiping it out, that is. She wants to turn "Baghdad on the Bay" to "Teheran on the Bay," with herself as ayatollah.



Newsweek

American soap: former Miss Ivory Snow made good in Hollywood.

Under Feinstein's reign the vice squad has blossomed. In the past six years, no less than 150 undercover cops have "investigated" the Mitchell Brothers' O'Farrell Theatre, at $20 a head. And every single one of them came away "offended," many repeatedly. In recent months, Feinstein has concentrated on trying to close the city's gay bathhouses by cynically exploiting the AIDS medical crisis. One police department source told Hinckle that "As a supervisor, [Feinstein] championed a series of unsuccessful ordinances to regulate commercial sex in all its evil forms" (*Chronicle*, 21 February).

Feinstein cynically plays at innocence and dismay when her cops run amok. But it's not for nothing that she's known as the "hands-on" mayor: she personally runs the city and its officials with an iron hand, from top to bottom. As an "answer" to the current scandal Feinstein is proposing more power to the police chief, Con Murphy. As the feisty muckraker Hinckle revealed in his column, Murphy is the guy who has a pleasure craft docked at Fisherman's Wharf in a berth reserved for commercial fishermen, in violation of Port Commission policy. He's also being investigated for possible interference in a police investigation. His deck hand, one Tony Hussein, was involved in a fight on the pier with Don Fuller, an

continued on page 10

KKK/Nazi Racist Murderers Countersue

Greensboro CWP Victims on Trial Again

On 3 November 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina five civil rights workers and union organizers, supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), were methodically gunned down in broad daylight in a government/fascist conspiracy. The murderers took leisurely aim on their victims and let loose a barrage of gunfire that lasted almost a minute and a half, while TV cameras recorded it all. The feds and local cops were in it from the beginning, from the "former" FBI agent who literally rode shotgun for the Nazi/KKK death caravan to the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. Two whitewash trials by federal and state "prosecutors" let their co-conspirator KKK/Nazi killers off the hook, acquitted by all-white juries. Now, with additional evidence of direct government participation, the survivors of the Greensboro massacre have brought a $48 million civil suit against the KKK/Nazis, FBI and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) agents and Greensboro cops, in what they call their "last chance for justice."

Yet grotesquely and outrageously, once again the courtroom has been turned into a platform for the fascists, and once again it is the militant Greensboro martyrs who are being put on trial! Once again, the state is determined to drive home the "message" of Greensboro—that racist murder of civil rights activists, labor organizers and communists is no crime in capitalist America. From the beginning, this premeditated massacre, draped in the Confederate flag, was branded by the bourgeois press and liberal apologists for racist murder as "a shootout" between "two extremist groups." Now this obscene "equation" is a main line of government/fascist legal attack. The *New York Times* (31 March) reported: "Attorneys for Klan and Nazi defendants were joined by those representing the City of Greensboro and Federal defendants in efforts to show that anti-Klan demonstrators had provoked the shootings. In contrast to their position in previous trials, they now maintain that the Klansmen and Nazis acted in self-defense."

Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro massacre, November 1979. Wounded CWP leader Nelson Johnson kneels over body of murdered comrade.

On March 11 the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund suit began in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. On the first day presiding district court judge Robert R. Mehridge, Jr. agreed to hear an obscene countersuit brought by the Klan/Nazis against their victims. If North Carolina capitalist "justice" prevails yet again, the widows of the murdered victims will be ordered to pay money to their husbands' killers! This is like making survivors of "Angel of Death" Dr. Mengele's hideous "medical experiments" pay him reparations for "defamation of character"! Ironically, the Klan's countersuit invoked a Reconstruction law originally enacted to protect free blacks from KKK violence. No wonder the hulking killer Nazi Roland Wood sits defiantly in the courtroom with a T-shirt that says "Lee Surrendered...I Didn't."

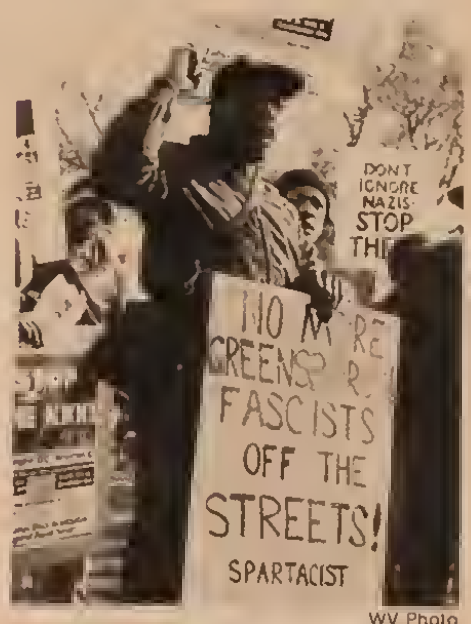
In the civil suit, for the first time some 36 Greensboro cops, two FBI agents and two ATF agents are defendants alongside 20 Klansmen and Nazis. Among the new evidence the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund suit hopes to bring out in court, according to a press release distributed by them, is the role of Edward Dawson, a long-time Klan member and former FBI agent:

> "[Dawson] acted as a Greensboro police informant and agent provocateur by attending Klan planning meetings of the Klan; recruiting Klan members to participate in the attack; leading the Klan on a reconnaissance trip the night before the rally; and riding in the lead car of the Klan caravan, yelling racial epithets at the marchers. All of this information was passed on to Detective 'Rooster' Cooper, Dawson's control agent.... Detective Cooper, himself in an unmarked car, surveilled the Klan caravan as they gathered and drove across town and, as they opened fire on the marchers, Cooper's partner took pictures of the massacre."

As evidence of active government collusion at every level mounts, the Klan and the bourgeois state authorities are united in furious assertions that the victims of this death squad "deserved" to die because they were communists. As the lawyer for the Nazi murderer Roland Wood said at the federal trial, "He is a patriotic citizen, just like the Germans were. That's why they went to Greensboro, to stop the Communists." In Reagan's America, they are trying to make fascist murder of union organizers, black militants and communists juridically defensible, giving a green light to fascist terror across the nation.

As we wrote at the time of the federal trial last year, the survivors of the KKK assault "deserve every penny they can get and the cop/Klan conspiracy must be exposed. But it will not be in the courtrooms of Winston-Salem or any capitalist court that real justice will be done." Reagan's racist dogs of war can and must be stopped by labor/black action! When the KKK threatened to "celebrate" the Greensboro massacre with an obscene provocation in black Detroit one week later, militant auto workers and the Spartacist League quickly organized a 500-strong demonstration vowing, "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

This was the first of several mass independent labor/black mobilizations, organized *against* the liberals' and black Democrats' efforts to stop us, which have successfully kept the racist terrorists off the streets of the big cities thus far into the Reagan years. "No More Greensboros—Fascists Off the Streets!" was a rallying cry as 5,000 predominantly black workers and youth stopped the KKK from marching in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982 and triumphantly took off down the fascists' planned march route in a



WV Photo

Mass labor/black action kept KKK off streets of nation's capital on 27 November 1982.

concrete taste of labor/black power. The Greensboro martyrs and all victims of racist murder will be avenged through socialist revolution that completes the unfinished tasks left over from the Civil War.

Contributions to assist the Greensboro massacre survivors in their suit against the murderous government/fascist conspiracy may be sent to: Greensboro Civil Rights Fund, 1324 North Capitol Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20002. ■

Spartacist Forums

Striking Civil Liberties Victory in Reagan's America

MARXISTS VS. FBI REPRESSION

FBI forced to admit: Marxists are not terrorists! Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel, will speak on the strategy behind the SL lawsuit against the FBI's sinister attempt to brand Marxists, black and labor activists and other political opponents as terrorists—the first successful legal challenge to the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

- **For Class-Struggle, Anti-Sectarian Defense Against Government Repression—Fight the New McCarthyism!**
- **For Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan and Nazis!**
- **A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!**
- **How to Defend Democratic, Civil and Labor Rights—A Marxist View on Law, the State and Revolution**

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel
Special Guest Speaker at NYC forum: Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney

Friday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.
Harkness Theater, Butler Library
Columbia University
(Take IRT #1 to 116 St. & Broadway)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Wednesday, April 17, 7 p.m.
Undergraduate Library
Howard University
For more information: (202) 636-4547

WASHINGTON, D.C.

This forum commemorates Toni Randell (1943-1982), founding secretary of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Survivor of Greensboro Massacre Salutes SL Victory Against FBI

The Spartacist League suit and settlement represent a victory for all justice-loving people. The false designation of an organization as violence-prone or terrorist is a major part of the mind control tactics of the intelligence apparatus in this country. These designations are a direct part of the larger efforts to silence dissent and destroy organizations. We know this from the Counter-Intelligence Program, or COINTELPRO, of the '60s. More recently, on November 3, 1979, our party was victim of five brutal daylight murders by the combined forces of the Klan, Nazis, Greensboro police, agents of the FBI and agents of the BATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms]. These murders could not have occurred without the aid of government intelligence. In this period of growing resistance and growing repression, it is important for all organizations and people in the progressive community to strengthen this outlook of mutual support and cooperation. We applaud the work of those involved in the suit for securing this victory for all the people.

Nelson N. Johnson
Communist Workers Party
and victim of Klan and Nazi
attack in Greensboro, 1979

Reagan's Dollar Boom...

(continued from page 1)

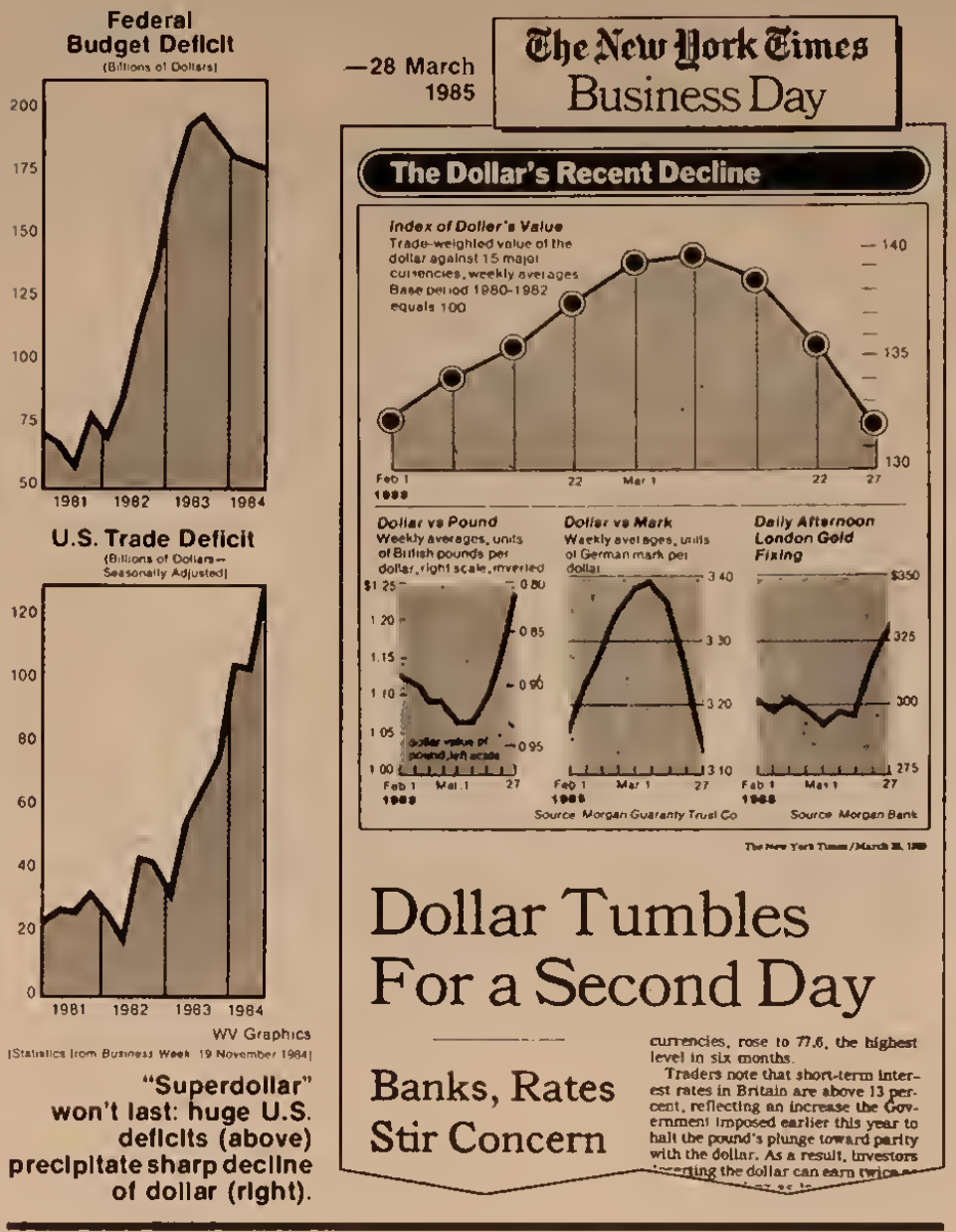
program amounted to cutting the budget deficit by raising taxes as he denounced Reagan for burdening future generations. But for Reagan the future is now. He doesn't give a damn about four years hence—he's running a war economy because he's driving toward *war* with the Soviet Union. On his scale of things a $200 billion budget deficit or a $125 billion trade deficit is insignificant compared to the mad dream of destroying the "evil empire" of communism.

The U.S. war drive against the Soviet Union also means economic war against Washington's imperialist rivals. The flow of capital heading toward Wall Street and the Pentagon has crippled the West European economies. The hapless finance minister for Mitterrand's unpopular-front government in France complains: "We've adopted austerity, brought down inflation, seen unemployment rise, only to have it all threatened by U.S. [interest] rates which are outside our control" (*Business Week*, 28 January). To dampen the outflow of funds, the West German Bundesbank has just raised interest rates in the face of more than 10 percent unemployment, a figure that would have been unthinkable a decade ago.

The Reagan gang is living in a fool's paradise on borrowed time and money. They're glorying in the "strong" dollar as the symbol of "America's comeback." For them, it's the financial equivalent of the invasion of Grenada. They contend that foreigners' desire to accumulate dollars flows from the superior performance of the American economy in the past few years. "I think the problem of the dollar today is that our trading partners in the world have not caught up with us in economic recovery," Reagan declared. In other words, it's their own fault. This takes gall, since Reaganomics has done no small damage to "our trading partners."

The main point here, however, is that foreign moneymen are *not* investing in American productive resources but in dollar holdings. Of the $90-plus billion in foreign funds which flowed into the U.S. last year only $11 billion went to purchase industrial and commercial assets directly and another $6 billion went into the stock market. Most of the rest went into *short-term* bonds and notes. Stephen Marris of the Institute for International Economics warns: "Should foreigners decide that they don't want to put any more money in the U.S. the budget deficit would have to be financed exclusively by Americans, and then all the horrible things that people said would happen will happen, but only worse" (*New York Times*, 3 March).

Seventy billion dollars courses through the global currency markets *every day*. The British financial journal *Euromoney* (November 1984) noted how quickly and easily this volatile market can turn against the dollar: "A sudden rumour or a panic in the market can distort rates on a scale that defies all rational analysis." As if to underscore this point, the closure of 70 Ohio savings banks a few weeks ago sent the dollar momentarily plunging as the price of gold jumped $36 in a single trading day. Throughout the capitalist world the word is: the higher it goes, the longer it stays up, the harder the dollar is likely to fall. What they're worried about, quite simply, is a crash.



"Superdollar" won't last: huge U.S. deficits (above) precipitate sharp decline of dollar (right).

Reaganomics, the War Budget and the Dollar

The Reagan "recovery" is not about building new factories and providing productive jobs for American workers. Dying industrial cities like Detroit and Youngstown are *worse* off than ever. Rather, the economy has much the character of a speculative boom. Massive exploitation of the working masses is combined with heavy government borrowing and an orgy of financial swindling. The Ohio bank run was set off by wheeler-dealings of a government securities trader in Florida; the pinstriped proper Bank of Boston was nailed for laundering $1.3 billion of Mafia drug money; huge amounts of "greenmail" are paid out to buy off corporate raiders, and the biggest swindles involve Reagan's Pentagon and its military contractors, from $7,600 coffeepots to billion-dollar "cost overruns."

The financial press now abounds in speculation about speculation on the dollar. Many experts have thrown up their hands in bewilderment. The markets have just gone bananas. The *Economist* (19 January) insists, "nobody can really make economic sense of the present value of the dollar." "We are entering the danger zone which escapes all analysis," exclaimed Michel Luftalla of the French bank Crédit du Nord. The new dollar crisis thus highlights the fundamental economic anarchy and irrationality which besets the capitalist world.

Emerging as the supreme imperialist victor in World War II, the U.S. ruling class sought to impose its own financial order on the postwar capitalist world. In the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement the Treasury pledged it would exchange the dollar for gold at a stable rate of $35 an ounce. Foreign governments were bluntly told to eat American paper. The international dollar standard was to be the monetary side of the so-called "American century." And like the "American century," the dollar standard was buried in the swamps of Vietnam.

Given the extreme unpopularity of that dirty colonial war, Lyndon Johnson dared not raise taxes to pay for it but instead ran the printing presses. At the same time, he was also trying to piece off the angry black masses through "Great Socicty" poverty programs. The resulting inflation undermined and eventually toppled the dollar standard. In August 1971, Johnson's successor, Richard Nixon, reneged on the Bretton Woods pledge, devalued the dollar and closed the gold window. This signaled the end of American economic hegemony in the capitalist world. We wrote at the time:

> "Just as Hitler's coming to power in 1933 marked the end of the post-World War I period, so the dollar devaluation, the turn toward protectionist nationalism and the imposition of state wage control in the U.S. mark the end of the post-World War II era.... The American working class is paying the price for the reverses suffered by 'its' ruling class."
>
> —"American Empire Shaken," *WV* No. 2, November 1971

Since August 1971, the international monetary "system"—or rather, the absence of any system—has been based on fluctuating exchange rates, often wildly so. As the "dollar overhang," accumulated from the years when the U.S. currency was considered "as good as gold," was liquidated in the 1970s, the dollar floated down against the major West European currencies and Japanese yen. Far from reversing the American economic decline in the late '60s and '70s, the Reagan years have highlighted and intensified it. The "recovery" from the 1981-82 depression, the worst since the 1930s, is based on savage attacks on the workers and black and Hispanic poor, on the one hand, and unprecedented foreign borrowing on the other. This is the underlying cause of the "strong" dollar.

Even Reagan's Tory allies warn that Superbuck's "a menace."

The Reagan gang has tried to finance its trillion-plus dollar war buildup against the Soviet Union by *cutting* taxes for corporations and men of wealth. All the MX missiles, Trident submarines and other Pentagon hardware could not, of course, be paid for by taking school lunches away from black ghetto children. So this anti-Soviet nut, who ran for election on a program of eliminating the federal deficit, has run budget deficits *greater* than the total accumulated in the entire history of the republic until 1980! And to help finance these massive deficits, it has turned the United States from the world's largest creditor into a net debtor nation for the first time since 1917. Last year 40 percent of newly issued Treasury bonds and bills were taken up by foreign moneymen.

Why are they so willing to place their money in the U.S.? To prevent huge budget deficits from generating runaway inflation, Volcker's Federal Reserve has pursued a tight money policy, driving real interest rates (subtracting for inflation) to historic highs. In the past real interest rates in the U.S. have averaged in the 2-3 percent range. In the Reagan years they've run 8 to 10 percent, attracting hundreds of billions of dollars from Europe and Japan. To prevent a run on their own currencies. West European governments were forced to raise real interest rates to comparable levels. Former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt complained in 1981 that these were the highest interest levels since the time of Jesus Christ. In this way Reaganomics in 1981-82 helped push the U.S. and its NATO allies into the worst depression since the '30s.

But the flood of foreign money-capital into the U.S. in the past few years cannot be explained simply in terms of interest-rate differentials. There is also the "safe haven" theory of the dollar. The moneyed class of this world sees reaction triumphant in the wealthiest, most powerful capitalist country. The bipartisan budget ax is dismantling half a century of social programs. Even Social Security, once considered sacrosanct, is under attack. Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air controllers union within months of taking office, and with no resistance from the wretched AFL-CIO union misleaders, set the stage for a major capitalist offensive against labor.

The 1981-82 depression saw the giveback contract throughout American industry. *Three million* unionized workers—one out of every six—have been forced to take wage and benefits cuts by the rapacious employers and cowardly, legalistic labor bureaucrats. The result has been a sharp increase in the rate of exploitation of the American working class. The share of corporate profits in national income jumped from 6.5 percent in 1982 to almost 10 percent last year (*Business Conditions Digest*, January 1985). By historic standards this represents a marked shift in favor of capital. No wonder the exploiters and parasites of the world, from the oil sheiks of OPEC to the cocaine lords of Colombia, view Reagan's America as a "safe haven" for their wealth.

Ashe/Time

Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker.

No "Safe Haven" in a Crash

The "safe haven" explanation for the strong dollar also implies that the other

major capitalist countries are unsafe or, at any rate, less safe. There is an important element of truth here. Margaret Thatcher is every bit as bloody-minded a reactionary as Reagan. But she rules over a long-decayed economy: even the discovery of North Sea oil could not stop the industrial rot. And the year-long coal miners' strike—the greatest class battle in West Europe in a decade—shook the Iron Lady. The miners were in the end defeated, stabbed in the back by the Labour Party tops and Trades Union Congress bureaucracy. Yet their incredible heroism and combativity demonstrated to the world that Thatcher's Britain is riven by class hatred and class war.

In France the Mitterrand popular front took office in 1981 promising unparalleled prosperity amid the world depression. Instead its policy of "Keynesianism in one country" produced unparalleled budget and trade deficits and a run on the franc. After the Mitterrand Socialists did a U-turn, imposing on the French populace an austerity program more severe than any attempted by their right-wing predecessors, it has produced bitter worker resistance and a dangerous rise of fascism. Even in West Germany, long

Workers Hammer

Heroic coal miners' strike shook Thatcher's Britain to its roots.

regarded as America's most important and loyal Cold War ally, widespread pacifistic sentiment is coupled with resurgent German nationalism, and the German workers' will to fight was shown by the half-million-strong metal workers strike last spring.

The role of Japan in the present dollar crisis is quite different. The West European economies want to attract foreign money-capital and to bolster the value of their currencies, but cannot. Japan, Inc. deliberately restricts the inflow of foreign funds and encourages the *under*valuation of the yen to better compete in export markets. When Wall Street and Washington call for the "internationalization of the yen," the Tokyo bureaucrats nod politely and do nothing. If America's rulers want to turn their country into the world's largest debtor, the Japanese will be happy to oblige. Indeed Japan, Inc. is quietly becoming the world's largest creditor. Last year it invested almost $50 billion abroad, much of it in U.S. Treasury bonds. And if the Japanese pull this money out, they can topple the entire speculative house of cards.

If the strong dollar has weakened the competitiveness of American industry both at home and abroad, one might naturally expect its trading rivals to favor the present currency alignment or misalignment. However, West European industrialists are adamant, almost hysterical, in denouncing the strong dollar and demanding that Washington

WV Photo

AP

UAW "Solidarity House" protectionist poison, right. Anti-Asian Toyota-bashing in Indiana, far right.

intervene to bring it down. Why? First of all, the present exchange rates make rational economic calculation all but impossible. Moreover, the additional profits made from selling in the U.S. due to the overvalued dollar are more than offset by the outflow of capital to America. To counter this by jacking up interest rates threatens West Europe's weak and fragile recovery.

While the strong dollar is painful for important sectors of world capitalism, the real fear is a crash. And that fear is becoming stronger and more widespread. "I am convinced more and more that a crash is coming," asserts British monetary expert Stephen Marris (*Newsweek*, 11 March). Since Marris is a Keynesian liberal, some might dismiss his dire prediction as politically prejudiced against Reagan. However, similar views are expressed by staunch right-wingers. Alan Greenspan, Wall Street economist and former head of the Council of Economic Advisers under Gerald Ford, remarked: "At some point, we'll run into a glut of dollars in the international markets and the... downturn could be quite pronounced" (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 February).

A massive and sustained run on the dollar would send interest rates internationally through the ceiling, very possibly setting off the Latin American debt bomb and with it a tidal wave of bankruptcies. It would force the Reagan administration to pay for the anti-Soviet war buildup by running the printing presses, generating double-digit inflation, and/or imposing an austerity program which will make the present budget cuts look like generosity itself. In short, the fall of the dollar could lead to a major *political* crisis within Reagan's America.

Protectionism—Trade War—Shooting War

Whatever the various factors behind the present sky-high dollar, there is no question about the consequences. The mammoth U.S. trade deficits are increasing the already strong pressures for protectionism in the world's largest market. Liberal economist Fred Bergsten noted, "the current administration has adopted more import controls than any of its predecessors since at least the 1920s." So much for the Reaganites' "free market" baloney! And now Congress is seriously talking about an import surcharge. Viewing this situation the *Economist* (2 March) warned, "unless Superbuck returns to earth fairly soon, he will be too late to prevent a trade war. And then the zaps, pows and whams will cause real pain."

One cannot, of course, accept at face value all the plaints against the "strong" dollar coming out of the Fortune 500 boardrooms. Many of these same corporate bigwigs have been crying for protectionism for years, even when the dollar was considered undervalued. Their problem is that, from video recorders to autos, the Japanese are building better products. During the current trade talks in Tokyo, U.S. negotiators have objected to quality controls on telephones as an "unfair trade restriction"! As for No. 1 Japan-basher Iacocca, the day Reagan lifted auto quotas, this flag-waving rebuilder of the Statue of Liberty announced that Chrysler would import 200,000 more cars a year from its Japanese partner Mitsubishi. What he's interested in protecting are his profits, period.

It's now politically expedient for U.S. businessmen to blame all their troubles on the dollar. Some of their troubles definitely are caused by the dollar, such as with Caterpillar Tractor, whose exports have nose-dived since 1981, or machine tools, where imports have almost doubled from 25 percent to a whopping 42 percent of the American market in just over two years. But American capitalists are not only losing out in heavy industry, the decaying "rust bowl." Last year U.S. high-tech companies lost market shares to foreign competitors in seven out of ten international markets. While the chauvinist American labor bureaucracy tries to blame it all on "cheap foreign labor," Silicon Valley—supposed to be the archetype of the "super economy"—is already *non-union* and *low-paid*. The simple fact is that the Japanese are outstripping the U.S. imperialists in productivity and efficiency.

Scapegoating foreign workers for the ills of U.S. capitalism ties the workers to their bosses and is an absolute bar to class struggle at home. Recently the AFL-CIO's Lane Kirkland actually *welcomed* the appointment of Reagan's new chief of the anti-Labor Department, William Brock, on the grounds that he had pursued a "tough line" in trade negotiations with the Japanese. Assembling in February for its annual exec board confab in Florida, even the hidebound AFL-CIO bigwigs felt compelled to issue some "self-criticism." Of course they didn't have in mind class struggle as an answer to the 15 percent membership loss since 1980 or to the fact that wage gains for union workers have trailed non-union workers three years running. Quite the contrary—the labor fakers recommended "less adversarial" relations with the bosses, and contracts that "include use of arbitration or mediation rather than strikes" (*New York Times*, 22 February).

Kirkland & Co. also passed a resolution that reaffirmed their vicious anti-Soviet militarism, while complaining that Reagan should have raised taxes in order to pay for it. That, in essence, is the program of the Democratic Party—on which loser Walter Mondale ran for election and got creamed. What unites Reagan and the Democrats is their bipartisan support for the anti-Soviet war drive. The Democrats aren't even for cuts in Reagan's military expenditures; they're for "limiting the increase." And on every Reagan scheme to boost nuclear first-strike capacity, from the MX (which Jimmy Carter initiated) to Star Wars, the Democrats in Congress have given their support. The Democrats' differences with Reagan are tactical: they want "more bang for the buck" and more prudent financing, i.e., higher taxes imposed on working people.

During the Vietnam War the liberals and labor fakers pretended they could have guns *and* butter; today the butter's gone, and you're lucky if you can get cheese on a welfare line. After Carter/Mondale's double-digit inflation burn, none of the capitalist politicians are talking about any government spending for schools, jobs and housing. The anti-Soviet war drive necessarily means war on blacks and workers at home. From Reagan to the Democratic mayors, whether NYC's racist Ed Koch or Detroit's black overseer Coleman Young, the bourgeoisie is busting unions, unleashing the racist cops and slashing social spending.

The mad ambitions of the U.S. ruling class to dominate the world and roll back Communism are far beyond the capacities of American capitalism. The Soviet Union through its collectivized economy, despite Stalinist bureaucratic deformation, has in the past 20 years achieved a rough nuclear parity. The capitalists are bleeding the productive wealth of America, posing a future of more depression, racism, permanent pauperization—and with the ever-increasing threat of nuclear Armageddon. This poses the urgent necessity to organize a revolutionary workers party that will lead the fight for a workers government that will take industry out of the hands of its corrupt and predatory owners, rebuilding this country with a planned socialist economy. ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

racist murder. Democratic Senator Teddy Kennedy, meanwhile, joined Republican Secretary of State George Shultz in hypocritically denouncing the "evil" of apartheid.

In Pretoria, government spokesmen hastened to push Reagan's anti-Communist buttons, blaming it all on a supposed Soviet plot orchestrated through the banned African National Congress (ANC). And speaking on ABC's *Nightline* program, Prime Minister P.W. Botha declared, "I am going to keep order in South Africa, and nobody is going to stop me." That week 29 black groups, notably the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF), were banned from holding any meetings. On March 30 the army occupied black townships throughout the Eastern Cape region.

* * * * *

The massacre at Uitenhage was the racist regime's answer to eight months of defiant struggles by the oppressed black population of South Africa. A massive boycott last August by the Indian and "coloured" (mixed-race) communities doomed Botha's "reform" constitution to reinforce apartheid disenfranchisement and provide the executive with new martial law powers. Peaceful protests of rent increases in black townships around Johannesburg were met with police terror and the unprecedented introduction of the army. They were followed by black gold miners battling the police and army in September. In November came the massive two-day stayaway general strike in the industrial Transvaal. In February, black squatters at the Crossroads shantytown outside Cape Town erupted in defiance of government plans to move them to an isolated township far from the city. Even though more than 250 blacks have been killed by Pretoria's security forces since the beginning of 1984, it hasn't stemmed the waves of revolt. But things cannot go on this way indefinitely.

South Africa appears to be rumbling down the tracks to a bloody confrontation. The system of apartheid—a bogus partition in which the whites give up nothing—is coming apart. Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation any more. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got. The coasts are secure, there is a belt of cowed black African states to the north, and the struggle is along white-vs.-black national lines. So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down. The danger is of a pointless bloodbath, something on the scale of the partition of India in which hundreds of thousands died, and a very one-sided bloodbath in which the vast majority of the victims will be from the oppressed black, Indian and coloured majority.

Yet the *class* principle can prevail. In South Africa there is a black proletariat with a growing sense of its power. Over the past decade it has entered into struggle, from the gold mines and industrial heartland of the Witwatersrand to the auto plants of Port Elizabeth. By its very bulk, this five-million-strong working class has forced the petty-bourgeois black leadership to take it into account, but not programmatically. The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. A Bolshevik party must be built to lead a victorious struggle for "amandla," *power*, for the oppressed, through workers revolution.

Instead of the mass starvation and internecine tribal strife which have marked the "independent" neocolonial states of black Africa, proletarian class rule in South Africa will open the way to socialist construction, based on the higher levels of industry and culture, in which whites will also have a necessary place. Only such a perspective of a black-centered workers government, through forging a multiracial working-class vanguard which struggles for class power, can break down the iron white-vs.-black line.

South Africa is the one place in sub-Saharan Africa where there is the possibility for a workers state, because here the black population has been partially absorbed, at the bottom, into a modern industrialized society which can, based on the revolutionary reorganization of society, provide a decent life for its citizens. The white population must have a place in an anti-racist society; the model is how Trotsky offered thousands of tsarist officers a job to do, placing their skills at the disposal of the new Bolshevik regime and the Soviet peoples. South Africa's two and a half million coloureds, who comprise a strategic part of the Cape proletariat, and the nearly one million Indians, mainly a commercial population, are no less a vital component.

* * * * *

South African whites are an oppressor people who can easily and guiltily envision the terms of oppression reversed, and are determined not to be on the receiving end. That makes them extremely dangerous. South Africa is unique. Unlike Ulster Protestants, Israeli Jews, the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, and, formerly, Cypriot Greeks, where the group on top is not qualitatively, if at all, economically advantaged, in South Africa you have, in bulk, one whole people exploiting another. Ulster is the triumph of ideology over social reality, for Catholic and Protestant alike are impoverished even by the standards of run-down British capitalism. In the Near East, Palestinian Arabs are at most half a social revolution behind the Israelis. But the Afrikaners have the qualitative military, economic, technical and cultural superiority to carry out the bloody "scorched earth" program which the Zionists can only dream of imposing on the Shi'ites and Druze of Lebanon.

While the Botha regime is not crumbling, it has plenty of problems which cannot be solved by the *sjambok* (whip) and Uzi machinegun. A new generation of urbanized black youth burn with anger at their grossly inferior schooling, limited job prospects and the denial of their birthright. Black workers, getting a taste of their growing social power, refuse to continue servilely groveling before the white *baas*. With stones and petrol bombs, with boycotts and strikes, the black masses are defying not just the pass laws or residential restrictions but the whole oppressive structure of apartheid rule. The South African bourgeoisie—the English in the mines and the Afrikaners on the farms—thrived for a century on the slave labor of blacks. Now they need to stabilize a layer of black skilled workers

March 21, 1985 was a hot day in the black township of Langa, near Uitenhage, site of the big Volkswagen auto plant outside Port Elizabeth. A crowd gathered for the funeral of an African student activist killed by police the previous week. They boarded buses for nearby Kwanobuhle where the funeral march was to take place. When police arrived and ordered them off the buses, black men in shirtsleeves, women with sunshades and young children decided to walk instead. Their numbers swelled to 3000-5000.

A "hippo" police armored troop carrier drove through the procession, stopped and turned broadside on a rise up ahead. The funeral-goers then noticed a second "hippo" coming up behind them. With the first shot, a boy cycling at the head of the crowd fell dead, his head burst open. Then came a withering crossfire from automatic weapons lasting five deadly minutes. Afterwards, police placed stones among the bodies to make it look like the blacks had been throwing rocks. They claim they killed 19; witnesses say at least twice as many were murdered.

On a hill overlooking Langa township, heavily armed poor whites looked down on the slaughter below. They feared the spectre of slave rebellion, wrote a foreign reporter, their intonation spanning centuries of Afrikaner history as they remarked that the police "did the right thing" in shooting down the marchers. "If the blacks had got into the white area it would have been much worse" said one. "Sure, some whites would have died, but a lot more blacks would have died with them" (*New York Times*, 25 March).

English/UPI-Reuters

Apartheid police prepare to attack black squatters at Crossroads, near Cape Town.

in industry and to contain the labor militancy of the emerging black unions.

In the interests of economic development, there has been a quantitative narrowing of the wage gap between white and black workers. Through the Wiehahn reforms, black unions have been permitted to organize, though the regime tries to hamstring them with elaborate state controls. Recently several employer associations called on the Botha government to implement its vague promises of reform. But government spokesmen, representing the *verligte* ("enlightened") wing of Afrikaner nationalism, replied that "Businessmen should not call for black political participation without understanding the implications of what they were advocating" (*Washington Post*, 15 March). What may be economically rational for segments of the ruling class is not politically possible.

* * * * *

Sharpeville 1960 brought a decade of police state silence. All black resistance was crushed. South African society has experienced important changes in the quarter century since then, centrally the consolidation of a black working class and the beginnings of its organization. What this means is that today treason trials, mass arrests and the killing of some scores of blacks are insufficient to choke off black struggle. Two days after the Uitenhage massacre, a number of black collaborators of the apartheid regime were killed in the townships. And on March 24 an estimated 35,000 blacks, reportedly the largest demonstration ever in the Eastern Cape, streamed into Kwanobuhle to turn the funeral that had previously been broken up by the police into a mass protest. But Botha has made clear his intention to crush those "lamenting disobedience, violence and destruction." The Uitenhage massacre could be the signal for unleashing a Sharpeville many thousands of times over.

In a recent *New York Times* (27 March) article, the generally perceptive reporter Alan Cowell remarked that "Compared with 1960,...the white authorities [now] seemed adroit, reliant as ever on force, but unable to provide any other answer to the questions spawned by their own troubled racial history...." This reflects a pervasive misunderstanding of South Africa shared by the American bourgeoisie and the American "left." What's posed is not granting token democratic rights to an oppressed *minority*. In South Africa, a racial caste of 4-5 million whites share in the superexploitation of the 26-plus million blacks, Indians and coloureds. An important 1983 ABC-TV special on the rise of South African black unions was titled "Adapt or Die." But on the political level, South African rulers *cannot* adapt. White supremacy, whether in the form of apartheid or by some other name, is the foundation of South African capitalism, just as slavery was to the pre-Civil War American South.

What does majority rule, "one man, one vote," mean in South Africa? To the white minority, it can only mean one thing: "Drop dead." But they don't want to drop dead, and *they have all the guns*. ABC's Ted Koppel referred to a slogan painted on a South African wall, "Boer go home." But the Boers *are* home. The Afrikaners see themselves as a "white tribe of Africa." These trekkers who conquered the *veldt* (plains) lost the Boer War, but they won the country. In contrast to whites in Southern Rhodesia, the Afrikaners are not a settler colony anymore. The Rhodesians, like the Israelis in Lebanon, couldn't afford to lose steady casualties, even only ten a week—trivial numbers in the abstract, but not with such a narrow population base. The Afrikaners, however, have the weapons, a sufficiently large white population, an ideology and the religion, history and bloody-minded determination to prevail.

Genocide is not the aim of South Africa's rulers—they hardly want to kill off the black proletariat that has produced their golden egg. But their whole security set-up is designed for repression on a mammoth scale. They're

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probably already calculating what Henry Kissinger once cynically called the "raped nun gap"—how many atrocities against whites to allow, or instigate, to prepare foreign opinion for the bloody holocaust of blacks. (Recall the Western scare propaganda about raped nuns in Stanleyville which paved the way for the 1961 UN intervention against Lumumba in the Congo, engineered by Teddy Kennedy's elder brother JFK.) And when Botha lets loose it won't just be with Israeli machine guns firing out of gun slits of hippo troop carriers. The black townships were designed for civil war, laid out like giant concentration camps encircled by highways and empty "free fire zones," so they can be isolated and, if necessary, *napalmed* into submission. Pretoria is prepared to impose a peace of the graveyards.

The contradictions of the Botha regime can be seen in the gold miners' strike last September. After careful study and passing elaborate legislation, the government had granted a highly circumscribed right to strike. One of the tamer black unions went through all the procedures and finally declared a first-ever legal strike. The *Wall Street Journal* proclaimed the advent of "enlightened" labor relations in South Africa. But as soon as the legal strikers walked off the job, their example spread like wildfire through the gold mines, and the government responded by sending in the troops and shooting down unarmed strikers in cold blood.

* * * * *

Meanwhile, the power of the black proletariat is still politically straitjacketed by nationalism. And this is no accident, for the structure of South African society subjects the black population as a whole to the most hideous forms of colonial oppression. They are treated as aliens in their own country, without legal rights, colonial subjects constantly threatened with deportation to their *kraals* on the starving bantustans. The capitalist class and its state apparatus are entirely white (except for black cops who rarely rise above sergeant). There is no black bourgeoisie in South Africa. The very depth and totalitarian nature of this internal colonialism has tended to produce a nationalist-populist outlook among the black African masses, including the industrial working class. Historically, the black struggle has been under the sway of nationalist formations, principally the African National Congress.

At the same time, for the black unions, having to deal with economic reality tends to cut across nationalist principles, and there have even been reports of joint white-black union action, such as at the Highveld Steel plant where common mass meetings were held (*Work in Progress*, October 1984). In meetings of the National Forum, a nationalist coalition rivaling the UDF, exclusion of whites was rejected by leaders of black unions formerly associated with the Black Consciousness Movement. But politically the South African black unions are still inchoate where they are not directly integrated into one or another nationalist popular front.

In the case of the ANC, the strategy of seeking alliances with the more "liberal" wing of imperialism and its "own" ruling class extends back to its founding. Hoping to exploit the sometimes sharp antagonism between British capital and Afrikaner nationalism the ANC supported British imperialism in both the First and Second World Wars. And following the savage repression in the wake of Sharpeville, in 1964 ANC leader Luthuli appealed to "South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America... for sanctions that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of *apartheid*." As if the City of London and Wall Street, the butchers who slaughtered blacks in the "Mau Mau emergency" in Kenya and communist guerrillas in Indochina, are any more humane than Afrikaner leaders Malan, Verwoerd and Botha! They're just more remote and cool.

The "moderate" nationalist ANC talks of "multiracial democracy," but means by this a "power-sharing" deal with elements of the white racist ruling class, from the United Party in the 1950s and '60s to the Progressive Federal Party today. Meanwhile, Bishop Tutu, picked as the black savior of South Africa by the Nobel Prize committee, warns of the danger of a bloodbath, appealing for the intervention of the American imperialists. So that in the South African black movement talk of interracialism is exclusively associated with popular-front do-gooders of the CP/ANC stripe, and those who warn of the danger of a bloodbath turn out to be weepy friends of the Kennedys. The more militant of the nationalists, such as AZAPO which demonstrated against Teddy Kennedy's visit to Soweto last January, close their eyes to the dangers looming over them and harden up the enemy camp, driving whites into the Afrikaner *laager*.

The black movement in South Africa

Wide World

35,000 black people defiantly marched on March 25 in funeral for youth killed by cops in township near Uitenhage, Cape Province.

doesn't seem to realize that they're looking down the barrel of a cannon that's being wheeled out to blow them away. They vastly overrate the humanity of their oppressors. Botha & Co. are now looking for provocations—and they may get them. ANC sources indicate that their guerrillas are shifting their military strategy from attacking exclusively strategic installations to "softer" targets, exercising "much less caution about incurring [white] civilian casualties" (*Work in Progress*, February 1985). This, combined with their talk of moving from sporadic bombings by small commandos to "people's war" is a deadly dangerous fantasy, playing directly into the hands of the Afrikaner hardliners. Any actions along this line will trigger a monstrous slaughter without threatening Pretoria militarily. In contrast to such light-minded playing at war, well-selected actions by the black workers movement can strike the apartheid system in its Achilles heel, its absolute dependence upon black labor.

Unlike the Bishop Tutus, we do not talk of bloodbaths as an excuse to preach pacifism and reconciliation with the apartheid state. Blood will flow in South Africa: the question is whose blood, when, where, why and how. Certainly there is no solution in South Africa without a civil war. But if it is fought on a purely white vs. black, national basis it will be a disaster for the oppressed. One only has to look at Angola where a few hundred South African soldiers drove almost all the way to Luanda before the Cubans intervened to stop them.

* * * * *

In the United States, the anti-apartheid movement has centered on the slogan of "divestment." This is a call for an international strike *of capital*, to force Pretoria to abandon apartheid, whose net result will be to allow some sharp speculators to buy South African shares at a discount. Only after Mondale's ignominious defeat in the November elections did black Democrats begin staging symbolic arrests outside the South African embassy in order to refurbish their tarnished credentials. When Kennedy tried to cash in on the South Africa issue with a visit in January, the Johannesburg *Financial Mail* ran an incredulous headline, "He's teaching us morals?" Who is demanding that the bloodsoaked American imperialists stop exploiting. Botha must be asking. The white racist U.S. ruling class can have "one man, one vote" and still keep the blacks on the bottom. The divestment campaign is an appeal to the "democratic" hypocrisy of the mass murderers of My Lai and Hiroshima to get their South African ally to clean up its act.

For starry-eyed American reformists exemplified by the *Guardian* (3 April), the Uitenhage massacre "has created a crisis for the apartheid regime, as there is a virtually universal disbelief in the official version." The mortal danger to South Africa's black masses is ignored as they see only "apartheid's agonies."

But apartheid is not on its deathbed, and imperialist finger-wagging and public opinion will hardly bring it down. Liberal divestment lobbyist Dumisani Kumalo of the American Committee on Africa cynically remarks: "Every time they shoot people in the townships.... It all helps our cause" (*Detroit Free Press*, 16 December 1984). The cause of South Africa's oppressed will not be helped by looking to the Teddy Kennedys or other imperialist "saviors."

The Kennedy liberals who now call for "disinvestment" only have tactical differences with the likes of IBM president John Akers, who calls for U.S. investment, arrogantly claiming that his low-wage non-union operation in South Africa can be a model of race relations (like his non-union operations in the U.S.!). The pro-imperialist AFL-CIO tops go along with this line, parading the "Sullivan principles" of equal-opportunity exploitation by U.S. corporations in South Africa, while seeking to take over the new black unions before they get "out of hand."

Communists look to the working class, from Durban to Detroit, as the vanguard of the fight for freedom. We hail the action of militant Bay Area longshoremen last December who refused for ten days to unload South African blood cargo, in spite of the sabotage by the labor fakers and their fake-left waterboys. International labor solidarity, against their bosses and ours, is key to the struggle for workers revolution against Reagan/Botha racism.

* * * * *

The savage apartheid dictatorship in South Africa is the result of uneven and combined development in which the latest advances in industry and technology coexist with imposed colonial backwardness of the oppressed black masses, condemned to suffer the most brutal aspects of serfdom, slavery and tribalism. The most elementary democratic demand or social gain can only be achieved in an anti-capitalist revolutionary context. The fundamental political right of "one man, one vote"—real majority rule—would mean the overthrow of white supremacy and would sound the death knell for the white ruling class. Those such as Bishop Tutu, the UDF and ANC who preach a "peaceful" end to apartheid through moral suasion and "economic sanctions" of international finance capital disarm the oppressed ideologically in the face of impending catastrophe in which it will overwhelmingly be the blood of the black masses that flows.

Today hundreds of thousands of black, coloured and Indian workers are enrolled in black unions, which have repeatedly broken through the labyrinth of state controls to unleash mass strike action. The economic organization of the black workers is a necessary condition for the South African workers, but it is not sufficient. A recent book titled *Power! Black Workers, Their Unions and the Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* (1984) reports a revealing remark by a shop steward of a black union in Port Elizabeth:

> "We long for the day when there is majority rule government in South Africa and [imprisoned ANC leader] Nelson Mandela is our Prime Minister. But when that day comes we must have an independent trade union organisation to make sure the black workers don't get kicked around simply because our people are in power."

For the oppressed to emerge victorious from the inevitable civil war in South Africa, they must be organized and led by a class-conscious vanguard infused with the understanding that those who labor must rule.

Continuing Lenin's struggle for independent communist parties in the fight for a Fourth International, his companion-in-arms Leon Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, wrote to his supporters in South Africa in 1935. Trotsky noted:

> "The Bolshevik Party defended the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination *with the methods of proletarian class struggle*, entirely rejecting the charlatan 'anti-imperialist' blocs with the numerous petty-bourgeois 'national' parties of czarist Russia....
> "Only thanks to this *irreconcilable* class policy was Bolshevism able to succeed in the time of the revolution to throw aside the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, the national petty-bourgeois parties and gather around the proletariat the masses of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "On the South African Theses," *Writings [1934-35]*

In South Africa today, the construction of a Bolshevik party based on the black proletariat is more urgent than ever, but also the possibilities are possibly better than in the past. The government has a lot on its plate right now, and its highest priority probably isn't tracking down inconspicuous red nuclei in the workers movement. As a result of what has happened to government informers in the townships in recent months, there seems to be an involuntary relaxation of security control within the black population.

A Leninist-Trotskyist party in South Africa must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular-frontism, counterposing the program of *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. A workers revolution in South Africa, with its concentration of industry and wealth, will be the motor force for the liberation of the desperately impoverished black masses throughout the continent. Where to begin? Now is the time for internationalist communists, black, coloured, Indian and white, to undertake the construction of unobtrusive nuclei, in and oriented toward the workers movement, laying the basis for a multiracial revolutionary workers party in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

Nazi Uses Canada Court To Whitewash Holocaust

TORONTO—For close to two months a Canadian courtroom had provided a forum for fascist genocide in the trial of a notorious Nazi hate-monger and terror-monger. On February 28, Ernst Zundel, the author of "The Hitler We Loved and Why" and one of the largest purveyors of Nazi filth in the world, with a network covering 45 countries and 18 languages, was found guilty in a Toronto court of publishing false statements likely to incite hatred. It says a lot about Canada that in 1985 the Nazi Holocaust is being "debated" in the courts and that Nazis and their apologists are recognized as "expert" witnesses. Zundel and his gang of fellow fascists paraded into court every day, wearing construction hard hats, and used the courtroom to force concentration camp survivors to relive the unspeakable horror of Hitler's death camps. Zundel's lawyer Doug Christie attacked them as "liars," and demanded autopsy reports as "proof" of the existence of gas chambers!

Yad Vashem

Nazis slaughtered six million Jews in death camps like this one in Mauthausen, Austria.

The bourgeois press gave wide circulation to Zundel's anti-Semitic lies, with headlines like, "Gas chambers are fakes man tells trial," "Women happy at Auschwitz, trial told," and "Holocaust survivor is accused of lying by Zundel lawyer." The currency given Zundel's "views" in the press can be measured in the rise of right-wing and fascist terror in the streets. A Jewish synagogue was firebombed in Vancouver in the midst of the trial. And anti-abortion reactionaries are continuing their vicious campaign of anti-Semitism against Dr. Henry Morgentaler, an Auschwitz survivor. Joe Borowski, a dangerous lunatic and former NDP (New Democratic Party, Canada's social democrats) Manitoba cabinet minister, said he wished Morgentaler had been sent to the ovens. Toronto "pro-life" leader Laura McArthur cites "medical evidence" from Nazi concentration camps as "proof" that women rarely get pregnant as the result of rape! Women at Morgentaler's Toronto abortion clinic are terrorized by daily mass pickets of these "pro-life" Nazi-lovers.

Last year, prior to the trial, Canada's most notorious fascist, self-declared KKK "intelligence director" William Luu Richardson, and his Nazi sidekick George Graham attempted to frame up and jail two postal workers, Trotskyist League supporters Paul Schneider and Mike Mares, for defending themselves and others at a labor-endorsed abortion rights demonstration in Toronto against provocation and harassment by Richardson and Graham. On August 29, Ontario provincial court judge J.S. Climans threw this outrageous KKK/Nazi frame-up out of court after Richardson and Graham were exposed on the stand as lying, psychotic fascist terrorists.

Canada: Haven for Nazis

It's no accident these fascists and right-wing terrorists run amok in Canada. During the years of Hitler's Holocaust against the Jews in Europe, from 1933 to 1945, Canada accepted only 5,000 Jewish refugees—the lowest number of any of the so-called "democratic" capitalist countries (even China took 25,000). Expressing the rampant anti-Semitism of the Canadian government, one official's response to Jewish immigration was the infamous statement, "None is too many." Meanwhile, the "Aryan" Nazi scum, the mass murderers and sadistic torturers of the fascist regimes, were welcomed with open arms. According to Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, close to 3,000 of Hitler's killers and their collaborators still reside in Canada today.

Documents acquired by the Wiesenthal Center under the U.S. Freedom of Information Act reveal a whole network of former members of the Romanian Iron Guard, the mass murderers of tens of thousands of Jews during World War II, in and around the Toronto area. These documents indicate that the most wanted Nazi killer, the "Angel of Death" Dr. Mengele, was allowed to "slip" through the Canadian government's grasp. Dutch Nazi Jacob Luitjens, on the Dutch government's list of 15 most wanted war criminals, continues to live comfortably in Vancouver despite repeated extradition requests. And the "Butcher of Lyon" Klaus Barbie's second-in-command, Count Jacques Noel Duge de Bernonville, lived in Quebec from 1946 to 1951 under the protection of the Canadian government which *refused* to extradite him to France where he had been sentenced to death for murder and torture.

Following World War II the surviving Nazi killers were eagerly recruited by the triumphant imperialist powers as "freedom fighters" in their Cold War against the Soviet Union and put in the service of U.S. imperialism's drive to reconquer Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation. As Sol Littman, the Canadian representative of the Wiesenthal Center, commented, Canada became a "dumping ground" for a number of Nazis who couldn't be sheltered in Europe even with official aid:

> "Canada was certainly the junior partner to the British and American intelligence services. We tried to be a good partner in that respect and certainly we played a role. When people could no longer be safely kept in Europe and had to be taken out, Canada became one of the places that they were warehoused."
>
> —*The New Edition*, 5 February

Repeated requests by the Soviet Union for the deportation of many of these killers have been turned down on the grounds that Communist courts mete out unfair justice! We demand the immediate extradition of the Nazi war criminals demanded by the Soviet Union, to be tried by their surviving victims!

Elzinga/Maclean's

Nazi filth merchant Ernst Zundel.

Only the Working Class Can Smash Fascist Terror!

The trial of Nazi filth merchant Zundel was an obscenity from start to finish. The Canadian courts essentially provided a platform for anti-Semitism, race hatred and fascist terror, while the Canadian state (founded by counter-revolutionaries defeated in the American Revolution of 1776) continues to shield and protect Nazi war criminals. Furthermore, the "hate laws" under which they convicted Zundel are in fact designed for use against the left and working-class movement (one could be witchhunted for inciting "class hatred," for example, by standing up for working-class rights).

In 1981 Zundel and his ilk got a taste of the kind of treatment they so richly deserve. Over 600 angry protesters, mainly Jewish and many concentration camp survivors, marched on the "Zundel Studios" in Toronto. Met by fascist placards reading "No Truth to 6 Million Story! Gigantic Jewish Rip-Off!" and "Holocaust is a Lie!" the outraged protesters broke through a line of cops and drove Zundel and his fascists into a headlong retreat into their "studio."

What's desperately needed to stop the fascists are mass mobilizations of the labor movement and minorities to crush these killers, like the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK terrorists from marching in their white sheets and hoods through the streets of predominantly black Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. The international Spartacist tendency is committed to mobilizing the power of the working class and its allies among the oppressed and specially exploited to stop Nazi terror, as part of our fight for socialist revolution which will rid this planet of fascist filth once and for all. ■

Marilyn Chambers...

(continued from page 4)

officer of the Masters, Mates and Pilots union. Fuller, charged with battery and now the object of a federal investigation, claims he was trying to organize new members in the union. A private investigator says he has evidence that Murphy "marshaled the cops to get Fuller and then sicced the feds on him through his brother Dan Murphy, who is the head of police intelligence" (*Chronicle*, 22 February).

The predictable pattern following exposés—"investigations," whitewash, "reorganization"—is underway. The city's Office of Citizen Complaints' new head, Frank Schober, a former general in the California Army National Guard, conducted a two-week "investigation" of the Chambers/Hinckle arrests and absolved the cops of any wrongdoing. The scandal-wracked police department knows the mayor will support them.

The real killer sharks, you see, aren't just the great whites feeding off the SF beaches—they're the cops running amok in the streets of San Francisco under the direction of Feinstein. The deadly message of the arrest of Chambers, of Hinckle, of the cops' rampages against the media and the Democratic Party rad-libs, is that in this period of reaction *nobody* is safe from the vicious praetorian guard of Reagan's "evil empire." Things are so bad, it's looking like it's going to take a socialist revolution just so an honest citizen can while away an hour or two in an "adult" theater.

We say: Hands off Marilyn Chambers! Miss Ivory Snow sure beats the orange juice queen, anti-gay bigot Anita Bryant, Moral Majorityette Phyllis Schlafly and their sister Dianne Feinstein. ■

Gun-Waving Cops Invade S.F. Elementary School

SAN FRANCISCO—"Armed S.F. Cops Invade Classroom—33 Children Ordered Out in Police Drill" blared a *San Francisco Chronicle* headline on March 29. You'd think the cops would have had enough getting their rocks off terrorizing movie stars, journalists and TV cameramen. Nope, now they're busting into elementary schools, ordering 10-year-old black kids at gunpoint to "march!"

According to the front-page account in the *Chronicle*, on March 13 two jackbooted, rifle-bearing cops burst into Taylor Elementary School, roamed through the school halls and the yard, then took over a fifth-grade classroom and ordered the teacher to move her 33 students to the library. One teacher later said, "There were two or three shots fired." Another teacher had to be treated for high blood pressure after the raid, while children cried in fear that "they were going to kill me," as one seven-year-old later told a reporter.

The cops say that the incident was the result of a "training exercise" at an abandoned junior high school building, now a cop training center, across the street from Taylor Elementary. What sinister scenario are the cops "training" for that means terrorizing young black kids? Nothing is beyond the sick appetites of the SFPD run amok.

Beat Massey Coal—Bring Out the UMWA!

South Africa-Style Union-Busters In West Virginia

A United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) leaflet asks: "Do Fluor and Shell Want South African Conditions For American Workers?" The answer, loud and clear, can be found on the picket lines of embattled West Virginia coal miners on strike for six months against A.T. Massey. Co-owned by Fluor Corp. and Royal Dutch/Shell, Massey is the nation's second largest coal exporter. The company is trying to import into Appalachian coal country the kind of slave-labor conditions Fluor subsidiaries are notorious for around the globe. As its 1982 annual report states, Fluor seeks out for investment slave-wage reactionary "countries with favorable economic and political environments," like South Africa, South Korea, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and most recently, Chile. Fluor built the massive Sasol coal to oil conversion plant for the South African government where more than 6,000 black workers were fired and deported to the desperately impoverished bantustans for their participation in the two-day Transvaal general strike last November.

The UMWA struck Massey on October 1 when the company refused to sign the union's national contract. In addition to a lengthened work day, reduced benefits and the elimination of elected safety committees, Massey is demanding separate agreements at each of its many subsidiaries which the company claims are "contractors." As Fred Decker, president of Local 1160 put it: "Massey can terminate a contractor at one mine, and all the men working for him will be laid off. Then the next day, Massey can bring in a new contractor and hire completely new men" (*Sunday Gazette Mail*, 24 February).

In mid-February, the Massey-owned Sprouse Creek processing plant in Lobata, West Virginia started running scab coal. West Virginia is a stronghold of the UMWA and Massey's provocation amounted to a declaration of war. The strikers responded with mass rallies, reinforced picket lines and demonstrations in front of Norfolk & Western Railroad coal trains. After weeks of guerrilla warfare, on March 27, a Mingo County circuit judge levied $200,000 in fines against the UMWA International for violations of injunctions which limit pickets to ten per gate.

On March 13, a union sit-in kept Norfolk & Western foremen and cops from pulling out a loaded train. The same day, a 15-truck scab convoy carrying unprocessed coal set out for Sprouse Creek from Kentucky. It was guarded by hired gun thugs, the state police and a company helicopter. When the scabs got to the state line, they met hundreds of area miners who parked their cars and trucks into a "serpentine," a roadblock which allows cars, but not trucks, to pass. After state police cleared the highway, the miners themselves held up the convoy for more than three hours but the trucks eventually got in.

The next day, another scab convoy, led by an armored vehicle, *smashed through* the serpentine. As one striker told *WV*, "Our people retaliated by throwing rocks and anything else they could get their hands on. They came out in the papers and said that we had guns and all that stuff which was not true. If they'd had guns, they'd have shot the guy probably." Reportedly, a company truck carrying guards and dogs was stoned and after its occupants fled, it was overturned and set afire. The coal trucks did not come back out that day but on March 15, a third convoy rammed a striker's car off a mountain road, sending four to the hospital.

Gumpert/UMW Journal

Six months on strike: determined West Virginia miners need power of whole UMWA to beat union-busting Massey and strikebreaking cops.

The scab coal must be stopped and the union ranks know how to do it. In February, when Massey threatened to fire all the strikers at Sprouse Creek, repeated union protests mobilized as many as 1,500 Teamsters, Steelworkers and community supporters, along with UMWA members from three union districts at the processing plant. These forces are needed now to stop the flow of scab coal. Truckdrivers, railroad and river barge workers: Massey coal is too hot to handle!

The full strength of the UMWA must be brought to bear against the company and its courts. Militant miners have more than once turned injunctions into scraps of paper. Jimmy Carter found out the hard way when he slapped a Taft-Hartley back-to-work order on the UMWA in the 110-day strike of 1977-78. A year earlier a federal judge fined Local 1759 $300,000, but he changed his mind after 80,000 miners joined the "anti-injunction" strike and shut down half of U.S. coal.

There's no doubting the combativity of the UMWA ranks. Unfortunately it's not matched by the union tops. "Progressive" UMWA president Rich Trumka, just like his predecessors Sam Church and Arnold Miller, keeps the union politically chained to the strike-breaking Democrats. Talk about "labor lieutenants of capital": the UMWA tops were out there campaigning for newly-elected West Virginia senator (and former governor) Jay Rockefeller! On March 20, Trumka met with West Virginia governor Arch Moore and said he was counting on Moore to help end the strike. Moore wants to end it all right: that's why he sent his troopers into the coal fields, just as the company requested. As the Sprouse Creek picket lines swelled to over 1,000, on February 19 Trumka ordered them reduced as a "gesture of good faith." The next day 50 pickets were arrested, so the day after that 1,500 pickets showed up.

In West Virginia, 70 percent of Massey's annual coal production is non-union. The two largest non-union mines in the state, Elk Run Coal in Boone County and Marrowbone Development in Mingo County, are Massey operations. A solid victory at the organized mines and processing plants could spark a much-needed organizing drive throughout the coal fields.

The Brookside, Kentucky strike in 1974 (made famous by the award-winning documentary *Harlan County, U.S.A.*) dragged on for 13 months before a nationwide work stoppage was called. In five days the strike was won. It'll take more than "business as usual" unionism to beat A.T. Massey too, but the mine workers' history points the way to win: miners throughout the coal fields ought to "take a holiday" and shut the scabherding company down solid. Victory to the A.T. Massey strikers! ■

Guillermo...

(continued from page 12)

around the Marines' table, chanting and calling for "Marines Off Campus!"

I was among the most vocal of the protesters and was singled out. A big burly undercover police officer named Joseph Johnson, well over six feet tall, came from behind me and seized me around the throat in a choke hold. You may have seen the picture on the front [page] of the *Daily Cal*. I was jerked up in the air, off my feet, and carried by the neck for about 30 feet. I was breathing only with extreme difficulty. And I can only remember thinking to myself, "Am I still breathing?"

Finally Johnson put me down and two other officers grabbed me as well. One of them, by the name of Finger, twisted my left arm behind my back, and as I tried yelling against the Marines' presence he twisted it more and more, pushing my arm up higher between my shoulder blades. I could also feel one of the cops grinding his knuckles into my shoulder. The intent and the effect was to cause me such extreme pain as to silence me. They were finally successful in doing this. Subsequent medical examination revealed that my throat had been internally bruised, ligaments in my left elbow were torn and the radius bone in my arm had been fractured.

I was the victim of a vicious assault by the UC police, but they have tried to turn me into the assailant. I have been charged with four separate crimes: battery on a police officer, resisting arrest, vandalism and disturbing the peace on the campus. If convicted of these charges, I face up to two years and nine months in prison. This is the classic cop tactic: beat somebody up—particularly if they are black or Hispanic—and then charge them with assault to cover it up.

I ask everyone here for their support in beating this frame-up. The label of being a "cop attacker" can have very dangerous, indeed deadly consequences. As a Hispanic, my life would be in jeopardy if I'm stopped by the police and their computer reports that I have a record as a "cop attacker." Many black and Hispanic youth have been murdered by the police for less.

The job of the campus police is supposedly to protect students from crime, to make sure coeds get to their dorms okay and to regulate traffic flow. But this is not the case. The cops have become a law unto themselves, an out-of-control killer elite SWAT squad. Ever since 1964, when students surrounded a police car in Sproul Plaza for many hours and began the Free Speech Movement, the police on campus have been arming themselves, determined that such a thing will never happen again.

We know they have batons, pistols and repeater shotguns in their squad cars. We want to know: what kinds of reserve arms do the UC police have? Do they have M-16s? Tear gas generators? Sniper rifles with night scopes? Submachine guns? And what are the police "contingency plans" to use these arms? Clearly the intent of the campus police is to kill students in the event of a new major student upsurge.

The mentality of the police was captured in a recent statement by UC police chief Bowles after the Moffitt Library police riot. Referring to his cops he said, "They've had training, but they've never really been there under fire." *Under fire!?* This outrageous remark is intended to serve the same purpose as the "anti-terrorist" barriers now surrounding Reagan's White House: to create a "State of Siege" mentality to justify repression of political protest. They want to bludgeon public opinion to facilitate their bloody counterrevolutionary policies in Central America and South Africa.

When 38 students were arrested last December for a protest against apartheid, the university and district attorney were the only ones to prosecute those charges among the over 1,000 anti-apartheid arrests nationally in the recent past. Many of those students have gone to jail. When the cops rioted in front of Moffitt Library a few weeks ago, clubbing demonstrators, reporters and bystanders alike, UC police chief Derry Bowles called for "nonviolence" training...for student protesters! The police subsequently announced that photographs and videotapes of that demonstration would be used to prosecute students who were present. As with me, here too the cops want to portray their victims as the aggressors.

Everyone knows that there is massive surveillance of student protests, yet in court, in response to discovery motions filed by my attorney, the police said they had no files on me, the Spartacus Youth League or the Spartacist League. This is stonewalling. What is the extent of this surveillance and other intelligence operations? And who has access to these files? Do the campus cops share their information with other police agencies, the FBI, the CIA, or military intelligence agencies? What is the extent of their infiltration of student groups? These are questions that need to be answered.

As Marxists, we understand that the UC police are part of the state apparatus whose job is repression on behalf of the capitalists. We do not believe the police can be fundamentally reformed under capitalist rule. But the UC police—whose job on campus is clearly not to protect students but to attack them with deadly force—should be dismantled. At the minimum, they should not be allowed to carry guns. The choke hold should be banned.

The cops who assaulted me, the cops who rioted and beat students in front of Moffitt Library, the cop who pulled his gun on the demonstrators in front of Moffitt, the cops who repeatedly ran their patrol car into the crowd that night should be fired. We urge the students who were hit by that car to file charges. There are savage hit-and-run laws in California—the cops in that car are guilty of assault with a deadly weapon.

The UC police are a bonapartist hit squad. They more and more resemble the crazed Manson family. All the victims of the vicious UC police attacks should unite. There should be maximum coordination between our defense efforts. And all who are opposed to these beasts run amok, the students and citizens of Berkeley should join together in massive protest against UC police violence. Thank you. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

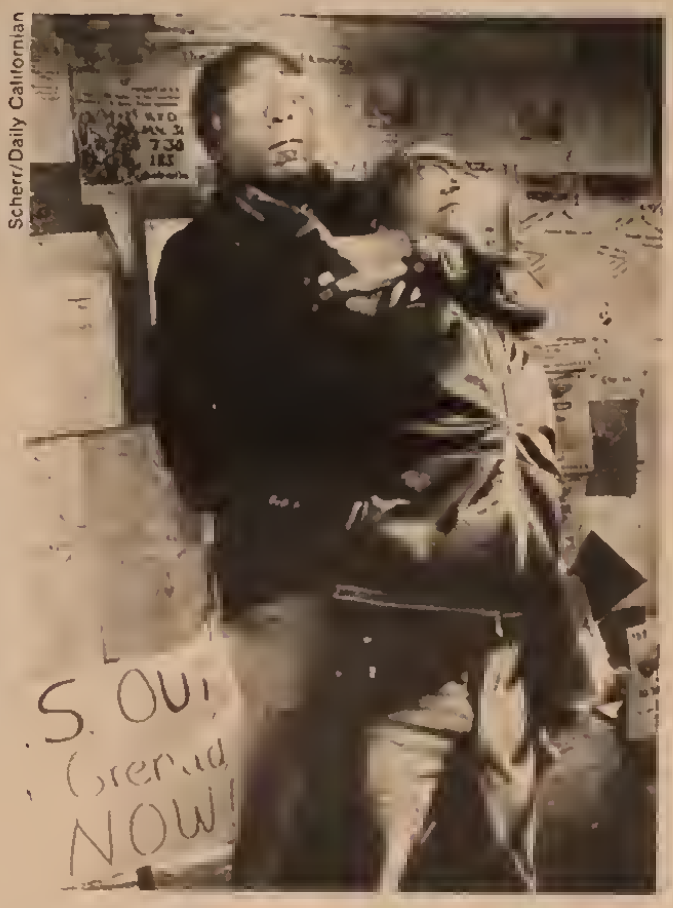
Drop the Charges Against Guillermo and the Anti-Apartheid Protesters!

Cops Bash Berkeley Students

BERKELEY—"All who are opposed to the beasts run amok, students and citizens of Berkeley should join together in massive protest against UC police violence," declared Guillermo Bermúdez at a rally on the University of California campus here March 28. A 22-year-old junior and Spartacus Youth League member at Berkeley, Bermúdez was viciously assaulted by the UC cops on January 29 after leading a spirited protest against Marine recruiters. As he recounts in the speech reprinted below, Bermúdez was subjected to a potentially lethal choke hold and then dragged off in a "hammer lock" which broke his arm. The front-page photo of this atrocity, featured in the *Daily Californian*, shocked the campus, and according to the *San Francisco Examiner* (19 March), "In response to the Bermudez incident, the Berkeley City Council banned the use of choke holds by 'any police force' in the city." But meanwhile the UC and its cops have cooked up lying criminal charges against our comrade, including "battery" on the cop who choked him. Guillermo faces up to nearly *three years* in prison for engaging in political protest on the Berkeley campus.

The cop assault and frame-up of Guillermo Bermúdez is the most violent and serious incident in a full-scale police rampage at UC, clearly aimed at quashing all student protest and clearly directed from on high. So extreme has been the UCPD crackdown that the liberal Berkeley Police Review Commission (PRC) and the none-too-radical Associated Students (ASUC) have issued public statements, scheduled and held public hearings and made the usual appeals to the powers that be to bring their goons to heel. Bermúdez and other SYL supporters attended the March 18 PRC hearing, in which over 48 victims, witnesses and opponents of the cop rampage testified in lurid detail about what's coming down in Berkeley today: clubs and drawn guns against student demonstrators.

The university and its PD ostentatiously boycotted the proceedings, save one spy who left shortly after Bermúdez' attorney Valerie West discovered him tape recording Bermúdez' testimony and exposed her discovery to the body. Said PRC member Osha Neumann: "After four hours, what I've heard is a powerful indictment of the UC police" (*Grassroots*, 27 March-9 April). No wonder UC "Reichschancellor" Heyman considered the hearing "decidedly not helpful." The following are some examples of the systematic harassment and violence meted out by the UCPD to anyone exercising the democratic right of protest:



SYL student leader Guillermo Bermúdez attacked by cop Joe "Choke Hold" Johnson. Deadly force, mass arrests, club-swinging rampages as Berkeley cops stomp student protests in Reagan's America.

• Steve Rosing, one of five of the 38 anti-apartheid protesters arrested during a peaceful sit-in on December 7 who are still facing trial, testified: "Before I knew it I was being choked.... I was being stretched by the neck, hurt, got dizzy, passed out a couple of times.... I was chokeholded twice—I'm told that three times and there's permanent brain damage."

• Laurie Berezin, another of the UC 38, testified that the cops first choked her then "picked me up by the inside skin of my arm," threatening to break it if she didn't "cooperate."

• Annie Haught, a participant in the February 27 "BART Alert" protest against U.S. war moves in Central America which was brutally attacked by club-wielding cops, reported that she was hit in the breast without any warning by a UC cop.

• Jeff Miller, present at the anti-Marine protest, testified that he was standing next to cop Johnson when he chokeholded Guillermo Bermúdez, and then as Miller and two others watched Bermúdez being dragged away, they were shoved by a Sergeant Finger. When they went to Sproul Hall to file a complaint, Finger arrogantly dared them to "take your best shot."

Local attorney Norris Lyle testified that while on campus on December 7 he saw five or six cops with guns drawn chase someone down, throw him to the ground and hold a gun to his head. When Lyle protested to D.A. Horner who was present, he was told that this was "usual UC procedure." This is not the only incidence of guns being drawn against demonstrators at Berkeley—a witness to the February 27 demonstration testified to the PRC that he saw a cop draw "a shiny metal object that he got from his hip" and aim it at protesters. At this same demonstration, a UC prowl car was used repetitively as a "cattle prod," deliberately ramming into the legs of marchers.

Clearly the UCPD believes itself to be and acts as if it were a law unto itself. About the only thing the UC cops haven't done is kill any students—yet. The Reaganites have made repression of political dissent the order of the day on the campuses. And they reserve a special place for Berkeley—the cradle of campus protest—in their version of Hitler's "stab-in-the-back" theory, i.e., how liberal dissent supposedly caused U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese. Reagan's attorney general Edwin Meese won his spurs in no small measure by his vicious prosecution of Berkeley Free Speech Movement activists, his role in the destruction of the Black Panther Party and in the repression of "People's Park," when as an Alameda County assistant D.A. he declared that anyone attending a political demonstration deserves to be shot. Now, UC and its campus gestapo want to make an "example" of a young Marxist, to show that opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive is *verboten*.

On February 19 over 150 students turned out for an SYL-initiated rally demanding charges be dropped against Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters. On March 22, hundreds of students participated in the traditional "Charter Day" student protest where the upcoming hearings of Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters were announced from the podium.

A veteran militant and IWU Executive Board member, Stan Gow, explained the importance of the Guillermo Bermúdez defense effort to the March 28 rally:

> "Labor has a lot to lose in the general strangling of academic freedom and of student protest. They had a lot to lose in the '50s, in McCarthyism, and they do now. And I have lived through both eras.... I'm a longshoreman now, but I went to UC back in the days of the post-World War II GI Bill.... Then Rule 17 ruled the campus. That meant no student politics allowed on campus. That was the time of McCarthyism triumphant, of the special University of California professors' loyalty oath.... The only way these special acts were overthrown was by the militant student struggle."

A mass, united-front mobilization of Berkeley students, Bay Area labor and black organizations is needed now to stop the cop rampage and the regimentation of youth. Drop the charges against Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters!

We print below Guillermo's speech at the March 28 rally, which reiterates the testimony he delivered to the Berkeley Police Review Commission.

Young Spartacus

Berkeley students protest cop attacks, South Africa apartheid, on "Charter Day," March 22.

Guillermo Bermúdez: "Marines Off Campus!"

My name is Guillermo Bermúdez. I am a junior at UC Berkeley and I am a member of the Spartacus Youth League chapter on campus. On January 29, the Marines set up a recruitment table on Sproul Plaza. Aware of the bloody terror the Marines have spread around the world, from the Philippines to Nicaragua, I and other members of the Spartacus Youth League approached other student groups and proposed a joint protest of the Marines' presence. A crowd of 75 to 100 students gathered

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 377 — 19 April 1985

From World War II to World War III

Reagan Forgets Death Camps, Forgives Nazis

APRIL 15—The New Right kept saying that after his re-election we would see the "real Reagan" unleashed. Reagan himself declared ominously on election night, "You ain't seen nothin' yet." And barely three months into his second term, the U.S. president is certainly acting like he's free of electoral—or any other—restraints.

In preparation for Reagan's upcoming visit to Europe, coinciding with the 40th anniversary of the Allied victory over Nazi Germany (V-E Day, May 8), he announced last month that he would *not* visit the site of the Dachau concentration camp in Germany because "the German people have very few alive that remember even the war." (This was in the same press conference where he alibied the recent massacre in South Africa, blaming the blacks for bringing it on themselves.) This brought forth a storm of protest against Reagan's bald attempt to bury the horror of the Holocaust. But now Reagan has decided he will "remember" World War II after all—by laying a wreath on a German soldier's grave at the Bitburg military cemetery, where both regular army and elite SS troops are buried. So everybody from Zionist Elie Wiesel to the American Legion are angrily pounding on the White House door.

It's not just "insensitivity" or "poor staff work," as one anonymous administration official tried to explain. It isn't a senile Reagan tripping over his

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Nicaragua: Smash Reagan's Terrorists!

The Contra/Nazi Connection

In February, Ronald Reagan proclaimed openly what has been administration policy on Nicaragua all along: "You can say we're trying to oust the Sandinistas," he told a press conference, unless of course they "say uncle." To carry out this threat, Washington has been running a 15,000-strong mercenary army based in neighboring Honduras. As the Congressional vote on whether to resume financing of the CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries ("contras") comes up next week, Reagan put the squeeze on wavering legislators by offering a temporary ceasefire in his "covert" war if the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government would "negotiate" with the terrorists who have been murdering, bombing and pillaging their country. Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto replied that this was no peace proposal but a virtual declaration of war: "What President Reagan has said is: 'You drop dead, or I will kill you'." Nicaraguan ambassador Tünnermann's answer to Washington's *diktat* was simple: "never!"

The White House has made no secret that if the "contra aid" bill is passed, they will use it as another "Gulf of Tonkin resolution"—a green light for direct U.S. military intervention against Sandinista Nicaragua. At the same time, Secretary of State Shultz threatens that if the $14 million *isn't* voted, "the stakes will be higher and the costs greater"—namely, again, direct U.S. intervention. Right now they're carrying out large-scale military "exercises" in Honduras to drive that point home. Seven thousand U.S. troops (including large numbers of Spanish-speaking soldiers from the Texas National Guard) are participating in the Big Pine III maneuvers. According to Managua's *El Nuevo Diario* (8 April), the whole southern part of Honduras has been evacuated, turned into a war zone for a "mock tank battle" involving 130 M-60 and British Scorpion tanks along with 47 armored vehicles. This exercise is to be followed up by the Universal Trek maneuver, with another 4,000 U.S. troops landing on the Caribbean coast of Honduras.

U.S. Bloody Hands Off Central America!

With Managua in the gunsights, Yankee tanks stage practice landing in Honduras. Barricada

Reagan's cynical squeeze play (a rerun of his ploy that got the MX first-strike missile funding passed) shows that he has taken the measure of the pusillanimous Democratic "opposition." On April 19-22, the anti-Reagan popular front will assemble in Washington, D.C., San Francisco and other cities for four days of "protest and witness" aimed at pressuring Congressional liberals. But even if after all their lobbying Congress turns down the administration request it will hardly end the flow of guns and dollars to the contras. Not only has U.S. aid been rerouted through allies and puppets like Israel and El Salvador, not only has Congress continued to send money through other channels (more than $7.5 million in "humanitarian assistance" for "Nicaraguan refugees" in Honduras last year, for instance), but a whole network of "private" mercenary aid has sprung up leading to . . . the Contra/Nazi Connection.

Rats Flee the Bunker

They ran like rats from Somoza's Bunker in Managua, fearful of the advance of the Sandinista-led popular insurrection that was about to topple one of the most ruthless dynasties of the Americas. First "Tacho" Somoza himself, then the officers of his despised mercenary National Guard, fled for their lives before the just rage of the Nicaraguan masses. *Time* correspondent Bernard Diederich, in his book *Somoza* (1981), quoted one young Guardsman: "It's not the guerrillas I'm afraid of but the people. I know they hate us and they could overwhelm us." In scenes reminiscent of the U.S.' helter-skelter withdrawal from Saigon, they stripped off their uniforms, dropped

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Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

lines. He wants to "let bygones be bygones" with his West German allies so he can take up where Hitler left off in his anti-Communist crusade to smash the Soviet Union. Reagan is embarking on a new Operation Barbarossa, to be fought this time with nuclear weapons rather than Panzer divisions. He wants to "forget" the World War II alliances in order to shore up his axis for World War III, from South Africa to West Germany. As White House press spokesman Larry Speakes explained, "The President will, in his visit, stress the solidarity of the Western alliance" (*New York Times*, 12 April).

Thus while Reagan was planning to bypass Dachau for a family reunion in Bitburg, Washington made a point of announcing a boycott of this month's anniversary gathering of U.S. and Soviet veterans on the Elbe river, where the two victorious powers met on 25 April 1945. This snub was the administration's response to the shooting of U.S. Major Arthur Nicholson, who the Pentagon now admits was caught red-handed snapping pictures inside the open window of a tank shed belonging to a regiment of the Soviet Second Guards Army at a base near Ludwigslust in East Germany. Reagan is also attending a European "summit" to tell his allies to forget their complaints about the dollar and instead dream of Star Wars against the Soviets.

Nazi genocide—not only of six million Jews, but also eleven million other *Untermenschen* ("inferior peoples"), and the 20 million Soviet citizens who died in the war—these for Reagan are something best forgotten. At last June's D-Day ceremony at Normandy, Reagan moaned that, "Some liberated countries were lost"—i.e., "lost" to the imperialists, because the Soviet Red Army crushed Hitler's army and liberated Eastern Europe from capitalism, albeit in a bureaucratic manner. So now the U.S. is rebuilding an anti-Soviet alliance with the West German state which asserts its legal continuity with Nazi Germany—even claiming sovereignty over Germany's 1937 borders, thus including large areas today in Poland and the USSR.

Are the horrors of the Nazi fascists so easily forgotten? The mass executions, the gas chambers, the bodies piled high of men and women and children, the grisly tortures, the "medical" experiments, the walking skeletons who, somehow surviving, looked out through the barbed wire at the Allied troops when the camps were liberated? These things must never be forgotten! And Reagan's obscene dismissal of the Holocaust victims only emphasizes that it would be the height of hypocrisy for him to shed a tear for the cameras at Dachau.

East German commemoration on 40th anniversary of liberation of Buchenwald Nazi concentration camp. Reagan wants to forget Holocaust, but the working class will remember.

As a spokesman for a Holocaust survivors' group wrote in protest: "many of the killers of Treblinka, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau and all the other death camps were in their 20's and 30's" during the war (*New York Times*, 30 March). How many of them are alive and well in Munich and Washington, continuing their anti-Soviet crusade on the payroll of the CIA's Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe? And from ex-Deutschebank president and Vatican financial adviser Hermann Abs to the Flick family empire which has financed all the major parties of the Bonn regime, the West German ruling class is riddled with ex-Nazis. (Unlike Reagan, however, they may have learned something about war against the Soviet Union, and are reluctant to have the next war carried out over their country.) German chancellor Kohl indicated his enthusiasm for the anti-Soviet campaign by announcing that he will speak this June to the fascistic revanchist Silesian exiles, under the slogan "40 years of expulsion—Silesia remains our future in a Europe of free peoples." (Silesia is Polish.)

Reagan & Co. deeply wish that World War II had turned out differently—namely they wish Hitler had broken the power of the Soviet Union. It's not just a kinky Reaganite idea, either. The day after Hitler invaded the USSR in June 1941, then-Senator Harry Truman said that "if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and in that way let them kill as many as possible." And in 1945 General Patton wanted to keep heading East to finish off the "Russkies" and "commie sons of bitches." (It was only the might of the Red Army that deterred him.) So today we have a nut in the White House who's slightly more deranged than Hitler during his last days in the Bunker, talking of financing a trillion-dollar war drive by repossessing welfare Cadillacs, fantasizing about conquering the Soviet "Evil Empire" with a sci-fi space shield without losing a single white middle-class American.

The Social Democrats and Stalinists allowed the Nazis to come to power by demobilizing the working class and sabotaging Trotsky's call for united working-class action against fascism. Then, to evade their own responsibility they peddled the line of "collective guilt." Marxists reject this lie which blames the German masses for the crimes of their rulers. And we do not forget the crimes of our "own" imperialists—from the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo to the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the carpetbombing of Indochina. Roosevelt, who had the Japanese Americans hauled off to detention camps, refused to open America's borders to any but a token number of Jews fleeing the Holocaust (nor did the Zionists oppose FDR on this, because they wanted European Jews forced to go to Palestine). It is America's ally, the Israeli Zionists, who today talk and think in the racial terms learned from the Nazis, as in the Israeli "purification" campaign in Lebanon.

The Second World War between the major capitalist powers was *not* a "war for democracy" as the liberals and Stalinists claimed, but an imperialist war to redivide the world, as demonstrated by the reoccupation of the Western colonies at the end of the war. But the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism was a *progressive war*. The Red Army *smashed the Nazi war machine*, not only saving the gains of the October Revolution and the Soviet peoples from the Nazi jackboot, but also liberating all of Eastern Europe from the landlord/capitalist regimes and their various homegrown goose-stepping brownshirts, blackshirts, greenshirts, etc. Now Reagan, aiming to overturn the historic gains of collectivized property forms and reinstitute capitalist exploitation, threatens to unleash the final *Götterdämmerung* (twilight of the gods)... unless the world proletariat grabs the nuclear trigger from the imperialists before it is too late. ■

TROTSKY

Solidarity With Indochinese Revolution

In April 1947 the Trotskyist Fourth International issued an appeal denouncing the participation of the French Stalinists in a popular-front government engaged in the colonial reconquest of Indochina, and demanding international working-class solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Indochinese toilers for national emancipation and social revolution.

LENIN

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International proclaims its complete solidarity with the colonial peoples struggling to shake off the century-old tyrannic yoke of French imperialism.... The Indo-Chinese section of the Fourth International, on the morrow of the country's "Liberation" and at the very beginning of the Indo-Chinese revolution, was deprived by the criminal hands of Stalin's GPU of many of its leading elements, among them the heroic figure of comrade Ta-Thu-Thau....

The International Executive Committee...calls upon the French section of the Fourth International to continue its struggle for the victory of the Viet Nam people and for the defeat of the French capitalists....

It calls upon all workers' organizations to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle of the Indo-Chinese and colonial masses and to boycott the production and transportation of war material to the imperialist armies.

—"Against the War in Indo-China!" *Fourth International* (June 1947)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 377 **19 April 1985**

Spartacist Forums

Striking Civil Liberties Victory in Reagan's America

MARXISTS VS. FBI REPRESSION

FBI forced to admit: Marxists are not terrorists! Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel, will speak on the strategy behind the SL lawsuit against the FBI's sinister attempt to brand Marxists, black and labor activists and other political opponents as terrorists—the first successful legal challenge to the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

- **For Class-Struggle, Anti-Sectarian Defense Against Government Repression—Fight the New McCarthyism!**
- **For Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan and Nazis!**
- **A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!**
- **How to Defend Democratic, Civil and Labor Rights—A Marxist View on Law, the State and Revolution**

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel
Special Guest Speaker at NYC forum: Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney

NEW YORK CITY

Friday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.

Harkness Theater, Butler Library, Columbia University
(Take IRT #1 to 116 Street & Broadway)

For more information, (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Friday, May 10, 7:30 p.m.
Location to be announced

For more information (415) 863-6963

BERKELEY

Saturday, May 11, 7:30 p.m.
Boalt Hall, Room 110
University of California

For more information (415) 835-1535

This forum commemorates Toni Randell (1943-1982), founding secretary of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League

WORKERS VANGUARD

SWEEPS LEFT PRESS AWARDS

"The craziest, most lively, most humorous, most nasty, most intelligent and most pig-headed of the left sectarian organs." —"Emma" Awards, WBAI, 1 April

At midnight on April 1, the First Annual "Emma" Awards for the American left press were announced on New York City's WBAI-FM, an affiliate of the Pacifica Radio group. Named after the anarchist Emma Goldman, the awards (for material published in 1984) were presented by WBAI talk show host Lenny Lopate and social-democratic journalist Dennis King, who said they "frankly concede they are acting on their own." *Workers Vanguard*, the biweekly organ of the Spartacist League, was one of a dozen papers considered, and frankly, we swept the awards (see below). Overall, King and Lopate described *WV* as "the craziest, most lively, most humorous, most nasty, most intelligent and most pig-headed of the left sectarian organs," King added.

> "It is an amazing little publication. I know even people who violently disagree with everything it says, read it with fascination because it is so unpredictable and weird, although it can get quite vicious at times."

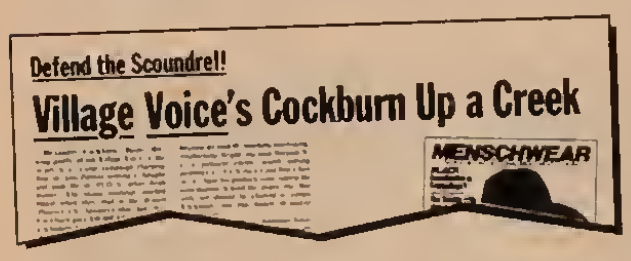
We found other of their comments apt as well. Runners-up for "Most Boring, Least Inspired Newspaper" award were the SWP's *Militant* and *Workers World*, but the prize had to go to the Communist Party's *Daily World*, said King, because "they actually have resources" and still it is stultified. "It is the product of a little party bureaucracy that is dry as dust, and the paper reflects it." The only exception, they said, was the occasional TASS dispatch. "Most Tiresome Obsession" went, of course, to the Workers League's *Bulletin* for "Who Killed Tom Henehan?" King and Lopate got the rad-lib *Guardian*'s number, which poses as "the *Time* magazine of the left" and essentially rewrites from the *New York Times*.

King and Lopate are sure to be getting an earful from most of their rad-lib friends about the awards program: the SL's communist politics and polemical style have made us not exactly beloved in this milieu. Those with anti-Spartacist axes to grind—like WBAI's own John Fisk, who has made something of a career out of calling us "FBI agents" over the airwaves—must be wondering whether a "Trotskyite fifth column" lurks under the beds over there at the radio station.

Of course we're delighted with the kudos. We noticed, though, that what the WBAI pundits liked about our paper was the social commentary and features, while avoiding the hard politics. No winner for "investigative journalism"? Our continuing investigation of Ronald Reagan's murderous KAL 007 anti-Soviet provocation, both the 1983 articles collected in a Spartacist pamphlet and our several articles last year, beat the *Nation*'s exposé by a full year, put together a wide range of military-technical data and drew the *political* lessons. The entire American bourgeois press and much of the left (most despicably the *Guardian*) bought Reagan's attack on the Soviet "evil empire." *Workers Vanguard* published the TASS dispatches on the KAL 007 affair, while the "détente"-deluded hacks of the *Daily World* ran the shameful headline, "Soviets Deny Downing Plane."

We're also proud of our front-page article, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" in March 1984, which brought lessons from the Wobblies and the CIO struggle for industrial unionism to today's labor battles. "Hardball" was reprinted as a supplement distributed to more than 100,000 American workers, many of them involved in bitter class struggles, from copper miners in Morenci, Arizona to auto workers in Toledo and oil workers in the Virgin Islands. Finally, we would like to mention the painstakingly compiled index to *WV*, published annually in the last issue of the year and included in the bound volumes, which enables us to serve, as Lenin said communists should, as the memory of the working class.

"Most Gallant Defense of an Ideological Opponent" Award

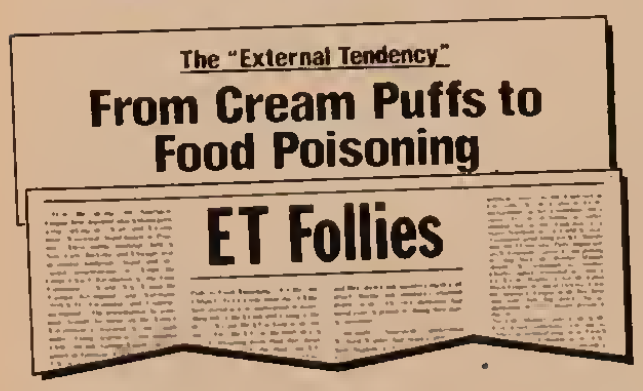

Defend the Scoundrel!

Village Voice's Cockburn Up a Creek

MENSCHWEAR

When left-wing columnist Alexander Cockburn was fired by the *Village Voice*, Dennis King said, *Workers Vanguard* "wrote an article that was sort of defending Cockburn, but in an ironic sort of way. After all, he had been a sort of ideological opponent of theirs. But they did it in a way where they perfectly mimicked Cockburn's style. It was almost like Cockburn himself had written the article. Now I tell you, if I was a guy who just lost my job like that, and if I picked up a paper from a little group that had been attacking me for years and they had done me the tribute—somebody must have spent days sitting there to figure out how to perfectly imitate his style—if somebody had done that, I think I would have felt a little better about getting fired."

"Most Irrelevant Factional Bullshit" Award


The "External Tendency"

From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning

ET Follies

"There are long and turgid accounts of a battle between the Spart loyalists and the expelled faction called the External Tendency. A lot of polemical skill and passion are expended on points that only a few dozen Spart activists alone among the entire American public could hope to understand." For WBAI, this was supposed to be a "negative award," but we take it as a compliment. How many of Lenin's polemics could you say the same thing about? We figured we were a shoo-in for the "most sectarian" award from the rad-libs; in fact, if we didn't get it we'd be worried. Taking on the arguments and actions of political opponents, no matter how minuscule, is elementary political hygiene. Stalin, of course, preferred other methods. By the way, the ET wasn't expelled, they quit.

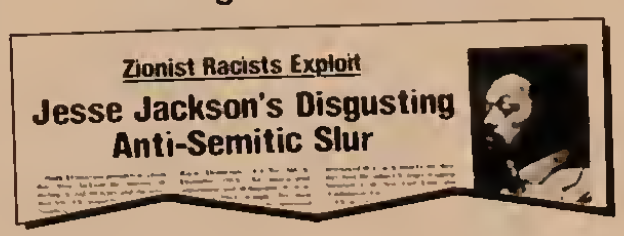
"Best News Coverage of a Political Activity" or "Gee, Guys, Look at Us, Aren't We Great" Award

Racist Confederate Banner Won't Rise Again in San Francisco!

We Tore Down The Flag of Slavery!

When Spartacist Richard Bradley twice tore down the Confederate flag from an SF flagpole, "that was a good thing to do," but "one article's enough from this, guys." Actually, we also put up the Fort Sumter Union flag under which the Civil War, the second American revolution, was fought. And mayor Dianne Feinstein didn't just "give up." We had to fight to get our day in court over three sets of criminal charges. Besides, what "Dixie Dianne" did was really stupid, and when you get a chance like that you've got to run with it.

"Most Contradictory Headline" or "Having Your Cake and Eating It Too" Award


Zionist Racists Exploit

Jesse Jackson's Disgusting Anti-Semitic Slur

"Actually, there's an article in that headline," said the WBAI commentator. Quite right. And not a word more than necessary to express the Marxist position on this all-sides-sordid affair.

"Best News Commentary" Award

Dirty Hypocrites Mug Miss America

Viva Vanessa!

Rad-Lib Nonsense Over Skulls From South Africa

Anti-Evolution=Racism

ANCESTORS

Our writing was described as "brilliant, witty, imaginative, scurrilous and frequently/occasionally profound." Host Lenny Lopate said, "*Workers Vanguard* of all of these newspapers is probably the most popular among non-party members because it's fun to read. I know people at the *Village Voice* and other places who read it for fun," Dennis King added, "one person will buy an issue of the *Workers Vanguard* and they'll pass it around. So I'd imagine the circulation of it is fairly significant. I think the thing about that paper is that they have some coverage, some commentaries on domestic events that sometimes are really very good and show surprising insight."

The award cites our article on the "Ancestors" exhibit at the NYC Museum of Natural History: "The Spartacists wrote a very lively and very entertaining analysis in which they put forward their unique view in a really creative way.... They were for displaying the skulls. They say science is science and politics shouldn't interfere into science."

Also cited was our article defending the first black Miss America, Vanessa Williams, against the perverted hypocrites who stole her crown. They quoted from *WV* that the "vindictive act in stripping Miss America of her crown is anti-sex, anti-woman and anti-black. It's too bad Miss Williams didn't decide to tough it out and refuse to resign. Those *Penthouse* pictures do a lot more for her and American womanhood than anything that's happened in Atlantic City." *WV*, they said, "cut through to the heart of the issue."■

Koch's D.A. Morgenthau: He's Gross, Too

On March 27 a grand jury indicted Bernhard Goetz, the white NYC subway rider who shot four black youths trying to shake him down on the IRT No. 2 train last December. The charge: four counts of attempted murder, assault and possession of an unlicensed gun. Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau said the indictment showed, "We don't have summary justice.... I think the right thing has been done." Funny about that. Two months ago when an earlier grand jury impaneled by Morgenthau did not indict the subway shootist for anything but the gun-possession rap, Morgenthau praised that jury as "conscientious." In fact, in both cases Morgenthau got what he wanted. He almost always does. Morgenthau is the kingpin of the criminal "justice" system in Koch's New York.

Koch and Morgenthau have been running this city together for most of the past decade, and in "Fear City" today almost everybody is afraid of...the cops. Nobody is safe: a boozed-up maniac police sergeant runs down an elderly doctor on posh Park Avenue; an off-duty cop beats up a Hispanic woman who dared to enter an abortion clinic, then slaps her in jail where she is held for more than 24 hours and denied medical attention. Under pressure for even a token prosecution in the Upper East Side hit-and-run Morgenthau disingenuously complains about the cops' "conspiracy of silence." But everybody knows that the Mafia/cop code of *omertà* extends right to the top. The killer cops act like they're above the law, and the D.A. is there to ensure that they can kill with impunity.

Both Koch and Morgenthau are up for re-election this fall, and as the *Daily News* headlined, "Eddie Loves Morgy." Once again they're playing up racist "crime-in-the-streets" frenzy and trying to get the heat off the cops. Morgenthau is known as a cops' D.A. When Patrolmen's Benevolent Association chief Phil Caruso called out a mob of 10,000 armed NYC police to surround the Bronx courthouse February 7, threatening a cop revolt against the slap on the wrist they gave the murderous cop Stephen Sullivan who blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, Caruso pointedly excluded the Manhattan D.A. from his list of targets. (Koch & Co. got the message. On April 12 a compliant Bronx judge threw out all charges against killer cop Sullivan.)

In the Goetz affair, Morgenthau has been manipulating the grand jury from the beginning. First he wouldn't put any of the four black youth on the stand, refusing to grant them immunity from prosecution. But when they decided to "get Goetz" the D.A.'s office granted immunity after all. *Village Voice* reporter Stanley Crouch contrasted the kid-glove treatment initially given Bernhard to what would happen if a black person had successfully fought off a lynch mob:

> "I doubt that if a black man, say bus driver Willie Turks, had shot those white guys who had attacked and killed him then skedaddled home, the Queens police would have left a polite note under Turk's door requesting that he come in for questioning as the Manhattan division did in the Goetz case."
>
> —*Village Voice*, 12 March

When Morgenthau decided to go for a conviction, suddenly the kid gloves came off. Morgenthau planted in the press the story that after his first four shots Goetz said to one of the black youth, "You don't look so bad, here's another one," and fired at him a second time. This comes from Goetz's videotaped statement to the New Hampshire police that was given short shrift in the first grand jury. "'I am the one responsible for making that statement public,' said Mr. Morgenthau smiling," reported the *New York Times* (24 March). The article noted, "Mr. Morgenthau...has a masterly talent for dealing with the press."

So what happened to cause the turnaround on Goetz between January and March? Everyone knows grand juries are the D.A.'s rubber stamp. As a chief New York state appeals court judge put it, prosecutors can manipulate a grand jury even into "indicting a ham sandwich." And this D.A. adroitly manipulates public opinion as well as he does grand juries. At first Koch and Morgenthau hoped the Goetz affair would just go away. There was an implicit deal: let Goetz off the hook, except for the crime of crimes for the bourgeoisie—gun possession—so long as he keeps his mouth shut. Instead Goetz got a couple of publicity-hound lawyers, Joseph Kelner and Barry Slotnik, who want to use the case to whip up racist sentiment for "stronger control over crime." And Goetz began speaking out against gun control and for the right of self-defense, granting interviews right and left.

Meanwhile, something had to be done to defuse the outrage over the recurrent police murders and assuage his liberal establishment cronies. So they decided to go after Goetz precisely because he's not a cop. Above all, they are protecting the state monopoly of armed force. This is what Morgenthau means when he says the indictment of Goetz shows "you can't take the law into your own hands." As for the forces that have been fanning the flames of racist vigilantism, notably Rupert Murdoch's *Post*, they would love a show trial to make Goetz into the Gerry Cooney of the subways, the "great white hope" of New York. And they may get it.

Washington/NY Times

Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau: "justice" for the rich and cops.

They're trying to whip up "law and order" backlash in Reagan's America.

Morgenthau's the One

Koch and Morgenthau are doing some fancy footwork with Goetz, but they are really up against it in the case of Koch's coroner, Elliot Gross. With no less than *five* separate inquiries now in process, the case of the cadaver-switching, eyeball-gouging "Dr. Gross the Ghoul" has become New York's newest growth industry. There are literally hundreds of people involved in some aspect of the city, state or federal investigations. The NYC medical examiner's handling of the Bumpurs and Stewart cases were already notorious. But a four-part exposé by *New York Times* reporter Philip Shenon in January revealed cases that are, if anything, even more monstrous, if only for their utterly gratuitous barbarity, such as that of library worker Allen Shapiro, hideously abused and murdered by his "attendants" at Manhattan Psychiatric Center in 1979. Not only do the mountains of evidence of Gross' staggering malfeasance, corruption and criminal cover-ups grow daily, but all the vectors point straight to Morgenthau.

Daily News NY Times

Eleanor Bumpurs (left) and Michael Stewart, murdered by NYPD. With racist killer cops on the loose, no one is safe.

As we wrote when the Gross affair first broke, "The Gross case is just lifting the lid of the can of worms that is the Koch administration: violence, lies, frame-ups, murder and total corruption." In the Stewart case, even though (it's now revealed) at least *40 witnesses* saw the 11 transit cops bludgeon and kick Stewart during and after his arrest, even though he arrived at Bellevue Hospital hog-tied and handcuffed with more than 60 wounds on his body, and despite the fact that Gross secretly snuck into the morgue and gouged out Stewart's eyes to remove evidence of strangulation, Morgenthau dragged out the first grand jury investigation for almost a year hoping to defuse public outrage, withholding key evidence from investigators and jurors. When a courageous grand juror, schoolteacher Ronald Fields, finally went out and did what he was supposed to do, namely, investigate, Morgenthau had the indictments thrown out on the grounds the jury was "tainted."

Morgenthau was also the prime mover in the 1979 firing of Michael Baden, Gross' predecessor as chief medical examiner. The D.A. led a campaign complaining about Baden's "lack of cooperation" (i.e., he told the truth) in the choke-hold murder of black community leader Arthur Miller in 1978, and lambasting Baden for going public with the juicy facts around the death of former governor Nelson Rockefeller. That the Butcher of Attica ordered the massacre of scores of prisoners was no crime in Morgenthau's eyes, but frankly stating the billionaire-hanker-politician died during sexual intercourse, and with someone other than his wife, is breaking the "gentleman's agreement." Baden wouldn't cover up, so they got someone who would. The *New York Times* reported (31 January):

> "If there had been any doubt about who in the law-enforcement community cast the longest shadow, it was resolved by Mayor Koch's decision to remove Dr. Michael M. Baden from a position that had been considered a lifetime appointment.
>
> "Alone among the five district attorneys, Robert M. Morgenthau of Manhattan raised objections to Dr. Baden's judgment and temperament.... His opposition was pivotal."

The key to the career of Robert M. Morgenthau has been knowing and taking care of all the "best people." After being disappointed in a 1962 bid for New York governor, liberal Democrat Morgenthau has traded on his "distinguished family" ties (his father was FDR's secretary of the treasury) to build his "law enforcement" empire. A *New York Times* (24 March) article noted that when Morgenthau appeared as a character witness for Israeli mass-murdering General Sharon in his libel suit against *Time* magazine, the judge hearing the case, Abraham Sofaer, was a former Morgenthau assistant D.A. So was the judge hearing the General Westmoreland vs. CBS libel suit down the corridor, nine other federal judges in New York, a former police commissioner, and Congressman Charles Rangel:

> "All appear in a slim blue book as members of the Robert M. Morgenthau Association, a list that the district attorney keeps in the top right-hand drawer of his desk. The group of 250 former assistants meets twice a year....
>
> "His network of friends extends far beyond his district of Manhattan. John F. and Robert Kennedy were boyhood friends. In state politics it includes Governor Cuomo, whose son, Andrew, works for Mr. Morgenthau."

For Robert Morgenthau, "justice" is only for the rich and the cops. Everyone in the Social Register is off limits, and it's open season on the rest of the population. But in this election year the bourgeoisie is worried that the cops' wanton murder of the black citizenry has reached a point it threatens to touch off an explosion. Already in 1983 angry blacks drove Koch out of the Harlem police brutality hearings. The Harlem black weekly *Amsterdam News* (9 March) noted:

> "Gross, as all too many others in the past, 'followed orders.'... As is endemic in matters that affect institutions such as these, somebody's head will roll. It

Rape and Bourgeois Injustice

In 1977 a teen-age girl's testimony sent an Illinois man to prison on a rape conviction; now, after he's served six years of a 25 to 50 year term, she's come forward to say he's innocent—but shockingly, the judge won't accept her testimony and the accused man, Gary Dotson, is back behind bars. The sensational case has attracted national attention, as it glaringly exposes the cruel contradictions and injustices of this bourgeois legal system, particularly as it intersects the explosive issue of sex.

Cathleen Crowell Webb explained she had panicked when she thought she was pregnant after sleeping with her boyfriend. She said she framed Dotson, a total stranger whom she'd picked out of a police photo file, after having scratched and bruised herself to make it look real. But when she retracted her original testimony before Illinois judge Richard L. Samuels, who'd presided over the original trial, he refused to believe her. After letting Dotson out for a week on bond, the judge slapped him back in Joliet state prison to finish his sentence on April 11, as Webb burst into tears, screaming "He's innocent!"

The judge says he relied on the legal precedent that no conviction has ever been overturned in Illinois because testimony was recanted. But in this case the recantation was made by the *only* eyewitness and accuser! Particularly in cases of rape, this is an explosive issue. Rape used to be the only felony for which the uncorroborated testimony of the victim was insufficient. Recent changes in the rules have made it easier for women to prosecute; they have also made it easier for the courts and cops to railroad the accused.

Everyone has an ax to grind in rape cases. For this bourgeois society the rape laws represent a moral code based on the institution of the nuclear family, that sees the "violation" of a woman as damaging her value as a "pure" transmission belt for the inheritance of capitalist property. Women who are raped are still regarded as having been defiled and shamed, adding to the legitimate fury of women seeking justice. Yet for many feminists, this spills over into the false assertion that the violent crime of rape is simply the logical continuum of male sexuality. Rape generates fear and hysteria—it is the classic cry of the lynch mob hunting down blacks in the South. And it is the most easily fabricated of felonies, because rape transforms what is normally an act of consensual sexual pleasure into a violent, degrading assault.

Cathleen Webb has insisted on taking a lie detector test, undergoing trial for perjury, being judged by a "jury of her peers," in order to prove her story and free the man she sent to prison six years ago. "I was a good liar and I was a good actress," she said, even making up details about the car she claimed she was raped in, because she was terrified, and could not face the shame of being an unwed pregnant teenager. It's utterly believable that all the enforced guilt and ignorance about sex pounded into young people so traumatized her that she preferred to mutilate herself, lie and frame up a stranger, rather than having people in her conservative Midwest home town find out she'd been having sex with her boyfriend.

The "reformed" rape laws were supposed to undercut the accused's defense that the woman was simply lying—yet the searing irony of this case is that the judge is insisting that the woman is *now* lying, only this time about the innocence of the man she accused. Under this set-up, there's no chance in hell an innocent man, once convicted, can *ever* get out. Here we have the perfect poisonous intersection of this bourgeois order's sick hypocrisy regarding sex and its legal system's utter inability to deal equitably with rape: a man is still rotting in prison year after year and a woman's credibility is being torn to shreds again—her testimony was enough to convict him, but now it isn't good enough to free him. Truly, as we wrote in *Young Spartacus* (No. 29, February 1975): "Within the confines of capitalist society and through the 'justice' of the bourgeois state, the search for an equitable administration of justice for the crime of rape is caught in a maze with no exit." ■

AP

Judge sent Gary Dotson back to jail; his accuser says, "He's innocent!"

will likely be Gross. Morgenthau is not too far behind, but he is a patrician ... of that social genre that must be protected."

"Law and Order" Backlash

Above all, they are protecting the bourgeois state's monopoly of armed force. To critics worrying about the escalating costs of beefing up the repressive apparatus, New York's "law and order" Senator D'Amato got up at the *New York Post*'s media event forum on "Crime: Fighting Back" March 14, saying it could all be done on the cheap: "We don't have to build Taj Mahals for prisons. Let the private sector come in and do it. And there are such things called prison farms, and you can electrify the fences." Hell, the ball and chain is one of the most cost-effective devices around. And concentration camps are pretty cheap too. One outraged liberal, Judge Burton Roberts, shot back:

> "If you want 100 percent law-and-order, then let's do away with the procedural safeguards that have taken hundreds of years to establish, let's do away with due process. Hitler with Mussolini not only made the trains run on time, their criminal justice system operated most effectively and most efficiently."

But Koch has already gone D'Amato one better, proposing to set up a special subway court right on the platform, open 24 hours a day. He wants to nab the "perps," hook 'em and ship 'em off to Rikers Island in one swoop. That'll really make the A train run on time!

As poverty and hunger continue to spread among the ghetto population in Reagan's America, so has lumpen criminality. Now right-wing forces are trying to cash in on this by whipping up a racist "law and order" onslaught. *Time* (8 April) magazine seized upon the Goetz case, advertising a cover story on "The Backlash Man," saying "Bernhard Goetz has become a symbol of a new hard-line attitude against crime." Goetz "Thugbuster" T-shirts crop up in the same atmosphere which has seen the proliferation of "crime stoppers" and other vigilante organizations across the country, they note. The Reaganite "crime-busting" package is a sweeping attack on legal rights, from gutting the "Miranda ruling" (where suspects are to be informed of their right to remain silent and have a lawyer) to allowing searches without warrants and detention without charge. And in decision after decision the Supreme Court has buried the Bill of Rights and sanctioned police state measures. The Democrats are also in on the act: liberal Senator Edward Kennedy was a leading sponsor of the omnibus federal crime bill which among other measures has introduced pre-trial detention of "dangerous" defendants.

With the numerous contradictions in the Goetz case, it is interesting to note that the main actors *all* share a common faith in Robert M. Morgenthau. Racist Ed Koch says, "I have implicit faith in Bob Morgenthau's judgment." Liberal William Kunstler, lawyer for Darnel Cabey, the black youth paralyzed with a severed spinal cord as a result of the shooting, says Morgenthau was acting as a "responsive public official" in calling for the second grand jury when he got the word from "a great many other people whom he respects, people in institutions" (read: Mario Cuomo's office). And Goetz himself says he's got no hard feelings for Morgenthau over the indictment: "Don't blame him, he is doing his job."

Morgenthau is doing his job all right, just as killer cop Sullivan was doing his, upholding the racist capitalist order that means Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs will die and their killers walk free. We aim to change all that. ■

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Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs!

Killer Cop on the Loose Again

Stephen Sullivan—the NYPD shotgun executioner of black, 67-year-old Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs—is armed, back on the streets and ready to kill again. On April 12, acting State Supreme Court judge Vincent A. Vitale threw out a grand jury's second-degree manslaughter indictment of the killer cop as "legally insufficient." Instead of a slap on the wrist, Vitale gave Sullivan a slap on the back. It's officially sanctioned racist murder. New York's racist pig mayor Ed Koch, who denounced the grand jury for charging Sullivan with anything at all, crowed "All's well that ends well" when he heard Sullivan was cleared. Killer cop Sullivan told reporters, "I'd do the exact same thing again."

Sullivan was the triggerman on the SWAT-like "Emergency Service" team which kicked in the door to Mrs. Bumpurs' public housing apartment last October 29. She owed $387.40 in back rent and the city ordered her out. The police, equipped with shotguns, mace, bulletproof vests and gas masks, swarmed at her with riot shields and "restraining bars." The first blast from Sullivan's 12-gauge blew away the old woman's hand which the cops say held a knife. *Then* Sullivan fired the second, fatal round at her chest. Bronx district attorney Mario Merola says he's going to appeal Vitale's ruling, but the cops made Merola bow before (after he compared Sullivan's murderous eviction squad to Nazi killers who were also "following guidelines").

Benjamin Ward, Koch's black front man police commissioner, has stated repeatedly that the killing was "within departmental guidelines." And on February 7, *10,000* armed cops surrounded the Bronx Supreme Court building demanding the overturn of Sullivan's indictment—a sinister show of force against any civilian control over their guns. (As a hideous added touch, the cops' Emerald Society selected Sullivan as their honorary marshal for the St. Patrick's Day parade.) Thus the stage was set for the Koch-appointed, compliant judge Vitale (his mob-connected father was kicked off the bench in 1930) to sic Sullivan on the New York City populace once again.

While Sullivan and his fellow nightriders in blue were celebrating, Mrs. Bumpurs' daughter Mary stated: "The judge and the police department are saying, 'If you're poor, if you're black, then there's no justice'." That is the bitter truth. Racist killers like Sullivan should be locked up for life and the Emergency Service death squad abolished. What's needed is a massive mobilization of labor and blacks to stop Koch's mad-dog cossacks and bring down the whole racist, capitalist system. The working class in power will neither forgive nor forget the murderers of Eleanor Bumpurs.

Zionists Kidnap 1,100

Israel's Scorched Earth Terror in Lebanon

It was a "population transfer" which had to remind you of the Nazis. On April 2 the Israeli army forcibly removed 1,100 men and teen-age boys, primarily Shi'ite Arabs, from the notorious south Lebanon Ansar concentration camp and torture chamber, and deported them to "somewhere" in Israel. Ansar's inmates were handcuffed and loaded onto specially prepared buses reminiscent of the Nazi *Sonderzüge* (special trains) used to deport Jews, Slavs, gypsies and other Holocaust victims to the so-called "resettlement" or death camps. An Israeli communiqué claimed detention in Israel would be "temporary." This "temporary solution" is likely to be the "final solution" for many of the Shi'ite villagers guilty of nothing more than being Arab.

However, Israel does not have the economic and military power to impose a "final solution" on the Shi'ite Arab population of Lebanon. Indeed, the Lebanese adventure has turned into a bloody disaster for the Zionist rulers. Zionist "dove" Abba Eban pointed out that Begin/Sharon went into Lebanon to wipe out 15,000 Palestinian commandos only to turn a million Shi'ites into fanatical enemies of Israel. Not a very good exchange. And instead of withdrawing from southern Lebanon quietly, the Zionist madmen are terrorizing the population as they go. As the late shah of Iran and Iraqi strongman Saddi Hussein learned much to their regret: don't mess with the Shi'ites!

Even the U.S. State Department felt compelled to wag a finger at its Israeli ally's latest, stupid atrocity: "It appears that Israel's actions are inconsistent with the pertinent provisions of the Geneva Convention." These provisions were drafted in 1949 in response to the Nazi genocide of occupied civilian populations, especially the Jews, a grotesque irony that was not lost on either Washington or the Israelis. Equally grotesque was the imperialist hypocrisy: ask the Vietnamese who survived saturation bombing, napalming, tiger cages and mass assassinations about American "fidelity" to the Geneva Convention.

At the same time Foggy Bottom was tut-tutting, up on Capitol Hill the House appropriations committee was speeding along another $1.5 billion, in addition to the $4.6 billion already allocated, for Washington's chronically mendicant anti-Soviet ally in the Near East. There is a bipartisan Cold War consensus of "support to Israel," and that includes picking up the bill for its Nazi-like, if short-lived, occupation of Lebanon. After watching 241 U.S. Marines blown to smithereens and its last diplomatic personnel scurrying out of the country to avoid the truck bombs, the State Department's Geneva Convention moralizing is a belated warning to Israel: don't make a bloody mess out of south Lebanon, too!

Nachtwey/Black Star

Tyre, southern Lebanon, August 1982. Aftermath of the Zionist blitzkrieg.

"Iron Fist" in a Hornet's Nest

But the Israelis aren't listening. Israeli terror is now being directed at the very Shi'ite population which *welcomed* the 1982 Zionist blitzkrieg with its aim of "purifying" Lebanon of Palestinians. Ansar was one of the many concentration camps set up in the first days of the invasion when most of the prisoners were Palestinians, who were subject to mass roundups and detention. One Israeli soldier told a French correspondent the "selection process": "terrorists are identified by their physiognomy." Liberal Zionist Uri Avneri reported: "In El Ansar Palestinians are detained just because they are Palestinians" (*Haolam Hazeh*, 15 December 1982).

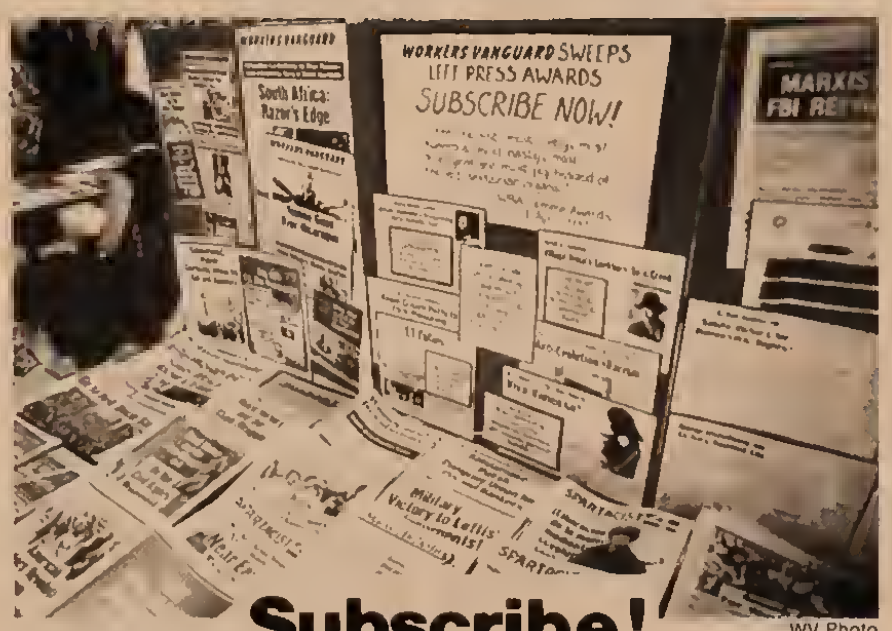
Today the Shi'ites are being subjected to the same fate. Two years under the Israeli jackboot has turned the Shi'ites into a virulently hostile population which longs to return in kind what the Israeli army has meted out. Each Shi'ite killed by the Israeli army creates more sons, brothers, sisters and grandfathers willing to be martyrs in the fight against the Zionist Satan. The supremely arrogant *Zahal*, the "Israel Defense Forces," accustomed to being the hunter, soon became the hunted. Over 130 Israeli soldiers have died in the occupation of southern Lebanon. The Zionist bully boys responded with an "Iron Fist" policy of wanton murder, mass detentions, the bulldozing of whole villages and poisoning of precious water resources. But Israel has stuck its "iron fist" into a hornet's nest.

Confronted with a demoralized army, an economy bled white and a population back home weary of endless funerals for its sons, the Zionist rulers decided to "withdraw" in stages from south Lebanon. What they have accomplished in the meantime is to transform a once relatively secure northern border, controlled and policed by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), into a mini-Iran seething with newly converted Khomeiniite fanatics.

Now fearing Katyusha rockets raining down on northern Israel after complete withdrawal, an Israeli defense ministry official warned that if Shi'ite attacks continued, southern Lebanon will "cease to exist." Israeli defense minister Yitzhak Rabin was more explicit, promising there will be "scorched earth in Lebanon just as there was scorched earth in Jordan at the end of the 1960s." After the 1967 war, "scorched earth" in Jordan meant the depopulation of areas on the East Bank of the Jordan River which were staging grounds for PLO attacks on Israeli forces in the newly occupied West Bank. Massive artillery and air strikes, including napalm, either killed or made refugees of the civilian population.

Trotsky called the Zionist goal of creating a Jewish state in Palestine a "death trap" for the Jews. Thanks to the Zionist führers in Jerusalem, who are behaving like Hitler in the bunker, Israel is speeding along a path of national suicide which will more than confirm Trotsky's prediction on the eve of World War II. The urgent requirement to head off this catastrophe is the crystallization of a revolutionary internationalist party among the Hebrew working class and oppressed Arab masses, dedicated to championing Palestinian national justice while breaking the masses from all wings of Zionism and Arab nationalism in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD



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Azoulay/Paris Match

Israelis invaded Lebanon to implement "final solution" for Palestinians.

30 April 1975: "Giai Phong!"—"Liberation!"

We print below an excerpt from Our Great Spring Victory *(1977), the memoirs of Vietnamese People's Army chief of staff General Van Tien Dung, who was commander of the final offensive which liberated Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) on 30 April 1975.*

The American evacuation was carried out from the tops of thirteen tall buildings chosen as landing pads for their helicopters. The number of these landing pads shrank gradually as tongues of fire from our advancing troops came closer. At the American embassy, the boarding point for the evacuation copters was a scene of monumental confusion, with the Americans' flunkies fighting their way in, smashing doors, climbing walls, climbing each other's backs, tussling, brawling, and trampling each other as they sought to flee. It reached the point where [U.S. ambassador] Martin, who wanted to return to his own house for his suitcase before he fled, had to take a back street, using the rear gate of the embassy. When "Code 2," Martin's code name, and "Lady 09," the name of the helicopter carrying him, left the embassy for the East Sea, it signaled the shameful defeat of U.S. imperialism after thirty years of intervention and military adventures in Vietnam. At the height of their invasion of Vietnam, the U.S. had used 60 percent of their total infantry, 58 percent of their marines, 32 percent of their tactical air force, 50 percent of their strategic air force, fifteen of their eighteen aircraft carriers, 800,000 American troops (counting those stationed in satellite countries who were taking part in the Vietnam war), and more than 1 million Saigon troops. They mobilized as many as 6 million American soldiers in rotation, dropped over 10 million tons of bombs, and spent over $300 billion, but in the end the U.S. ambassador had to crawl up to the helicopter pad looking for a way to flee. Today, looking back on the gigantic force the enemy had mobilized, recalling the malicious designs they admitted, and thinking about the extreme difficulties and complexities which our revolutionary sampan had had to pass through, we were all the more aware how immeasurably great this campaign to liberate Saigon and liberate the South was.

UPI

Rats on the roof of U.S. embassy building mark imperialism's final hour in Vietnam.

Australasian Spartacist Photos

Smiles on a Hanoi street corner, 1985, where B-52s once rained down terror. Right: Museum of U.S. War Crimes in Ho Chi Minh City.

Vietnam Was a Victory...

(continued from page 16)

Those who would fight against death squad terror in El Salvador, against CIA-backed "contra" murder in Nicaragua, must learn from the Vietnam War that there is no "political solution," no "middle road" between capitalism and social revolution; that only the international extension of insurrectionary class struggle can prevent imperialist-inspired counterrevolution. A movement against imperialist war bound to any wing of imperialism cannot win. In Vietnam, it was the heroic NLF/DRV forces which drove the U.S. and its puppets from the country, while the liberal-led antiwar movement dissolved. The task remains today to build a genuinely anti-imperialist movement which looks to the international working class to advance the cause of the oppressed to victory.

The revolution in Vietnam established a society like the Soviet Union, where capitalism has been overthrown but a privileged caste, the bureaucracy, maintains political control over the workers. Those youth of today who are groping toward a Marxist understanding, a program to guide them in the struggle to change the world, have much to learn from the indomitable revolutionary will of the Vietnamese combatants. But youth must also understand the bitter fruits of Stalinism—the nationalist ideology of a bureaucratic strata seeking "peaceful coexistence" with capitalist reaction—which today finds its most grotesque expression in China's obscene counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR and Indochina. For proletarian political revolutions to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies, establish mass organs of workers democracy and open the road to socialism!

Vietnam today, despite enormous poverty, has taken great strides forward in achieving genuine national reunification, regaining self-sufficiency in food production, reconstructing a land devastated by four decades of imperialist aggression, persevering in the face of a vindictive international blockade of foreign trade and technical assistance. Recent victories by Vietnamese and Kampuchean forces have driven out of Cambodia the last nests of CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionaries fighting to return to power the genocidal Pol Pot clique. Today, ten years after the liberation of Saigon, we hail these victories, and fight here in the belly of the imperialist beast for workers rule, under the Trotskyist banner of international socialist revolution. ■

Telegram

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh
Democratic Republic
of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board

ORV

Spartacist called for military victory of NLF/DRV forces from outset of Vietnam War. 1965 solidarity telegram (left) to Ho Chi Minh (right).

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PDC British Miners' Aid Campaign Revives Traditions of Labor Solidarity

Workers Hands Across the Sea

When they marched back after 12 gruelling months of class war, the British miners were able to hold their heads up, defiant in defeat, in large part because of the tremendous outpouring of international support which their militant struggle inspired. The British miners' strike galvanized the world working class on a scale no recent class battle has. French dockworkers dumped truckloads of scab coal before they reached port. The Soviet trade unions sent £1 million to the miners. Even the savagely oppressed black South African gold miners, battling the bloody apartheid regime, sent contributions and messages of support.

While Tory prime minister Maggie Thatcher was doing her best to rip up the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the most conscious American unionists recalled how her fellow labor-hater Ronald Reagan destroyed the PATCO air controllers union. Their dollars sent through the Partisan Defense Committee helped revive traditions of labor solidarity going back to the 1920s, in sharp contrast to the protectionist poison dished out by the AFL-CIO tops (who didn't send a penny to support this crucial class battle). The PDC's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families campaign collected over $23,000, including official donations and collections from over 70 local unions and contributions from scores of *Workers Vanguard* readers and PDC supporters. Pledged contributions are still being forwarded to the NUM's Miners' Solidarity Fund, where they are desperately needed to support the hundreds of sacked miners and those facing criminal charges from the strike.

Well aware of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's criminal sabotage, British miners are deeply appreciative of the PDC's campaign. A letter from the NUM, dated March 25, acknowledging receipt of funds transmitted, adds: "would be most grateful if you could extend our sincere gratitude to all of those who have rendered such magnificent financial support." And in a message to an educational conference of the British section of the international

Socialist Organiser

Kent coal miners passing the bucket. Despite cold-shoulder by AFL-CIO tops, support from American unionists helped keep the strike alive.

Spartacist tendency, a Yorkshire delegate of the NUM, Dave Douglass, thanks the Spartacist League "for their coverage of the strike, which was fair unlike the bulk of the disruptive and counterproductive trash turned out by other elements allegedly on the left and ...for your extensive efforts in raising funds on the other side of the water and for raising the issues of the miners strike with our American fellow workers."

Based on an appeal to North American trade-union locals, the PDC campaign was backed by those who recognized the need for *concrete* international labor action to defend the heroic British miners. From Bay Area hospital workers to Los Angeles letter carriers to Chicago and New York transit workers, these labor men and women were proud to aid the fight of the NUM. Over half the funds raised came from *WV* readers and PDC supporters who responded to the appeal. (In addition, many of these same individuals have given generously to the PDC to help pay for the costs of the recent victory of the Spartacist League/U.S. over the FBI's attempt to brand our Marxist revolutionary politics as terrorist.)

These donations, which were transmitted to the NUM's Miners' Solidarity Fund in their entirety, are notable particularly when compared to the paltry efforts of the social-democratic establishment in Britain. Eleven months into the strike, a full-page advertisement appeared in the London *Guardian* (27 February) signed by Labour Party leader "Judas" Kinnock, Tony Benn and other assorted "nobility" of the British labor movement. The £100,000 raised by these bigwigs only underscores what striking miners saw demonstrated month after month: that the Labourites' "aid" was a cover for their *sabotage* of the strike and their disgusting alliance with the "Iron Lady" (Thatcher). The Soviet unions' gave ten times this, and even with our modest resources the iSt raised a quarter of what Labour's "lords" saw fit to give.

International Response to PDC Campaign

One thing capitalists everywhere agreed on was beating the British miners: while Thatcher's hired judges impounded NUM funds at home, the courts in Dublin, Luxembourg and elsewhere in Europe stole union money deposited abroad and turned it over to the Iron Lady. The Spartacist tendency mobilized its resources internationally to back the embattled British miners against Reagan/Thatcher reaction. In addition to the PDC drive in the U.S., Canada and Australia, our comrades in France and West Germany raised hundreds of pounds; the French section sponsored a highly successful fundraising tour of two British miners. We were also instrumental in forging links between the British miners and striking Phelps Dodge copper miners in Arizona and black St. Croix oil workers locked out by the racist union-buster Leon Hess.

Above all, we fought for a revolutionary political perspective that could defeat Thatcher. The SL called for class-struggle tactics, including the "hot-cargoing" of scab coal, in Britain and internationally, to mobilize labor's power behind the miners. The Spartacist League/Britain, whose paper *Workers Hammer*, circulated widely through the coal fields, waged a hard fight against Thatcher's lackeys of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour Party—the "lefts" as well as the Kinnocks—who sabotaged every action in support of the courageous miners. The SL/B counterposed to impotent appeals to the TUC traitors the call for a fighting Triple Alliance of rail workers, transport workers and miners, raising the Bolshevik program of Trotskyism as the answer to wretched Labourite defeatism.

As a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, the Partisan Defense Committee undertook this campaign not simply to provide desperately needed funds for the striking miners and their families, but also to spur a political defense of the miners by the proletariat internationally. Recalling Reagan's assault on PATCO, workers in public employees unions were particularly receptive to the PDC campaign. Black workers, least susceptible to the bureaucracy's Cold War anti-communism, were also prominent in support of the miners. Many of these unionists were familiar with and had endorsed the SL's successful anti-fascist mobilizations at home. Comrade Eibhlin of the Spartacist League/Britain and *WV* reporter Jon Brule, who had spent ten months in Britain during the strike, addressed trade-union executive boards and membership meetings across the U.S. In the Bay Area after hearing comrade Eibhlin's presentation, SEIU Local 250 doubled its usual maximum to donate $500. An official noted with pleasure that it was an Irish comrade appealing to American workers on behalf of the British miners.

Despite our modest resources, a slow start to the campaign, a virtual year-long blackout of the strike in the U.S. press, and the treachery of the American labor bureaucracy, the PDC broke new ground with our class-struggle defense work. Under our own colors, and approaching hundreds of union locals

LEICESTERSHIRE STRIKING MINERS

VICTORY TO THE WORKING CLASS NO SURRENDER

'THE DIRTY THIRTY'

SUPPORT THE MINERS!

Miners Office, Room 346, Municipal

The courage of the "Dirty Thirty," the only striking miners among 2,000 scabs in Leicester, was legendary among NUM members. We reprint below their appeal to the PDC fund drive, received by WV in late February, near the end of the strike. The PDC forwarded their appeal to two union bodies in New York State who had indicated their wanted to give and directly to an NUM area in Britain.

Stoneygate,
Leicester, England

Dear comrades

I am writing to you to try and explain the situation here in Leicestershire.

I don't know if you have heard of us, but we are known as the DIRTY THIRTY, as there are only 30 men on strike here in Leicester. We have been on strike since the beginning back in March '84. But now as the winter takes a grip on us times are getting very hard, as our biggest commitment to this strike is traveling up and down the country keeping the morale of other strikers high. But funds are getting very low, and the need for a morale lift in most of the areas is becoming more and more needed.

As there are only thirty of us on strike, the big areas look on us as some kind of heros, because the amount of intimidation from the police and the SCABS is unbelievable. In fact we are treated like scabs by the working miners, but that doesn't matter to us because although we are known as the dirty thirty our conscience is clean.

To get money for us to survive, we go on the street with tins and ask the public to support us. We have been getting some good support from the public in the past but at the moment things aren't looking too good. We don't get any help from the national hardship fund because all the money from the national fund has to go through the area official, whose name is Jack Jones, and he supports the working miners so he will not do anything to help us.

In the past we have been in a position to send thousands of pounds in food, etc. to other areas in a similar position to us, but at the moment we can only just manage to keep ourselves from near starvation. We have some friends over here who sell the paper called *Workers Hammer*, and it was off them that I got your paper called *Workers Vanguard*. There in the centre pages I saw the fantastic help that your paper has given to the national hardship fund, and I was wondering if you can help us and others like us who get no help from the fund that you have been so good to.

Even if you could just put an ad in your paper we would be more than grateful. Please help us to help others like us.

Yours fraternally,
D. Douglas

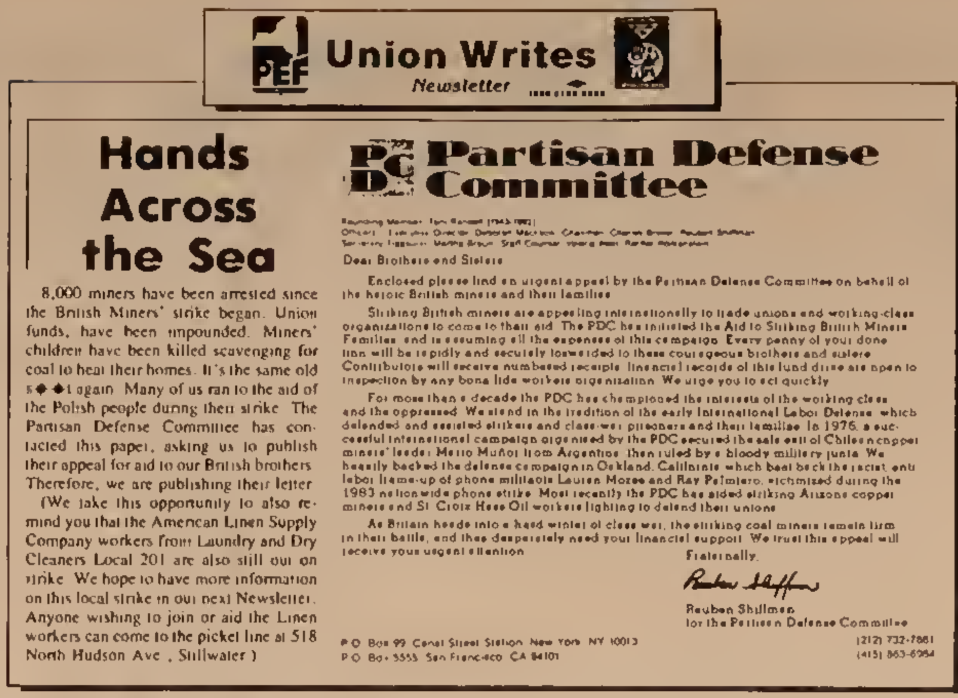
for the first time, the PDC fought for real international solidarity. And we did it in the face of what the NUM frankly termed "the unsupportive position of the AFL-CIO." Prostrate before Reagan's union-busting, these servile lieutenants of capital have shackled the American labor movement with racist protectionism, class collaboration and anti-communism. Some union officials opposed *any* defense of the striking miners on the grounds they were "foreigners"; others, habituated to being the bosses' pawns for givebacks and plant closures, sided with Thatcher in claiming that "unprofitable" pits should be closed.

But the mainspring of hostility from Lane Kirkland & Co. to the British miners' strike was their hatred of the Soviet Union and NUM president Arthur Scargill for denouncing pro-CIA company "union" Solidarnošč in Poland. The TUC and Labour Party tops, assisted by the scurrilous *Newsline* rag of Gerry Healy, witchhunted Scargill for correctly stating that Solidarnošč is anti-socialist. The AFL-CIO hacks picked up the cue. The notoriously CIA-linked bureaucracy of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), for instance, circulated a letter to its locals advising them to steer clear of the PDC. It wasn't just that they objected to a cause undertaken by American "reds"; from the standpoint of the CWA's "free trade unionism" (such as exists in Pinochet's Chile), the British miners are themselves led by reds.

As we noted introducing our response to the CWA's scab letter (*WV* No. 372, 8 February), these fat cat bureaucrats said to send your money to the TUC—which opposed the miners' strike, was doing everything to undermine it, *and wasn't raising any money anyway*. Kirkland and the rest of the labor traitors spent millions in workers' dues on Walesa's Solidarnošč and loser Democrat Mondale, while stabbing PATCO in the back and letting British miners go down to defeat.

Anti-Sectarian Class-Struggle Defense

We sought to get unions to donate officially to the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund, but locals who supported the PDC drive were often bucking their national leaderships, and some did not want their contributions publicized for that reason. Union dues are supposed to be for building a labor war chest. But the hostility of the AFL-CIO tops resulted in a high proportion of our trade-union contributions coming from "passing the hat" at membership meetings or workplaces. Thus at a February 16 meeting of UAW Local 719, at the GM ElectroMotive Diesel plant outside Chicago, after a PDC spokesman gave an eyewitness account of the hard-fought strike, an international rep squashed a donation from the local treasury. A worker then demanded that a collection be taken up: "Don't you watch television and see what Thatcher is doing to those miners?" he asked. Almost $150 was raised on the spot.



Union Writes
Newsletter

Hands Across the Sea

8,000 miners have been arrested since the British Miners' strike began. Union funds, have been impounded. Miners' children have been killed scavenging for coal to heat their homes. It's the same old s◆◆t again. Many of us ran to the aid of the Polish people during their strike. The Partisan Defense Committee has contacted this paper, asking us to publish their appeal for aid to our British brothers. Therefore, we are publishing their letter.

(We take this opportunity to also remind you that the American Linen Supply Company workers from Laundry and Dry Cleaners Local 201 are also still out on strike. We hope to have more information on this local strike in our next Newsletter. Anyone wishing to join or aid the Linen workers can come to the picket line at 518 North Hudson Ave., Stillwater.)

Partisan Defense Committee

Dear Brothers and Sisters

Enclosed please find an urgent appeal by the Partisan Defense Committee on behalf of the heroic British miners and their families.

Striking British miners are appealing internationally to trade unions and working-class organizations to come to their aid. The PDC has initiated the Aid to Striking British Miners Families and is assuming all the expenses of this campaign. Every penny of your donation will be rapidly and securely forwarded to these courageous brothers and sisters. Contributors will receive numbered receipts. Financial records of this fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. We urge you to act quickly.

For more than a decade the PDC has championed the interests of the working class and the oppressed. We stand in the tradition of the early International Labor Defense, which defended and assisted strikers and class-war prisoners and their families. In 1976, a successful international campaign organized by the PDC secured the safe exit of Chilean copper miners' leader Mario Muñoz from Argentina, then ruled by a bloody military junta. We heavily backed the defense campaign in Oakland, California which beat back the racist, anti-labor frame-up of phone militants Lauren Moree and Ray Palmiero, victimized during the 1983 nationwide phone strike. Most recently the PDC has aided striking Arizona copper miners and St. Croix Hess Oil workers fighting to defend their unions.

As Britain heads into a hard winter of class war, the striking coal miners remain firm in their battle, and they desperately need your financial support. We trust this appeal will receive your urgent attention.

Fraternally,

Reuben Shulman
for the Partisan Defense Committee

P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 (212) 732-7861
P.O. Box 5555 San Francisco, CA 94101 (415) 863-6964

Newsletter of Public Employees Federation in Albany, New York reprinted PDC's appeal for aid to British miners.

The PDC's appeal noted:

> "We invite socialist and defense organizations in the U.S. to organize efforts parallel to our own on behalf of the British miners. Given the enormous political differences between us and other groups, an attempt at a united-front campaign would create more problems than benefits for the miners, but we stand ready to coordinate with others to achieve the largest mobilization of trade-union support for the miners' side of the class war in Britain."

In fact, the PDC ran the only sustained, national campaign in this country to support the strikers and their families. For the most part the reformist fake-left took their cue from the labor fakers and did nothing—in some cases even opposing donations being sent through the PDC. Nonetheless, there were a few notable exceptions where veteran socialists and unionists with long-standing political differences with the Spartacist League welcomed and aided the PDC campaign.

Where others had taken the initiative in particular union locals to raise funds for the British miners, we supported those efforts, encouraging unionists who did not want to give through the PDC to donate directly to the NUM's Miners' Solidarity Fund. We also encountered several British coal strikers collecting funds in the U.S. and Canada on behalf of individual collieries or areas, who had run into the brick wall of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, receiving handshakes, promises and little else. Spartacist supporters in Detroit and Toronto assisted such miners in approaching union locals where we have friends, resulting in several large donations.

A Notts striker who met the SL while raising funds in Detroit later invited and introduced British Leylands auto militant Patrick Sliney to speak at an NUM memorial meeting for David Jones, a striking miner murdered on the picket lines by Thatcher's scabs and cops. Sliney, a well-known supporter of the Spartacist League/Britain, was fired for advocating that his union strike alongside the miners. And at the recent SL/B educational, a south Yorkshire miner expressed his appreciation for the reception he got from our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada:

> "I went down to the Steelworkers union and I seen this leaflet. It was the Spartacists. So I got in touch with a fellow and he showed me all the contacts, where to raise money, go to all these meetings...."

The testimony of such miners, as well as the accounts of the fund drive in our press circulated widely in the British coal fields, attracting a fair amount of attention among the strikers.

PDC Reviving Traditions of International Labor Defense

The PDC's work, including the miners' aid campaign, is modeled on the International Labor Defense (ILD) and its forerunner (to which it later affiliated), the International Red Aid. The ILD was founded in 1925 at the initiative of the then-revolutionary Communist Party because of the need for:

> "...a large mass centralized defense organization which could serve as a weapon and a shield of the workers in this period of intense class struggle; an organization that would be able not only to provide the persecuted workers with legal aid and moral and financial support, but one that would be able to fight effectively for these workers and to mobilize the broad masses in their support."
>
> —"What is the International Labor Defense"

While lacking the broader base of the ILD and the authority of the early CP, the Partisan Defense Committee stands in the tradition of the ILD's uncompromising militancy and anti-sectarianism in defending class-war prisoners such as Sacco and Vanzetti. The ILD defended any member of the working-class movement, regardless of his or her views, who suffered persecution by the capitalist state because of activities in the class struggle. Class-war prisoners were sent $5 a month, and their families received funds raised through an annual Christmas appeal. The ILD fought not only for victimized trade unionists, but

continued on page 10

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-254

Partisan Defense Committee Donation $5,000.00

Trade Union Donations 6,873.94
including contributions from:

TWU Local 100 (NYC)
ATU Local 241 (Chicago)
ATU Local 1575 (San Rafael, Calif.)
Library of Congress Employees Union Local 2477 AFSCME
AFSCME Local 171 University of Wisconsin Employees
Atlanta Georgia Public Employees Local 1644 AFSCME
AFSCME Local 444 (Oakland)
UFCW District Union No. 442 (Atlanta)
Retail Clerks Union Local 648 UFCW (San Francisco)
Butchers Union Local 120 UFCW (Oakland)
ILA Local 333 (Baltimore)
Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250 (San Francisco)
SEIU Local 18 (Oakland)
Social Services Union, American Federation of Nurses Local 535 SEIU (Los Angeles)
SEIU Local 680 United Stanford Workers (Stanford, Calif.)
IBT Local 208—Local Freight Drivers (Los Angeles)
Brotherhood of Teamsters and Auto Truck Drivers Local 70 IBT (Oakland)
CWA Local 4309 (Cleveland)
CWA Public Employees Local 4512 (Cleveland)
UAW Local 148 (Lakewood, Calif.)
IAM Air Transport Lodge 1726 (Medford, Mass.)
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch No. 2200 (Pasadena)
Graphic Communications International Union Local 507 (Madison)
Construction and General Laborers Union Local 22 (Boston)
Construction and General Laborers Union Local 596 (Holyoke, Mass.)
Carpenters Local Union 67 (Dorchester, Mass.)
Taylor Business Institute Chapter of Local 1460 of the United Federation of College Teachers (NYC)

Union Membership Collections 1,901.25
including members of:

Tunnalworkers Local 147 (NYC)
Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 2 (San Francisco)
USWA Local 1010 (East Chicago, Ind.)
USWA Local 1011 (East Chicago, Ind.)
IAM Local 824 (Richmond, Calif.)
IAM Local 597 (El Segundo, Calif.)
IAM Local 68 (Daly City, Calif.)
UAW Local 719 (La Grange, Ill.)
UAW Local 600 M&C Unit (Detroit)
UAW Local 148 (Lakewood, Calif.)
IBT Local 315 (Martinez, Calif.)
Bay Area Typographers Union Local 21 (San Francisco)
AFSCME Local 444 (Oakland)
AFSCME Local 183 (Iowa City)
International Molders Union No. 164 (Oakland)
Australian Postal and Telecommunications Union

Individual Donations 9,279.91

Total Collected (as of 13 April 1985) **$23,055.10**

Amount Sent to Miners' Solidarity Fund 21,857.25
(as of 13 April 1985)
Amount on Deposit (as of 13 April 1985) 1,197.85
} **$23,055.10**

Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

no credit

PDC campaign revived the traditions of the International Labor Defense, founded at the initiative of the early Communist movement. Left to right: Max Eastman, James P. Cannon, "Big Bill" Haywood in Moscow, 1922.

PDC British Miners' Aid...

(continued from page 9)

waged campaigns against deportation of the foreign-horn and against the oppression and lynchings of blacks, and mobilized in defense of the gains of the Russian Revolution. The ILD enrolled individual memhers who agreed with its aims, and also affiliated unions, minority groups and other organizations on a collective basis.

The International Lahor Defense was conceived in discussion hetween exiled IWW leader Bill Haywood and James P. Cannon in Moscow in 1922. Cannon, pioneer American Communist and founder of American Trotskyism, was the ILD's first National Secretary. Rose Karsner, Cannon's lifetime companion, was also active in the ILD, as well as the International Red Aid. In a 1924 appeal on hehalf of striking German coal miners, Karsner set down the principle of international working-class solidarity which was the foundation of the PDC's campaign for the British miners:

> "They call! These One Million German workers. Not for themselves. For their families. Not for charity. For international working class solidarity to help them in their fight which is the fight of Labor the world over. Upon their victory or failure depends the victory or failure of labor in other lands."
>
> —"The Call of the German Workers," *Soviet Russia Pictorial*, August 1924

SOCIAL SERVICES UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF NURSES
Local 535, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO
548 South Spring Street, 10th Floor, Suite 1017, Los Angeles, California 90013
(213) 622-5660

March 14, 1985

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

Dear Friends,

Enclosed is our check for $100. These funds were voted by the membership of our chapter of Local 535 at our last membership meeting, following a presentation by members of your organization on the plight of over 140,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers who were on strike against the Thatcher government of England for nearly a year.

Although the strike is over, the struggle clearly is not.

During the course of the strike, broad support was won to the miners' cause from among those who saw their own fate as linked to that of the National Union of Mineworkers. Trade union activists, Blacks, women, gays and many others joined hands to aid the miners in their fight against the Thatcher administration.

Hard work and broadly-based solidarity efforts will continue to be needed to help our British brothers and sisters to overcome the effects of nearly a year without work or income.

Your organization is to be commended for its initiative and hard work on this issue.

In solidarity,

Walter Lippmann

Walter Lippmann
Secretary

Throughout the miners' aid campaign the PDC has maintained the scrupulous financial responsihility which was the hallmark of the ILD under Cannon. With numhered receipts, every penny collected going to the miners (the PDC assumed in excess of $1,700 in administrative expenses for travel, postage, publicity, bank fees), and the financial records of the campaign open to inspection by any hona fide workers organization, the PDC's work stands on the model provided by the ILD.

This contrasts dramatically with, for example, the ostensibly Trotskyist "United Secretariat," which claimed it had collected £30,000 for the British miners but offered no accounting, breakdowns of figures or verification whatsoever. Workers appreciated our meticulous accounting—they *knew* their money was going where it was supposed to go. A CWA local official whose union had voted to contrihute received our notification that his local's donation had reached the NUM the same day the CWA's scurrilous attack on the PDC campaign arrived in the mail. The International's slander sheet went into the trash.

Workers Hammer

Militant miners' wives fought alongside the strikers on the picket lines.

Another example we recall with satisfaction occurred at a February 14 memhership meeting of AFSCME Local 44, representing Bay Area waterworks employees. After a collection was taken up and an additional $100 voted from the treasury, a supporter of the Lahour-loyalist British "Militant" group intervened to oppose sending funds through the PDC. This sabotage was spiked when the local voted to send half via the PDC and half via the "Militant" backer. One worker rose to challenge the latter, however: would he be ahle to give the memhers as good an accounting of how the money reached the miners as the PDC had done?

Of course, no matter how scrupulous you are, there are always some people who, out of political malice or simple anti-communism, will accuse those who carry out class-struggle defense work of having "ulterior motives." We ran into a couple of characters like that. Jim Cannon, whose years of work in the ILD gave him plenty of experience with these sorts, answered such sectarian hackstahbers:

> "Professional anti-communists always proceed from the premise of that man in the Bible who did not believe that any good thing could come out of Nazareth. Or, to paraphrase the modern expression of confidence men, they never give a communist an even break. For example, one of them once described my motives in helping the IWW prisoners through the ILD as 'not altogether philanthropic,' because, as a communist, I was serving the interests of the party.
>
> "The description is inaccurate. My motives were not 'philanthropic' at all. I really helieved in the principle of solidarity with all class-war prisoners—the tradition in which I had heen brought up in the radical movement of the earlier days. To be sure, I was an undisguised communist, and I thought and said that the honest work of solidarity practiced by the ILD would bring, at least indirectly, some credit to the Communist Party. But don't people who represent all kinds of causes and organizations do what they consider their good works with this double motivation?...
>
> "I don't like the implication of a double standard for communists and others. But that hypocritical moralism runs like a greasy thread through all anti-communist writings."
>
> —James P. Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*

The PDC's aid campaign demonstrated the need for a fighting defense organization in political accordance with a genuinely communist party. This is the history of the ILD and the International Red Aid, which emerged from the experience of the Russian Civil War, when the Red Cross *refused* to aid the Soviet victims of famine and imperialist attack. The reformist trade-union hureaucracy has the same politics today: the British miners didn't get the time of day from the anti-communist AFL-CIO tops.

We extend our thanks to those who fought hard on hehalf of the striking miners in this campaign, and we appeal for continued support of the Partisan Defense Committee's anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense work. From the defense of hlack and working people in deeply racist, capitalist America to the need for international working-class solidarity to aid great class battles like the British miners strike, the PDC seeks to enlist the support of all those who are 100 percent partisan on the side of the exploited working masses and the oppressed. ■

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS
YORKSHIRE AREA

180

Branch Stamp: ARMTHORPE BRANCH

Name of Branch: Armthorpe

7th March 1985

S. Yorkshire, England

Dear Paul,

I am writing to thank you for the way you assisted our member Eddie Losehy on his recent visit to Canada. Without the help of yourself and people like you he probably wouldn't have been as successful as he was.

Although we are now hack at work the money he collected will still help towards the hardship of our members as we have all huilt up large dehts during the strike. So it is going to be used properly.

Once again thanks for your help.

Yours Sincerely
M. McAdam
Branch Committee

NUM Armthorpe branch acknowledges assistance by Trotskyist League of Canada comrades in Toronto.

Against Apartheid...

(continued from page 16)

violation of the "temporary restraining order" granted Columbia by the courts. Two South African students active in the protest face possible deportation to their country where at a minimum they could be jailed for 20 years. "It is risky and scary what I am doing, but it is important" said one of the South African students (*Amsterdam News*, 13 April).

Outraged and disgusted at the "free world" hutchery and oppression which is South Africa, a new layer of student youth have entered the political arena. Building occupations and blockades have taken place at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and Rutgers University in New Jersey. As was the case in the early days of the struggles against Jim Crow and the Vietnam War, liberal illusions in the "moral conscience" of American imperialism—its cops, its courts, its Democratic Party politicians and its universities—abound. Largely as a result of such illusions in imperialist "democracy," the protests have centered on the liberal/utopian demand for divestment.

At Berkeley, militancy is more widespread due to the anti-student cop rampages there over the last five months. Spartacus Youth League memher Guillermo Bermúdez—whose arm was broken when he was suhjected to a potentially lethal choke hold by UC cops January 29—faces nearly three years in prison for protesting Marine recruiters; Berkeley anti-apartheid protesters have also endured choke holds, beatings and jail terms. Among those arrested this morning were SYL activists Stefan Arnold, a Berkeley student, and Cathie Schling.

Meanwhile at Columbia, hoth the administration and the attorneys for the Committee for a Free South Africa (CFSA, which organized the blockade) are engaged in legal shadow-boxing over the student action. To the credit of the blockaders, when Columbia Dean Rosenthal tried to move them, in a ploy to prove legally that "obstruction" was going on, they did not move. The court has not granted Columbia the permanent injunction it seeks and in another hearing, CFSA won a restraining order against Columbia's use of "improper" force against the students. Thus far the cops have heen restrained, as Columbia maneuvers to avoid a repeat of 1968 when it earned worldwide notoriety for the brutal and bloody dispersal of student strikers. Some 50 protesters "identified" by administration surveillance have received letters threatening disciplinary action.

As student anger boils to the surface, the enemies of social revolution in South Africa and genuine struggle "at home" are working hard to co-opt and render impotent the hurgeoning campus protests. It is no accident that Columbia's president Sovern and the CFSA vie for Bishop Desmond Tutu's mantle. Tutu's statement of support for the student action warned not against Columbia's well-documented history of violence against student protesters, hut instead lectured the *students*: "would be distressed if your campaign degenerated into violence hetween yourselves and police...." None other than Sovern traveled to Johannesburg in 1982 to confer an honorary degree on Tutu for his role as the voice of "peaceful opposition to the injustices of apartheid" (*Village Voice*, 16 April). This from a man who, despite the pious denials, is quite prepared to send two young South Africans to face prison or death for protesting apartheid.

Black and white Democratic Party politicians who started demonstrating against apartheid terror following the 1984 election campaign have a new bandwagon but an old purpose: keep the lid on. After speaking at Columbia

April 15, the ever-visible Jesse Jackson announced the fruits of his meeting with Sovern: an agreement to "attempt to convene a meeting of Ivy League presidents" to discuss South Africa. Jackson went to Columbia not to encourage militant struggle, but to broker some sellout on the administration's terms. The trustees, Regents, courts and "liberal" capitalist politicians are, as the New Left used to say, "part of the problem." This became clear during the student and black upsurges of the 1960s when the state crackdown was more often than not directed by the same Democrats responsible for the genocidal war against the Vietnamese people. Today Reagan—who would like to treat any political opposition to U.S. policy as a terrorist, criminal enterprise—is in the saddle. But his Democratic "opposition," such as it is, has only tactical differences on how to smash the struggles of the oppressed at home and abroad.

The social power of the working class organized independently of the capitalist parties by a revolutionary vanguard is the key to real, effective solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle. Concrete acts of labor solidarity—political strikes, refusing to handle military cargo bound for South Africa—would carry infinitely more clout than any exchange of corporate portfolios, not to mention hypocritical Democratic Party hot air. The black proletariat of South Africa, five-million-strong, with its strategic power in the gold and diamond mines, is destined to be the gravedigger of apartheid. An international party dedicated to workers rule from Pretoria to Washington must be built to smash U.S.-backed apartheid slavery and racist oppression at home.

In contrast to such a strategy, the "divestment" demand is at best meaningless, at worst counterproductive. It is a call for an international strike of *capital* against apartheid—the net result of which is to allow some sharp speculators to buy South African shares at a discount. Indeed, the Columbia trustees "promised" divestiture in 1978 and got rid of $50 million in stock. The impact on the apartheid regime has been demonstrably minimal. As we wrote in *Young Spartacus* (No. 126, April 1985):

> "In the absence of a fighting workers movement engaged in concrete acts of solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle, by default many students see 'divestment' as a means to express their opposition to the South African regime. In those instances, such as at Columbia, where the divestment demand becomes in effect a referendum on apartheid, we take our side with the opponents of the South African rulers while maintaining our opposition to this strategy of pressuring the 'democratic' hypocrites who are mass murderers on a scale unknown to Pretoria and are the senior partners of apartheid to boot."

We Marxists wish to see the South African ruling class "divested" once and for all by the black workers who produce the country's wealth. Here in the belly of the imperialist beast, those committed to the liberation of the black majority in South Africa must break from all wings of U.S. imperialism, which relies on Pretoria as an important regional gendarme in the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Militant student actions can be an important component of and catalyst for labor action.

Now it is the responsibility of our Marxist youth organization to intervene in the anti-apartheid student activism to bring our fighting program and Marxist understanding to the youth who are being forcibly divested of their illusions in a "democracy" which deals with opposition through the business end of a police club. No reprisals against anti-apartheid protesters! Drop the charges against the UC Berkeley 171! For militant student action independent of the Democrats and Republicans—for international labor solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle! Smash apartheid—for workers revolution to South Africa! ■

Contract Fraud, Election Scandal in NYC Hospital Union

1199 Must Clean Its Own House!

Keep the Feds Out!

The New York hospital workers union, Local 1199 RWDSU, one of the nation's largest unions with a heavily black and Hispanic majority, is being ripped apart by the competing cliques of sellout president Doris Turner and a pro-Labor Department "opposition." In January, former 1199 executive vice president David White charged that Turner's May 1984 re-election was a black bag job—the result of massive forgery, alteration and destruction of thousands of rank and file ballots—and that it was all supervised by Turner herself. Taking their election fraud complaint to the union-busting feds, however, as the dissident Unity & Progress slate has done, is, if anything, an even *worse* crime against the union.

All sides are squalid in this sordid affair which threatens the future of this once-proud union which has been seen as a fighter for the oppressed. As for the 1199 rank and file, they're still waiting for *any* of the gains supposedly won in last summer's 47-day strike against the League of Voluntary Hospitals, a strike which Turner betrayed and which White and Unity & Progress didn't want in the first place. On March 27, some 300 union members demonstrated at a Unity & Progress-sponsored rally in front of the hospital bosses' headquarters to demand the raises they thought they won in August.

White told his story to the Labor Department. So did the "progressive" opposition. Turner, too, went to court a year ago to prevent a union trial from hearing an array of charges against her. This all-sided trust in Reagan's labor

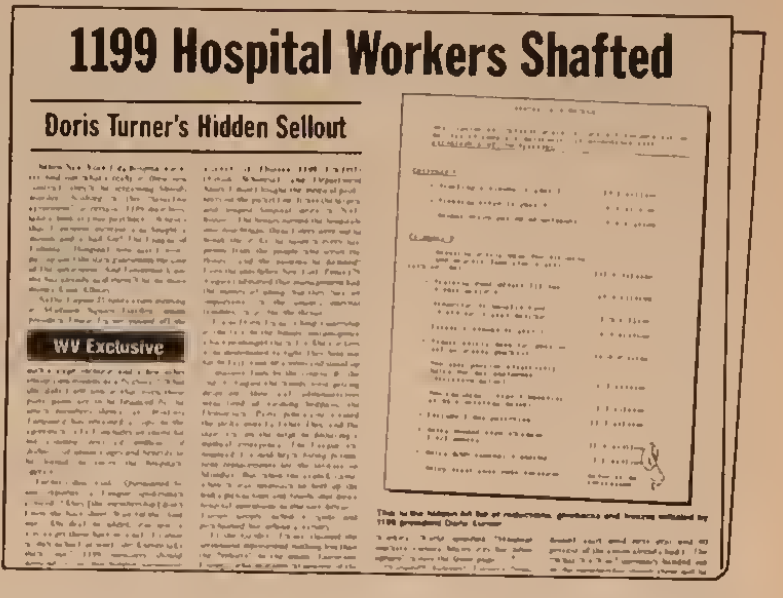
WV Photo

Doris Turner on Labor Day: Thanks for what?

police points up the bankruptcy of all these traitors. 1199 members, make no mistake: hospital workers will get no justice in the bosses' courts. The feds don't give a damn about union democracy—in fact, they hate it—but they'd love to get their hands around 1199's neck. Reagan *annihilated* lily-white PATCO. What will his union-busters do inside predominantly black and Hispanic 1199? Union members must dump the likes of Turner *and* the finks who rat to the feds. Get the government out of the union—labor must clean its own house!

And there's plenty of cleaning to do. In September, while the rest of the left was hailing Turner's "settlement" with the hospital bosses, *Workers Vanguard* broke the story that there was no 5 percent pay increase, no Every Other Weekend Off and, in fact, no contract at all. "1199 Hospital Workers Shafted" was our headline. The Communist Party's *Daily World* and the SWP's *Militant* cynically claimed the "settlement" was a victory and in a front-page headline *Workers World* declared, "Hospital workers' victory blazes way for labor upturn." We told the truth,

Workers Vanguard (14 September 1984) scooped contract sellout, while others lied.


1199 Hospital Workers Shafted

Doris Turner's Hidden Sellout

WV Exclusive

and proved it by printing a facsimile of the secret hit list—initialed by Doris Turner—which offered *tens of millions of dollars* in givebacks to the League. Today 1199 members still don't have a contract. Instead, hundreds have been laid off since the strike.

According to White, who admits to his own involvement in the fraud, it was quite a scene at union headquarters on West 43rd Street last May 6. White says that at 11:30 p.m. Turner announced that the tallying of ballots had ended for the day. When observers for Unity & Progress were gone, Turner had the doors locked, blinds drawn, drapes closed and guards posted. Then 3,000 votes for Unity & Progress in the union's Guild Division were deposited into garbage bags. Two-thirds of the votes in the Registered Nurses Division were altered. According to White, Turner directed the operation at all times.

Turner denies everything, but it's true that a loss in any of the union's four separate divisions would have forced a run-off. In order to avoid such embarrassing problems in the future, Turner rammed through new constitutional bylaws to strengthen her lock on the presidency. Elections are to be every three years instead of two, the necessity of winning a majority of the votes in each of the union's divisions is to be abolished, and three years in the union instead of one will be required to run for office. Another outside group, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund, is also contesting the new bylaws in the bosses' court.

For hospital workers fed up with Turner & Co., Unity & Progress is no alternative. When thousands of 1199 members were on the picket line in July and August, the "oppositionists" were nowhere to be seen. Why? Because these "progressives" didn't *want* a strike. Today Unity & Progress echoes White when he says a better contract could have been gotten *without a strike!* Such anti-strike defeatism is central to their attack on Turner, and is meant to reassure the government that the "opposition" could run the union without disturbing "labor peace." It's no surprise, then, that in an August 31 press release Unity & Progress stated their confidence that a Department of Labor investigation would return democratic rights to the ranks. Fat chance! Already the NLRB has ordered 1199 to pay $350,000 in fines stemming from the walkout last summer. And what about the more than 100 picketers arrested during the strike? That's the kind of "justice" unionists get from the feds.

The bureaucratic infighting in 1199 today threatens to polarize the union along racial lines. The stronghold of Turner's support is the union's Hospital Division which is mainly black; Unity & Progress's base is among the mainly white technical workers in the Guild Division. At a conference called by Unity & Progress last October 13 to get the union "back on track," a group of Turner supporters showed up with a bullhorn, obviously intent on disruption. As tempers flared, Unity & Progress members signaled to an undercover cop waiting nearby and Ed Koch's racist police restored "order." Whether it's cops on the street or Reagan's NLRB, when the government shows up, workers lose.

Nobody ever gave unskilled black and Hispanic hospital workers a thing. Anything 1199 members have today was won through blood, sweat and struggle, and it is that history which all wings of the 1199 bureaucracy renounce. Reliance on the Democrats, who today enforce Reagan's austerity, is the program that *both* Turner and Unity & Progress inherited from the pro-Communist Party old guard of Leon Davis and Moe Foner. In '76, Davis and Foner called out goons against militants intent on stopping scabs, and then sold out the strike in order not to "spoil" the NYC Democratic Party convention which nominated Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter. When Unity & Progress complains about Turner, 1199 members may reasonably ask, "Where were you, Khrushchev?" He may have regretted it later, but it was Davis who hand-picked Turner to succeed him.

The hospital bosses couldn't break 1199 last summer but thanks to the treachery of Turner, White and the misnamed Unity & Progress, the ranks of this combative union won nothing, not even a contract. Both wings of the bureaucracy have betrayed this heavily black, Hispanic and female union. Turner sells the membership out and Unity & Progress invites the racist government in. Real victories require leadership which recognizes that the government is not neutral and that the precondition for union democracy is the labor movement's independence from the capitalist state. Employing class-struggle methods—mass pickets, labor boycotts and sympathy strikes—1199 should champion the struggle of all the oppressed. Defend busing—stop Klan terror with labor/black mobilization! To hell with the Democrats and their agents in the workers movement—we need a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■

"Best Builders" of April 20

The League of Squeezed Lemons

Fake-leftists build popular front with Democrats. SF rally excludes British miners' leader Scargill, Salvadoran leftists.

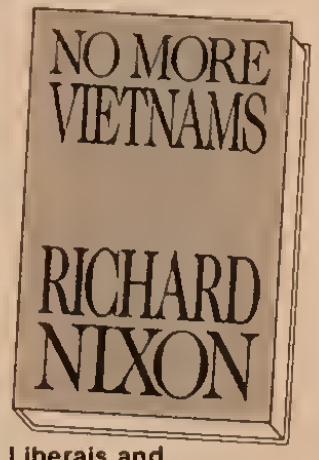
Even before last November's elections, that weather vane of rad-lib opinion, the *Guardian* (10 October 1984), ran a column of suggestions on "Avoiding post-election depression." For the previous nine months, virtually the entire reformist left had been caught up in the capitalist elections—more particularly the campaign to "Dump Reagan," "Vote for Peace in November," etc.—that is, to get out the vote for loser Democrat Mondale. Soon after the vote, the protests at the South African embassy began, led by black Democrats eager to refurbish their tarnished images. And now on April 20 the "anti-intervention," anti-nuke and anti-apartheid "movements" are going to have the annual Spring "do" in Washington and San Francisco. The reformist dream of repeating the giant May 3, 1981 D.C. demo when tens of thousands of liberals came out to voice their disappointment after Reagan's first election.

The politics of April 20 are about as right-wing as we've seen in years of ritual "Spring Mobes." The four insipid slogans—"No Intervention," "Build a Just Society," "Reverse the Arms Race," and "Oppose Apartheid/End Racism"—are designed to offend no one to the left of Ronald Reagan, and mainly to give each "constituency" a sop. In Washington, the emphasis is on lobbying Congressmen to vote against Reagan's $14 million "contra aid" bill. And on the West Coast where the social democrats are firmly in charge, SF Spring Mobilization organizers refuse to oppose U.S. intervention in the Middle East, tried to exclude any speaker from the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN leftist rebels, and have refused an invitation to Arthur Scargill, leader of the bitter year-long British coal miners' strike. April 20 is an attempt to revive the pro-Democratic Party popular front, which means dead-end hostility to *revolutionary* opposition to Yankee imperialism.

This time around among the cries of the defeated Democrats you may hear a few whimpers from what we call the "League of Squeezed Lemons." This coterie of ostensible Trotskyists proudly claims to have launched the April 20 "Spring Mobe" at an "emergency conference" held in Cleveland last September. The Cleveland conference? We almost forgot ourselves, though you can read about it in our article "Fake-Lefts' Fake Solidarity With Central American Struggle" (*WV* No. 366, 9 November 1984). This confab was supposed to give a "special labor focus" to "anti-intervention" protests, and so this "emergency conferenee" called on the labor bureaucracy to organize a national day of protest...seven months later! Why the delay? Because from the beginning their purpose was to pressure much larger liberal forces into action.

At Cleveland, Socialist Action (SA), the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) and the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP) voted for a resolution calling for an action "joining together anti-interventionist trade unionists, peace groups, solidarity networks, the religious community...and all others who oppose the governments' interventionist policies." The IWP wrote afterward: "We believe that the Cleveland Conference was important because it pressured the 'official' leadership of the solidarity and pacifist movements to carry out activities such as the April 13 [now April 20] mobilization" (*Working Class Opposition*, December 1984). They had already sealed the deal with the endorsement of Cleveland black Democratic Congressman Louis Stokes. Well, you asked for it, you got it.

Militant



Liberals and Tricky Dick agree, "No More Vietnams." We say "Vietnam Was a Victory!"

Now they're bringing out the liberal/black Dems in force to build April 20. At Washington, the rally will be chaired by Congressional Black Caucus leader Walter Fauntroy, with the featured speaker being Jesse ("I made up with George Wallace") Jackson. New York City coordinators include liberal local Democrats Frank Barbaro, Ruth Messinger and Miriam Friedlander. And on the Coast they've really gone to town: prominent Democratic politicians involved in the Spring Mobe include black Berkeley mayor Gus Newport and black Congressman Ron Dellums (both members of the Democratic Socialists of America), and liberal dove Senator Alan Cranston. To organize the SF march they've even got some of the same people who orchestrated the pro-Mondale "labor" demonstration outside the Democratic Party convention last July.

From the Trotskyoid IWP, SA and FIT to the now openly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), they all claim to be the best builders of April 20. In particular the SWP, which blew it in a big way on May 3, 1981, allowing the Workers World front PAM (People's Anti-War Mobilization) to outflank them, has been scrambling not to be left out in the cold this time. But for the most part they are on the outside looking in, frozen out of the planning and with no say on the politics. The April Days of Action Coalition in D.C. is so right-wing they even excluded PAM for a while. Now these "best builders" are even worried about attempts to prevent them from marching as the "April Days" organizers threaten to remove "people with signs against the purpose of the demonstration"—i.e., anyone who challenges its pro-Democratic Party politics.

The people who built last September's Cleveland conference had certain leftist pretensions. Socialist Action, supporters of Ernest Mandel's misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," have criticized the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN's latest call for a "government of broad participation." SA has also recently opposed including calls for a "negotiated solution" to the Salvadoran civil war in "anti-intervention" protests (on the nationalist grounds that it's up to Salvadorans to sell out the struggle). The IWP, followers of Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno, object to Contadora negotiations with the Yankees, on the grounds that they violate the right of self-determination.

But now they're all "best builders" of a liberal "anti-intervention" crawl that won't even let the FDR/FMLN speak for fear of being identified with "the enemy." On paper, these Trotskyoids say you mustn't subordinate the struggle to the capitalist Democratic Party. But in concrete action they build the Democrats by organizing the "left wing" of the popular front. And then they are thrown away, to use Stalin's famous phrase, "like squeezed lemons." In Cleveland, trailing after conference organizer Jerry Gordon, today a bureaucrat of the United Food and Commercial Workers, they talked of "labor focus" while waving around the endorsement of "dissident" Steelworkers local president Ron Wiesen, a chauvinist protectionist who in 1983 tried to present U.S. Steel with a "Benedict Arnold Award" for the "betrayal of our nation's vital interest."

This League of Squeezed Lemons uses talk of labor to pave the path to the Democratic Party. Socialist Action's first public activity was to act as goons for the sellout union bureaucrats and cops trying to keep militant workers from shutting down the SF bus terminal during the 1983 Greyhound strike. SA and the FIT both hark back to the "heyday" of the SWP's Vietnam-era peace crawls, which brought out the loot soldiers for the *bourgeois defeatist* opposition to the war politically led by the imperialist doves. That's why their fabled "movement" disappeared every two years in favor of Democratic Party "peace" candidates. The Stalinists led the way for this electoral support to the liberal capitalist party while the SWP specialized in "mass mobilization," but it was only a division of labor. *Politically* there was no difference between the "peace" crawls and the "peace" candidates.

While these fake-Trotskyists are going "all out for April 20," doing the donkey work for pro-Democratic labor fakers, anti-Japanese protectionists and strikebreakers, the Spartacist League fights for militant working-class action against the imperialist warmakers just as we did in the Vietnam War. Back in the early '70s, the NPAC "antiwar" popular front was sealed in blood when SWP goons, along with Tim Wohlforth, assaulted and excluded "reds" like the Spartacists and PL for protesting against capitalist speakers like Democratic Senator Vance Hartke. In those days the SWP's "marshals" linked arms to prevent thousands of youths with NLF flags chanting "Victory to the Vietnamese" from crashing their "peaceful, legal" peace crawls.

Perhaps the SWP's most heinous crime in its NPAC days was to besmirch the name of Trotskyism with their social-patriotic "bring our boys home" reformism. For Marxists, "our boys" were the Viet Cong, just as we stand today with the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants of Central America. The SL fought to intersect the militant radical youth with our revolutionary program, calling at the time of the 1970 Cambodia invasion and Kent State massacre for "All Indochina Must Go Communist," fighting for working-class opposition to imperialist war: for labor strikes against the war, break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats,

Spartacist Forums

Vietnam Was A Victory!

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SL Central Committee

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BAY AREA

Nicaragua: Will the Real State Please Stand Up

Rarely do we see a really apt polemical jibe at us, so it's a pleasure to share this box from the *Internationalist Worker* with readers of *WV*. The New Haven-based RCL-(I), or Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), knows how to tell a nicely turned nightclub joke. The story is of three unidentified Spartacist supporters who give contradictory answers to the RCL-(I)'s unnamed acquaintance concerning the "class nature of the Nicaraguan state." No state in Nicaragua? Ha, ha, that's a good one, is the implication.

Five years after taking power, the Sandinistas still haven't decided whether they will defend capitalist private property or collectivized proletarian property forms. That's an anomaly, all right, but the problem lies in reality, not in our theories. And Ronald Reagan seems bent on resolving this contradiction sooner rather than later. The anti-Soviet crazies in the White House may already have rung down the Iron Curtain on the nationalist Sandinistas, but slightly less near-sighted sections of the U.S. rulers worry that Washington could force the Sandinistas into consolidating "another Cuba," a bureaucratically deformed workers state, in self-defense.

When the Nicaraguan masses ousted the hated Somoza dynasty dictatorship, it was a popular, democratic political revolution with profound social implications, which, however, have still not been carried through. (The Sandinistas' formula of "political pluralism" and "mixed economy" reflects their continuing balancing act between the bourgeoisie and the toiling masses.) The populist revolutionary government remains afloat *without a specific defined set of property relations* which it is committed to defend. There is a Sandinista regime, but a *state* in the precise Marxist sense does not exist in Nicaragua today.

We appreciate the RCL-(I) comrades trying to show us the error of our ways. We, in turn, have sought to engage them in discussions in hopes of breaking them from their ultra-objectivist "global class war" schema, a Cold War impressionism inherited from Sam Marcy (who split from Trotskyism to Stalinism in the late 1950s and now heads the extremely unappetizing, grossly reformist Workers World Party). Instead, the RCL-(I) has opted to seek a home for itself in the disunited "United Secretariat" (USec) of Ernest Mandel (the erudite Trotsky-talking apologist for Mitterrand-style anti-Soviet social democracy) and his super-Sandinista/Fidelista nemesis Jack Barnes.

What then *is* the class character of the Nicaraguan regime, comrades of the RCL-(I)? We Spartacists say that the petty-bourgeois Sandinista government must be replaced by a workers and peasants government in order to "defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution." You, in contrast, label Nicaragua today a "bourgeois state." You say "defend and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution," but *not* complete it, and grotesquely *oppose* our demand for *Soviet military aid to the Sandinistas*.

There are two, three, many concepts of the Nicaraguan revolution in the USec, which hails the "socialist" Sandinistas. Now throw in the RCL-(I), who call the FSLN regime capitalist? Maybe Mandel won't even notice, amid all the other flora and fauna in his swamp. It's an unlikely marriage, but they agree on one thing: refusing to call for a Trotskyist party to lead the fight for *permanent revolution*, in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. ■

INTERNATIONALIST WORKER —January-February 1985

THREE CONCEPTS OF THE. . .NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

An acquaintance of the RCL-(I), a long-time member of the Socialist Workers Party and subsequently of Workers World, related the following story to us.

About a year ago, mystified by contradictory Spartacist writings on Nicaragua, our friend entered a Midwest office of Spartacist.

"What is the class character of the Nicaraguan state?," he asked, evidently using "Global Class War terminology."

"Capitalist, for sure," a Young Spartacus member immediately shot back.

"Wait!," the local Spartacist organizer interjected. "Nicaragua currently has a petty-bourgeois workers' and farmers' government."

"Hold on, comrades!," yet another, more senior Spartacist representative said. He then proceeded to call New York headquarters. After getting off the phone, he said, "There is no state in Nicaragua."

WV Photo

Spartacist League's Anti-Imperialist Contingent raised defense of Cuba, USSR against imperialism at El Salvador demonstration, Washington, D.C., 3 May 1981.

build a workers party.

Occasionally (especially when they've been frozen out of where the reformist action is), these fake-Trotskyists even mimic elements of our Leninist program. Thus the Morenoite IWP prominently raised—in their more radical-sounding Spanish-language *El Bolchevique* (Winter 1985), not their grossly labor-reformist English-language *Working Class Opposition* of course—the call for "Military Victory of the Central American Revolution." But even their empty rhetoric can get them in trouble in their attempts to break into the reformist big leagues. Thus the Communist Party's *Daily World* (9 April) recently ran a crude hatchet job titled "Trotskyists Oppose the United Front" which reads like it was written by one of Stalin's most cynical hacks back in 1937. The SWP, Socialist Action, Workers World and assorted myriad front groups are accused of calling for opposition to the Democratic Party, for a "victory to the left forces in El Salvador" and similar "crimes" of which they are manifestly innocent.

Socialist Action, shameless in its appetites to serve as waterboys for the bureaucrats, has made it into various steering committees while various others of the Cleveland conference crowd have been relegated to the sidelines. Recently a group in the Bay Area calling itself the "April 20 Coalition for Democracy" complained of threats of physical violence from Socialist Action member Carl Finnemore if they attempt to raise demands not on the approved list. What's happening is that even the most slightly left critics are now getting a little of the treatment usually reserved for the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League. Beginning at the May 3, 1981 march on the Pentagon when the SL showed up with red flags, the Salvadoran FMLN banner and our signs calling for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America," the reformists set up "daisy chains" to "quarantine" the Spartacists. Soon they were calling on the capitalist cops to keep their parades for the Democrats free from "reds."

Meanwhile, in the Bay Area there appeared at our office a pathetic draft leaflet inviting us to join a bloc to "ensure our right to march in the Spring Mobilization" and complaining that the steering committee is "attempting to subordinate it to the Democratic Party." Big surprise! This whining yelp is signed by every Trotskyoid varmint in the Bay Area, including the "External Tendency of the iSt" (a clot of embittered white ex-members who quit the SL in fear of the hard struggle required in the Reagan years) as well as the IWP, FSP, RSL, RWL and WSL. Simply by listing their complaints against the Spring Mobe—exclusion of the Near East demand "End U.S. Intervention in the Middle East," attempted exclusion of an FDR/FMLN speaker, rejection of British miners' head Arthur Scargill—they prove the thoroughly *anti-revolutionary* character of this demonstration. They are nothing but a hemorrhoid on the left side of the rectum of the popular front.

In the late 1930s, Leon Trotsky, who together with Lenin led the Russian October Revolution of 1917, had to deal with a clot of centrists calling themselves the "London Bureau" who claimed to oppose Stalinism but refused to join Trotsky's fight for a revolutionary Fourth International. Today's anti-Soviet, craven American "leftists," devotees of Polish Solidarność, are a hell of a lot worse than the centrist London Bureau. But we are still reminded of Trotsky's essay in which he demolished the philistine dilettantes of the London Bureau:

> "It is not hard, however, to forecast that the bourgeoisie, the reformists, and the Stalinists will continue to label [them] as—'Trotskyists' or 'semi-Trotskyists.' This will be done in part out of ignorance but chiefly in order to compel them to excuse, justify, and demarcate themselves. And they will actually vow, with might and main, that they are not at all Trotskyists, and that if they should happen to try to roar like lions, then like their forerunner, Bottom the weaver, they succeed in 'roaring' like sucking doves. We know them: they are no fledglings.... They are less cynical than the Stalinists and a trifle to the left of the left Social Democrats—that is all that can be said for them. That is why in the list of the Internationals they must therefore be entered as number three and one-eighth or three and one-quarter.... They will enter into history as an association of squeezed lemons. When the great masses, under the blows of the war, are set in revolutionary motion, they will not bother to inquire about the address of the London Bureau."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "A Fresh Lesson" (October 1938) ■

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Contra/Nazi Connection...

(continued from page 1)

their weapons and commandeered planes and boats for Honduras and Miami. Adept only at bombarding civilians, torture and summary executions, the Guard broke before the determined fight of the Nicaraguan masses, the officers deserting their troops in an every-man-for-himself panic.

This might have been the end of the road for the Somozaist scum. Over 6,000 prisoners were taken at the time of the Sandinista victory in July 1979. But while the long-suffering Nicaraguan people cried out for justice against the mercenary killers, FSLN comandante Tomás Borge proclaimed a "generous revolution," declaring that none of the criminals would be executed. Moreover, some 1,700 Somozaists were released for insufficient evidence or by pardons. The U.S. Army's handbook on Sandinista Nicaragua commented: "Ironically one of the first tasks of the triumphant FSLN was to protect its recent enemies from popular revenge" (*Nicaragua: A Country Study* [1981]). Before long many of the ex-Guardsmen were regrouping just over the border in Honduras. In March 1981 the Reagan administration began funding these wanton killers as shock troops in a war against so-called "Soviet imperialism."

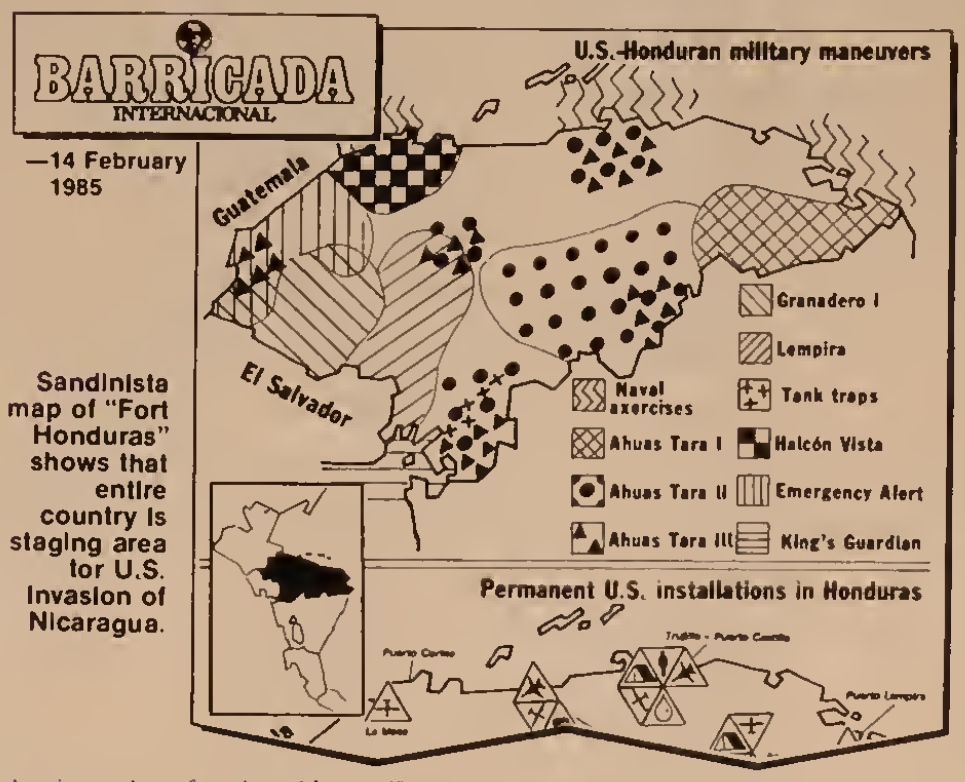
Four years later the contras operate out of sprawling "made in USA" bases, at the end of a U.S. logistics pipeline. After the Congressional funding cut-off last year, these supplies have been replaced by some "creative accounting" in Washington and an increasing flow of dollars from the private sector. Reagan passes this "voluntary" mercenary aid off as some kind of philanthropy ("a pretty well established tradition in our country"). But these are no candy-stripers running around in the hills of Honduras. Not only is this "humanitarian" aid coordinated right out of the Pentagon, and transported on U.S. military planes, behind it is an anti-Communist network extending to open fascists and Nazis, neo- and otherwise.

"Repackaging" the Contras

The contras first surfaced in 1980 when 60 ex-National Guard criminals formed the 15th of September Legion. These were nothing but marauding bandits until, in November 1981, Reagan signed National Security Decision Directive 17 and the U.S. Congress secretly appropriated $20 million to finance a "contra" army. Soon the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) was born, a CIA creature from birth. The project to build a Nicaraguan mercenary army at first was a tripartite arrangement: American money, Argentine trainers on Honduran soil. As a result of Washington's pro-British tilt in the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war, the Argentines dropped out. And since the CIA now had to take direct responsibility, says ex-FDN leader Edgar Chamorro, "they had to repackage the program in a way to be palatable to Congress" (*Los Angeles Times*, 4 March).

Canvassing Nicaraguan exiles in Miami, a civilian directorate was set up to provide an acceptable front, while the Somozaist ex-Guardsmen were kept out of sight in Honduras. But an outfit that has destroyed more than 160 schools, 45 health centers and 100 day-care centers, while killing or wounding several thousand civilians, is hard to prettify. The contras engage in mass kidnapping, particularly of Miskito Indians; selective assassination of doctors and teachers; indiscriminate attacks on farm cooperatives; routine execution of prisoners; grisly dismemberment of bodies, and gang rape. This has been exhaustively documented by the "even-handed" Americas Watch, whose report on "Violations of the Laws of War by Both Sides in Nicaragua, 1981-1985" found only two cases of human rights abuses by the Sandinistas. So the Reagan administration simply resorts to the Big Lie, cynically claiming that the contras are "freedom fighters" whose victims are "Communist terrorists."

In the last year, funneling "private" aid to the killer contras has become a major New Right growth industry in the U.S. More than $5 million has reportedly been raised by a network of conservative business tycoons (notably Peter Grace), "former" military/intelligence officials and ultraright outfits all dedicated to "rolling back the Soviet empire." Unfettered by having to obtain Congressional approval for their adventures, this cabal of anti-Communist crusaders is aggressively pursuing a domino plan for knocking off the "Soviet colonies" of Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. And from there, says Jack Wheeler of the rightist Freedom Research Foundation, it's on to "Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the Islamic states of Soviet Central Asia" (quoted by Fred Clarkson, "'Privatizing' the War," *Covert Action*, Fall 1984).



Sandinista map of "Fort Honduras" shows that entire country is staging area for U.S. invasion of Nicaragua.

The role of "private" mercenaries aiding the CIA-backed contras came into prominence last fall when two members of a group called Civilian Military Assistance were killed inside Nicaragua in a plane shot down by the Sandinista army. The head of CMA is Tom Posey, who recruited his buddies from the Alabama National Guard, particularly its Special Forces Unit. Posey declares, "If the politicians won't let us win, then the private sector must take it in their own hands to do it" (*Soldier of Fortune*, January 1985). During late 1983 and early 1984, eleven shipments of military supplies from the CMA to the Salvadoran army were processed by the American embassy in San Salvador. But as U.S. attention shifted to Nicaragua, Civilian Military Assistance switched over to "training" the contras. Posey has offered to field a combat-ready "George Patton Brigade" of 3,000 "volunteers" to fight the Sandinistas (*Nation*, 9 March).

Soldier of Fortune

General John Singlaub, führer of World Anti-Communist League. Mass murderer in Vietnam is now Reagan's rep to the "contras."

A second major outfit involved in the "private" contra aid effort is the Air Commando Association, headed by retired Air Force General H.C. "Heine" Aderholt. Aderholt claims his ACA has distributed $4.5 million in "humanitarian" aid for El Salvador provided by the Christian Broadcasting Network and World Medical Relief. And together with the U.S. Council for World Freedom headed by retired General John Singlaub, they have reportedly distributed another $6 million to Miskito Indians and "contra families" in Honduras (*Washington Post*, 10 December 1984). Both ACA and CMA are linked to the mercenary magazine *Soldier of Fortune*; Aderholt is the *SOF* "unconventional war editor," while the CMA mission to Honduras last August included Cliff Albright, previously a member of the *SOF* mission to El Salvador and reportedly a former pilot for the CIA's Air America.

Last fall the British Labourite magazine *New Statesman* (2 November) wrote: "*SoF* and the organisations of former CIA operatives, paramilitary and unconventional warfare specialists which back up the magazine represent a formidable secret army. Linked to Latin death squads and a world wide network of fanatical anti-communist organisations, *SoF*'s operations follow the tradition, but on a large international and professional scale, of the Frei Corps of Weimar Germany." That is, like those fascistic paramilitary squads who later formed the basis for Hitler's SA, they are imperialist losers out for revenge. And it is notable how *all* these psychopathic anti-Communist freelancers now running around Central America graduated from the U.S.' dirty, losing war in Vietnam.

Contras and International Fascism

At the center of this network is the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), which according to the *Washington Post* (10 December 1984) claims to be sending $500,000 a month to the CIA-backed anti-Sandinista mercenaries. Founded in 1966 by the governments of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan and the Park dictatorship in Korea, the WACL through its various affiliates enrolls some of the most notorious fascists and ultrarightist terrorists on the face of the planet. In Italy the WACL members are not only the neo-fascist MSI, but also the Ordine Nuevo (New Order) fascist terrorists. In Spain during the 1970s the WACL was linked to the Warriors of Christ the King, a paramilitary unit staffed mainly by the Francoist security police; its local affiliate is a neo-Nazi outfit called CEDADE whose symbol is the swastika. And via Spain the WACL was linked to the infamous AAA (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance), the creation of the fascist wing of Peronism headed by the Rasputin-like José López Rega (*Public Eye*, Nos. 1-2, 1979).

The WACL's Latin American branch, the Confederación Anticomunista Latinoamericana (CAL), has been described by the *Washington Post* as "the umbrella group for active and dormant death squads throughout Latin America." CAL is headed by Mario Sandoval Alarcón, *líder máximo* of Guatemala's National Liberation Movement, the self-proclaimed "party of organized violence." Sandoval, the godfather of Central America's killer elite, instructed the kingpin of El Salvador's death squads, Roberto ("Blowtorch Bob") D'Aubuisson, in murder and torture techniques taken over from the Nazis via the CIA. One of those who played a key role in this training, according to former Salvadoran intelligence chief Roberto Santivañez, was Colonel Ricardo Lau, the head of intelligence for the Nicaraguan FDN. Lau, a former Somoza National Guard officer, was paid $120,000 for the 1980 assassination of El Salvador's archbishop Romero, said Santivañez, and the U.S. has had documentary proof of this for years (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 March).

The current president of the World Anti-Communist League is none other than General John Singlaub, who graduated from the OSS, the U.S.' wartime intelligence agency, to the CIA, where in 1948 he was working on the China desk; during the Korean War he was deputy head of the CIA station in Seoul. In 1966 he was sent to Vietnam where he headed a top-secret Special Operations Group (SOG), in charge of the Phoenix program which assassinated more than 30,000 "Viet Cong suspects." In 1975 he helped another SOG officer, Lt. Colonel Robert Brown, launch *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. In 1977, General Singlaub was removed as head of U.S. troops in South Korea for publicly opposing President Carter's plans to reduce the American expeditionary force. The next year he was sacked from the military (through a forced resignation) for criticizing the SALT II arms control treaty.

But where Singlaub was on the outs with Carter, he and his cohorts have the inside track in today's Washington. He is vice chairman of the powerful Coalition for Peace through Strength. And at the convention in San Diego last September where Singlaub was elected head of the WACL, a letter was read from President Reagan praising this fascistic international. In October 1984, Singlaub was appointed chairman of a Pentagon panel on Central America. Also on the panel was General "Heine" Aderholt. The panel's report, classified top secret, reportedly calls for "extended use of unconventional, covert and paramilitary operations in Central America." Through *Soldier of Fortune*, Civilian Military Assistance, the Air Commando Association, World Medical Relief and other fronts, the same gang is carrying out this program. A recent *New York Times* (18 March) reported General Singlaub's presence at contra headquarters in Honduras. And last week another American mercenary, connected with the CMA, was reported killed in Nicaragua.

Moon Over Central America

Harvard historian John Womack has written that in Central America today Adolf Hitler would be considered "a man of the center" (*Trouble in Our Backyard: Central America and the United States in the Eighties* [1984]). This can be confirmed by looking at the activities of the WACL in Latin America and a closely related anti-Communist outfit, the Unification Church, of South

Tom Janota Challenges Peace Corps Returnees Confab

Revolution in El Salvador: Which Side Are You On?

WV Photo

Tom Janota, here speaking at 1981 SL rally for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists," Washington, D.C., May 3.

The following remarks were made by Tom Janota, a supporter of the Spartacist League, at a "Speak Out on Central America" by ex-Peace Corps volunteers at New York University on 7 December 1984.

I don't know how long we've been listening to all of you talk here, it seems like, I don't know, hours. And none of you have mentioned that there's a civil war going on in Central America! The people that you were teaching, the people that I was teaching, the peasants that you were trying to help are up against the wall right now. I want to know, which side are you on? Are you so confused, is that so confusing? I hear "confused." I hear "I don't know why we can't change this situation, it always seems to remain the same..."

My name's Tom Janota. I was the last Peace Corps volunteer to leave El Salvador. I left El Salvador in 1980, four months after the Peace Corps was pulled out from El Salvador. I've seen close up what's going on—it's *class war*. [Chairman: Okay, thank you.] Let me finish. The U.S. is there, yes, it's no casual incident that the U.S. is there. They are there to smash social revolution that is growing in Central America, in Nicaragua, in El Salvador. And they are there to strike a blow against the Soviet Union and against Cuba. Against communism. Because for them any hint of any kind of progressive movement is immediately labeled communist.

Now, the panelists up here have said how they don't think that the Soviet Union is sending guns to Nicaragua and to El Salvador.... And I think we must condemn the Soviet Union for *not* arming the peasants and workers and the students who are trying to fight U.S. imperialism! [applause] The Peace Corps, it must be clear, is an arm of U.S. imperialism. No one addressed that question. Even those of us who went with the best ideals, humanitarians, right? We were there as a cover, as a front... [chair: that's not a question] ...when it does not have direct ties to the CIA, as is the case of the cooperative movement in El Salvador, as you know well. Unión Comunal has direct ties to the AIFLD with the CIA which is now slitting throats in Nicaragua.

The whole point is, here we went into the Peace Corps because we wanted to see change in Central America. We got there and we saw, as Susan has said, abject poverty. We reacted. I became a member of the Spartacist League, a Bolshevik, an internationalist communist, because I could see that the only way that change is going to happen to that region is when the bourgeoisies that are oppressing those peoples in league with United States imperialism, when those bourgeoisies are overthrown, only then will the basic rights of education, land reform, union organizing—all these basic questions cannot be addressed until the capitalist class is overthrown throughout Central America. And here you're talking about some kind of vague reforms that will change nothing.

The situation has been in El Salvador for 50 years, since the Matanza; in Nicaragua since 1909, with the various invasions by U.S. forces. Here in the U.S. we must take a side with that struggle that's going on. And that struggle means defending the Nicaraguan revolution, and to defend it, it must be completed and extended throughout the isthmus. Here in the U.S. it means class struggle at home, it means going up against the Democrats and the Republicans. [Chairman: Is this a question or a speech?] This is a speech. [laughter] Thank you.

In El Salvador, since we're concerned, and as a former Peace Corps volunteer, I want to give you an idea of what the Peace Corps experience taught me. It taught me that the United States is no friend of the workers or peasants of Salvador or the United States for that matter. And that what we must do is make a clear break with both the twin parties of capitalist rule. It's class war in this country. It's action: boycotting shipping going to Central America....

Korean weapons manufacturer/cult leader Sun Myung Moon which operates in Latin America through its political front CAUSA. Readers of *Workers Vanguard* will be familiar with the Moon sect, and we have detailed their activities as shock troops of anti-Communist reaction in Central America in our article "Moonies in Honduras: Death Squads and Contras" (*WV* No. 334, 15 July 1983). Though CAUSA's influence in Honduras has been cut back by the ouster of their patron, strongman General Gustavo Alvarez, it has continued to expand its activities in the hemisphere.

CAUSA's first congress, held in Montevideo, Uruguay in February 1984, was chaired by Moon's right-hand man, former KCIA Colonel Bo Hi Pak, and included such figures as Salvadoran Colonel Domingo Monterosa and Nicaraguan Miskito contra leader Steadman Fagoth. Monterosa was the most effective anti-guerrilla commander in El Salvador until he was killed in a spectacular FMLN action last November, which shot down a government helicopter that also carried several American advisers. Fagoth was a former agent of Somoza's secret police. Also present at the CAUSA conference were retired U.S. General Robert Richardson, an active member of the WACL, and General Ed Woellner, president of CAUSA USA. General Singlaub has also spoken under the auspices of Moon's newspaper in the American capital, the *Washington Times* (see "Moon in Latin America...," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 3 March).

Moon himself was a founder of the World Anti-Communist League and his Japanese affiliate is the local WACL chapter. The Moonies' CAUSA is naturally on good terms with military dictators such as Stroessner in Paraguay and Pinochet in Chile. But such established regimes hardly need the services of these anti-communist freebooters. In unstable Bolivia, in contrast, which holds the world record for coups, the Moonies provided their services to the leaders of the "cocaine coup" who came to power in July 1980. CAUSA offered $4 million in advance to the putschists headed by General Garcia Meza, who later repaid the Moonies by holding a banquet at the La Paz Sheraton in honor of Bo Hi Pak. A member of the CAUSA board, Thomas Ward, reportedly "worked with the boss of the World Anticommunist League's Bolivian branch, and in particular with Klaus Barbie, who at the time was helping in the [coup] preparations with Colonel Luis Arce Gómez" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 24 February).

Stern

"Novios de la Muerte"—the Betrothed of Death. Neo-Nazi Joachim Fiebelkorn (standing, second from right) and SS veteran Hans Stellfeld (standing, center) organized Bolivian death squad during 1980 coup.

Barbie, of course, is the infamous Nazi SS "Butcher of Lyon" now awaiting trial in France. Among his fellow plotters in Bolivia were German neo-Nazi Joachim Fiebelkorn who together with SS veteran Hans Stellfeld (see photo) organized the "Novios de la Muerte" (Betrothed of Death) which acted as a death squad during the 1980 Bolivian coup (*Stern*, 10 May 1984). Barbie was also associated with Italian fascist terrorist Stefano Delle Chiaie, who was a leader of a failed 1970 coup attempt in Italy and the 1980 Bologna train station bombing which killed 85 (*Economist*, 23 October 1982). Delle Chiaie arrived in Bolivia, where he worked closely with Colonel Arce Gómez, after being smuggled through Argentina with the aid of former junta leaders Admiral Massera and General Videla, both members of the WACL. Massera was also a member of the P-2 (Propaganda Due) "masonic" lodge, whose Italian members were firmly entrenched in the security services. P-2, in turn, was linked to the Banco Ambrosiano, the now bankrupt Vatican-connected bank whose Latin American operations, set up by Mafia financier Michele Sindona, were designed to "stop the advance of Castro communism in South America" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 November 1982). And so on.

Anti-Imperialism Abroad = Class Struggle at Home

The U.S. reformist left has been preparing for months for its April 20 demonstrations, and then to crawl on their knees from one Congressman to another to get them to vote against Reagan's $14 million request for the Nicaraguan contras. But what about El Salvador—the fighting is still going on, the leftist guerrillas of the FMLN are under considerable pressure as the U.S. sends in *hundreds of millions* of dollars in military weapons. In the last year, U.S. aid to El Salvador has more than doubled, voted for by *both* Republicans and Democrats, because they *all support the CIA candidate Duarte*. It's widely understood on Capitol Hill that the contra mercenaries couldn't fight their way out of a paper bag, and so that $14 million is clearly a stalking horse for direct U.S. military action. But where things are going relatively well for Washington, as in El Salvador, none of the liberals object, and their rad-lib fringe falls right into step. After all, if they're for a "negotiated solution" to the Salvadoran civil war, who are they going to negotiate with but Duarte?

We fight instead for military victory to the Salvadoran leftists, to defend Nicaragua, to complete the revolution and extend it throughout Central America. The strategy of pressuring the liberal Democrats is a diversion from the necessary task of supporting anti-imperialist struggle in Central America through class struggle at home. The "doves" have only *tactical* differences with Reagan over *how* to intervene in Central America. Maryland Democratic Congressman Michael Barnes, the author of the impotent 1983 amendment prohibiting U.S. action to overthrow the Sandinista regime, has said, "I continue to struggle with trying to find a compromise that could achieve the ends the administration wants to achieve, while getting us out of this [contra] program" (*Washington Post*, 28 January).

Real solidarity with heroic fighters against counterrevolutionary terror in Central America means mobilizing the American workers against their rulers, fighting for independent *class* action against union-busting at home and imperialist adventures abroad. It means unconditionally defending the gains of anti-capitalist revolutions from Cuba and Vietnam to Moscow. As the rest of the U.S. left crawls after the Democratic Party of Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale, the Trotskyists fight for a break with the twin parties of American capitalism, to put an end to over a century of Yankee intervention in Latin America, to abolish the Monroe Doctrine once and for all by workers revolution throughout the continent. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hail 10th Anniversary of Liberation of Saigon!

Vietnam Was a Victory!

REPRINTED FROM YOUNG SPARTACUS NO. 126, APRIL 1985

30 April 1975: "Giai Phong! Giai Phong!" rang the cries down the wide avenues of Saigon—"Liberation!" Triumphant North Vietnamese combatants rolled in on tanks to join National Liberation Front guerrillas to proclaim victory from the steps of Independence Palace. The swiftness of their final offensive had surprised everyone—not least their own military command—as the U.S.-backed puppet army crumbled like rotted, worm-eaten wood. A half million American soldiers, a million South Vietnamese troops, the most advanced military arsenal in the world, massive B-52 carpetbombing, napalm, chemical defoliants, assassination programs organized by the CIA—one of the most brutal wars in history could not crush the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. As we wrote then:

> "The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.
>
> "We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries."
>
> —*Workers Vanguard* No. 68, 9 May 1975

Demulder/Gamma-Liaison

Saigon, 30 April 1975: NLF flag flies as victorious troops roll into U.S. puppet's presidential palace.

2,3, Many Defeats For U.S. Imperialism!

The Vietnam War marked a decisive turning point in U.S. history. The so-called "American century" died in the rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam. The anti-communist prejudices of the '50s that portrayed America fighting to save the world from the red menace were shattered as young soldiers discovered they were sent to fight an entire people, an armed people united in a revolutionary war for national liberation and socialism. A generation of American youth saw the true face of this racist capitalist system, its arrogant, bloodthirsty barbarism.

Richard Nixon—who as vice president in 1954 argued the U.S. should use nuclear weapons against Vietnam to forestall the final defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, who as president directed massive bombing raids against civilian areas of North Vietnam—today titles his memoirs *No More Vietnams*. All the insipid "left" apologists for the Democrats eagerly embrace the slogan of a section of the U.S. ruling class: "No More Vietnams" means no more humiliating defeats for imperialism—no more *losing* wars. It is a consciously counter-revolutionary call. We Marxists reply: "Long live the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

For the victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants was *our* victory, and the victory of opponents of injustice and class exploitation everywhere. Their heroic defeat of the U.S. war machine stayed its bloody hand for a decade, buying time for precarious victories of anti-colonial insurgencies in Angola and Nicaragua. But the imperialist monster is on the rampage again, as Reagan drives headlong toward nuclear holocaust in his lust for war against the Soviet Union and its allies. Today a new generation of American youth is taking its first steps in opposition to Reagan's bloody war plans in Central America, voicing its first cries of outrage at racist police state terror in South Africa—a new generation for whom the lessons of the Vietnam War are vital.

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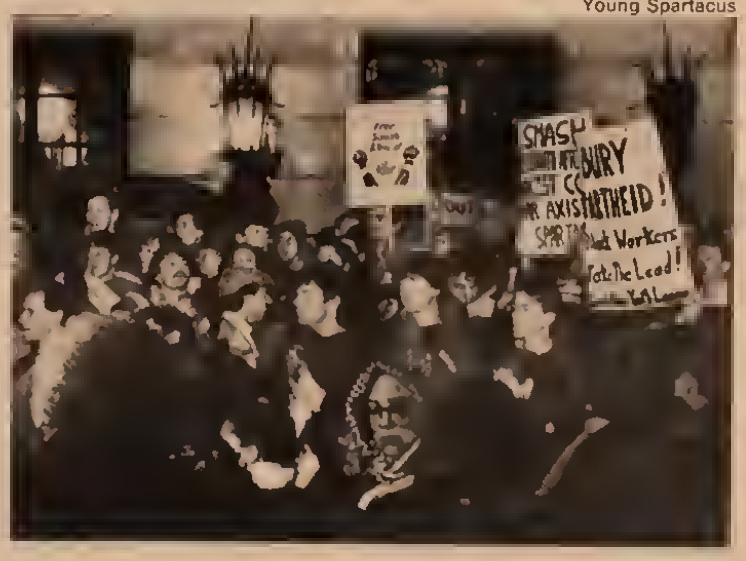
Mass Bust at Berkeley; Columbia Blockade

Student Struggle Flares Against Apartheid

Young Spartacus



Columbia University students barricade Hamilton Hall as campus protests spread across U.S.

16 APRIL—At dawn today, campus police in riot gear arrested 154 protesters who have been blockading the University of California at Berkeley's Sproul Hall for six days. Another 17 were arrested later today. Students opposing the murderous apartheid regime in South Africa had hung a large banner on the building, renaming it Biko Hall in honor of the martyred "black consciousness" movement leader. Police tore the banner from Sproul and proceeded to make the largest mass arrest at the Cal campus since 1964 when Free Speech Movement protesters were hauled off by the hundreds. The protesters face charges of trespassing and "illegally lodging" on the campus; students will also face administration reprisals. A bus filled with arrested students was stopped by demonstrators who sat down in the street, pounded on the sides of the bus and resisted the cops' efforts to clear the way; for 20 minutes the bus was successfully paralyzed. As we go to press, 3,000 have converged on Sproul Plaza in a mass rally.

And in New York, Columbia University also sees stirrings of student revolt. Hamilton Hall has been renamed Mandela Hall, in honor of the imprisoned and "banned" leader of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC), by the hundreds of students who have blockaded the building since the morning of April 4. Their central demand is that Columbia divest itself of the reported $34 million in stock it holds in multinational corporations doing business in South Africa. From Berkeley to Massachusetts to New York, campuses are exploding with outrage in the wake of the apartheid butchers' massacre at Uitenhage. On March 21, the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville, South African police opened fire on a funeral procession of blacks, killing 19 according to dubious government figures (witnesses to the slaughter say at least twice that number were killed).

Chains block the front entrance to Columbia's Hamilton Hall and the protesters, faced with the threat of arrest and expulsion, are in the twelfth day of the blockade. Fourteen students have been slapped with "contempt of court" charges and face up to 30 days in jail for

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 378 3 May 1985

On Anti-Soviet War Crusade

Reagan Salutes Nazis

From Hitler's Death Camps to Contra Death Squads

Bossu/Sygma

Downing/Newsweek

Warmonger Reagan goes to Bitburg to bury Red Army victory over Hitler and honor Nazi butchers of 20 million Russians, 11 million Holocaust victims.

APRIL 28—The man's a 24 karat nut. In the wacko world of Ronald Reagan the white-supremacist police state in South Africa is a democracy striving for racial equality. George Washington is down in Nicaragua with CIA mercenary "freedom fighters" battling "Sandino-Communism," and America's dirty war in Vietnam was a "noble mission." Now he's off to lay a wreath at the graves of Nazi mass murderers. When Bonzo goes to Bitburg he'll embrace West German chancellor Helmut Kohl, but he's really seeking "reconciliation" with that fellow anti-Soviet madman with the funny mustache. For Ronald Reagan's anti-Communist crusade is a continuation of Adolf Hitler's war to root out the "Bolshevik menace." Hitler's ravings in his bunker led to genocidal holocaust and a fiery "Twilight of the Gods" for the German Reich. Reagan in the White House dreams of thermonuclear Armageddon which threatens to blow up the entire world.

The New Right saw November's landslide re-election as a mandate to "let Reagan be Reagan." So that's what they did—and look at the results. In the last week, through five separate votes and rare late-night sessions of Congress on the Nicaragua "contra" aid issue, the administration came out with hands empty. Even disguising logistical aid to the Somozaist terrorists as "aid to families with dependent contras," the U.S. ruling class couldn't get it together to support Reagan's terrorists. The Democrats were willing to "compromise" till the cows came home, but they didn't know what to be more afraid of—Reagan accusing them of "losing Nicaragua to the Communists," or the American public which doesn't want another bloody Vietnam. Because everyone knows that with losers like the contras, aid to Reagan's "brothers" means sending in American troops.

Five months after the re-election, three months after the inauguration, *America is not Reagan country*. Secretary of State Shultz tries to resuscitate the Vietnam War as a fight for "democracy," but the American public still remembers the 60,000 body bags shipped back from Indochina and two-thirds still consider America's losing war a "mistake." When Reagan alibied racist massacre in South Africa, for the first time since the early 1970s mass protests erupted on campuses across the country protesting U.S. support to the apartheid butchers. But the biggest fiasco was certainly Reagan's decision to honor Nazi soldiers while turning a cold shoulder to the victims of Hitler's Holocaust. This gesture managed to unite everyone from the Jewish population to the American Legion against the White House.

So why does Ronald Reagan persist in hardlining it for such obviously unpopular causes? "Insensitivity"? Not at all. This anti-Communist crusader is trying to mobilize the West for war against the Soviet Union. No matter how depraved they are, whether it's a Vietnamese Hitler-lover like Marshal Ky or dictator Somoza's leftover murderers and torturers, for Reagan & Co. they're all "freedom fighters" as long as they hate the Russians. The Somozaist butchers have proclaimed Washington's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Our Lady of the Contras." In Kirkpatrick's book Hitler (like Somoza) was just the kind of right-wing "authoritarian" who's preferable to "Communist totalitarians." That's what the anti-Soviet war drive means: learn to love the bomb, and learn to love the Nazis.

After all, the Nazi *Führer* was the biggest anti-Communist of his time. Hitler ranted in *Mein Kampf* that "The fight against Jewish world Bolshevization requires a clear attitude toward Soviet Russia. You cannot drive out the Devil with Beelzebub." Compare this with Reagan's proclamation to a convention of right-wing "born-again" Christians that the Soviet Union is an "evil empire" and "the focus of evil in the modern world." If anything, Reagan's current ravings about Nicaragua as a "Communist-terrorist arsenal" that "threatens us all" make Hitler's tirades against the Soviet Union in the first couple years of his "Operation Barbarossa" look relatively sane. The very existence of the Soviet Union, born of the Bolshevik October Revolution, was a threat to the Third Reich. And it was the Red Army that finally put an end to Hitler's drive for world domination.

For Ronald Reagan, war is like a Hollywood movie: the good guys triumph over evil, and it always has a happy ending. With his "Star Wars" fantasies he thinks he can fight a nuclear war and come out on top without a single white middle-class American getting hurt. Reagan aims to reconquer the world...through nuclear apocalypse! And now Reagan's hurt, bad, over his SS cemetery visit. That only makes him more dangerous. The last time he was in trouble was over Lebanon, and he responded with the invasion of Grenada. What will it be this time?

Reagan: "Ich bin ein Bitburger"

The Germany trip started out as some mutual political backscratching between two Cold War allies. Chancellor Kohl had won Reagan's battle to get the first-strike Pershing 2 and cruise missiles stationed in West Europe. Reagan would return the favor by putting in an appearance right before a key state election. But the whole scheme blew up in their faces, just like those Pershings that burned up on the launching pad last December. Now Bonn and Washington are busy trying to pin the blame on each other. The Germans are furious at the White House claim they didn't know there were SSers buried at Bitburg. As for boycotting the concentration camps, the *New York Times* (18 April) quotes an American official: "The President was not hot to go to a camp. You know, he is a cheerful politician. He does not like to grovel in a grisly scene like Dachau."

Of course the Americans knew. The White House advance men reportedly checked to make sure that the 49 Waffen SS men buried in Bitburg hadn't

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German Trotskyists on:

V-E Day in Germany

SEE PAGE THREE

Finish the Civil War!

Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military

SEE PAGE SIX

SL Forum: Marxists vs. FBI Repression

Proud to Be "Card-Carrying Communists"

The Spartacist League announced at its forum April 26 on "Marxists vs. FBI Repression" its revival of the working-class tradition of issuing numbered party membership cards. SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein concluded her presentation at Columbia University on the Spartacist League's striking legal victory against the FBI Domestic

WV Photo

Noted civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn and Spartacist League General Counsel Rachel Wolkenstein.

Security/Terrorism Guidelines by holding up the red SL party membership card and stating: "This is our way of saying we're proud of being 'card-carrying communists'."

The card includes date of membership, membership number, and is signed by a national and a local officer of the Spartacist League, she announced. It carries on the back a woodcut of Prometheus, the Titan who in Greek mythology stole fire from the gods to give to mankind, thus inaugurating human civilization and the beginning of human struggle for mastery over nature. She quoted the statement on the back, written by Leon Trotsky in 1938:

> "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International."

These too are the rules of the Spartacist League. We have been forthright in our political positions, including especially on the necessity to defend the Soviet Union against Reagan's war drive, Wolkenstein noted. It is perhaps this very openness which has been our best defense against the FBI's lying charges, and their attempts to smear us as some kind of conspiratorial putschists.

On 30 November 1984, the FBI agreed to settle the lawsuit launched against it by the SL by retracting their long-standing set-up "definition" of the SL as a conspiratorial grouping secretly advocating "violent overthrow of the government," and substituting a statement defining the SL as what it is, a Marxist political organization with a 20-year history in the U.S. Though we understand that the FBI and other government secret police will certainly not stop their harassment of the left and other perceived political opponents, particularly under the reactionary Reagan regime, nonetheless this settlement helps every fighter for democratic rights in this country. It provides a modest, but real, measure of legal protection not only to members of the SL, but to its friends, readers of its press, trade-union supporters and others.

Our decision to issue party membership cards resulted in part from this legal victory—we are indeed what we say we are. As SL spokesman Wolkenstein noted in conclusion: "When the working class and oppressed of this country are ready to move, when the decaying, blundering, lying, incompetent ruling class is challenged by massive struggle on behalf of a rational economy and an end to the constant threat of nuclear Armageddon—it will not be because a small group of Bolshevik propagandists 'conspired' to make it happen. It will happen because the conditions of dying capitalism will have made it a historic necessity, consciously understood by large sectors of the population. We had better be there when it does, providing as the Bolsheviks did in war-ravaged Russia in 1917 the critical element of organized leadership. We are a very precious commodity in its infancy. Like the Bolshevik Party was for Russia, the SL may be America's last best hope."■

The Trotskyists on World War II

TROTSKY

LENIN

In December 1941 American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, along with 17 other defendants, was sentenced under the Smith Act to prison for revolutionary agitation against the imperialist war. Regarding World War II, he declared:

We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved—Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain—as an *imperialist war*....

This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its "democratic" allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October Revolution. That is a *progressive war*.

—James P. Cannon, "A Statement on the U.S. Entry into World War II" (22 December 1941)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 378 **3 May 1985**

Spartacist Forums

Striking Civil Liberties Victory in Reagan's America

MARXISTS VS. FBI REPRESSION

FBI forced to admit, Marxists are not terrorists! Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel, will speak on the strategy behind the SL lawsuit against the FBI's sinister attempt to brand Marxists, black and labor activists and other political opponents as terrorists—the first successful legal challenge to the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

- **For Class-Struggle, Anti-Sectarian Defense Against Government Repression—Fight the New McCarthyism!**
- **For Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan and Nazis!**
- **A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!**
- **How to Defend Democratic, Civil and Labor Rights—A Marxist View on Law, the State and Revolution**

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel

SAN FRANCISCO

Friday, May 10, 7:30 p.m.
The Firehouse
Fort Mason Center
(Marina at Laguna)
For more information, (415) 863-6963

BERKELEY

Saturday, May 11, 7:30 p.m.
Boalt Hall, Room 110
University of California
For more information: (415) 835-1535

This forum commemorates Toni Randell (1943-1982), founding secretary of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

V-E Day in Germany

May Day, 1945: Red Army liberates Berlin. Yevgeni Khaldei

German Trotskyists: For a Soviet Germany in a United Socialist States of Europe!

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 54, April 1985, published by our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands.*

May Day in Berlin, 1945: Soldiers of the Red Army raise the red flag over the Reichstag. On May 8th German Field Marshal Keitel signs the capitulation. The Nazi regime is finally smashed, and the horrors of the "brown plague" brought to an end. The Soviet soldiers who opened the gates of the Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen concentration camps put a stop to the horrendous extermination program which had murdered six million Jews and five million of other minorities and nationalities in the death camps.

The triumph of the fascist ideology of the German "master race" and *Lebensraum* ("living space") had led to genocide, carried out with German thoroughness as far as the dominion of German imperialism reached. The German working class suffered for more than a decade under the fascist yoke; their organizations were crushed, their leaders, if they didn't escape into exile, were murdered, imprisoned in the concentration camps or killed in the war. With the military defeat of German imperialism a war ended, at least for Europe, in which the imperialists' competition for world domination cost more than 50 million lives.

The taking of Berlin in May 1945 was indisputably an act of liberation. Yet none of the Soviet Union's erstwhile imperialist allies, much less the West German successor state to the "Third Reich," want to celebrate this 40th anniversary of victory. The mood of the West German bourgeoisie was eloquently expressed in the *Spiegel* cover story, "*Zusammenbruch*" ("The Collapse"). But the defeated German imperialism of 1945 has long since raised its head with renewed self-confidence. Federal chancellor Helmut Kohl expressed the newly strengthened nationalism in the parliamentary "State of the Nation" debate: "Our fatherland, the center of Europe, was divided. For the Germans of the DDR [German Democratic Republic—East Germany] and for our Eastern European neighbors, May 8th became for an indeterminate time the day of the replacement of one dictatorship with another" (*Das Parlament*, 16 March).

The German bourgeoisie sees itself as bearing a new/old mission, "to liberate the East from Communism." And the West German army has chosen, of all dates, May 8th to demonstrate their striking power as the strongest NATO army in Europe with a "dynamic show of arms." The German proletariat must rip power away from the capitalist class before German tanks (this time "Leopards" instead of "Tigers") once again roll toward Moscow.

The hypocrisy of the imperialist victors and of defeated German imperialism over May 8th gives the lie to their occasional pose as "champions of human rights." Certainly "Star Wars" President Reagan doesn't want to hear about U.S. responsibility in helping Nazi beasts like the Gestapo murderers Barbie and Mengele escape after 1945. He's not in the least interested in the late of the victims of fascism. What interests him is strengthening the anti-Soviet NATO war alliance, in which West Germany is his most important partner. U.S. imperialism seeks to reconquer unchallenged world hegemony, which it gained after 1945 and whose loss was marked by the collapse of the Bretton Woods dollar-based monetary system in 1971. And that means above all a fight against the 1945 ally, the Soviet Union, which Reagan today calls the "Evil Empire."

On May 5, Reagan will visit the Bitburg military cemetery, where fallen soldiers of the German Ardennes offensive [Battle of the Bulge] are buried along with members of the SS murder gangs. Reagan wants to challenge that section of the American public which does not share his enthusiasm for war and who still painfully remember the millions of victims murdered by the Nazis. Reagan even tries to prettify the SS thugs buried in Bitburg as "victims of National Socialism." At the last minute, Reagan and Kohl are now trying to smooth the waves with a visit to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Yet Bitburg, amid the graves with the SS symbols, is certainly an appropriate place for Kohl and Reagan to confirm their counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet alliance.

Hitler reviews German troops who seized Warsaw in September 1939. 600,000 Red Army soldiers died liberating Poland from the Nazis. UPI

Friend or Foe?

It's obvious. The flagging victory mood of the Western allies comes from the feeling that they were on the wrong side in World War II. Perhaps, the U.S. imperialists think today, they should have grasped the extended hand of Admiral Karl Dönitz in April 1945. In his May 1st "Order of the Day" to the German army, immediately after Hitler's suicide and Dönitz' appointment as *Reich* president by Goebbels, he stated: "We must fight on against the English and the Americans so long as they prevent me from carrying on the war against Bolshevism." In a note on the same day to the British commander, Field Marshal Montgomery, Dönitz offered to become an anti-Soviet ally and turn the fronts around. At that time American imperialism rejected the offer. But Dönitz' intention was not without its own realistic calculations.

The military advance of the Soviet Union in repulsing the German Wehrmacht (army) frightened the Western Allies. Concerned that a German power vacuum would be filled by the Soviets, the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, already in 1942 called on the Western powers to "after the war put up a barrier against Communist barbarism." The policies of the Western Allies were to bleed the Soviet Union white. Despite continuous Soviet pressure, the U.S. and Britain delayed the Second Front, promised to Stalin in 1942, until mid-1944. Britain was considering an invasion of the Balkans—that is, the areas which were already being occupied by the Red Army—instead of Normandy. American military aid to the Soviet Union began only slowly and never filled more than 10 percent of the Soviet needs. The Western Allies' advance on Schleswig-Holstein in April 1945 was justified explicitly with the intention of stopping the Red Army.

For the capitalist countries involved, the Second World War was without exception an imperialist war. For the proletariat of these countries, in the words of Karl Liebknecht on the First World War, "the main enemy is at home." The workers of all countries had one country to defend in this war: the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union carried the main burden of the war. Its victory after nearly four years of fascist invasion in Russia cost 20 million dead! Three million people died in the first three months alone.

The Stalinist policies contributed to these devastating losses. Stalin trusted his pact with Hitler and rejected warnings, both from the Red Orchestra spy network under Leopold Trepper in West Europe and from Soviet spy Richard Sorge in Japan, that a German attack was imminent. The Red Army had been robbed of its most capable and experienced officers by the Stalinist purges. Thousands were murdered, among them Marshal Tukhachevsky, in order to smother all remaining opposition to bureaucratic rule. Even the most important strategist of World War II, Zhukov, had been purged, only to be reinstated due to the lack of capable officers.

And yet, despite Stalin's policies, the Russian workers threw back "Operation Barbarossa." Leningrad endured 900 days of siege; more than 800,000 people froze, starved or died in defense of the city, but the Nazis could not take it. It was the determined will of the Soviet people in defending the homeland of the October Revolution which made such obstinate and courageous struggle possible. In one of the bloodiest battles, fighting house-to-house and factory-to-factory in Stalingrad, the Soviets finally took the offensive and forced the surrender of German General Paulus in February 1943. After the victory at Kursk in July 1943, the Red Army stormed further westward. By the end of

continued on page 10

Australian Union Stays Out For Fired Worker—And Wins!

SYDNEY—Australian shipyard workers won a victory for labour solidarity and against the Cold War Labor government late last month when they smashed a scabherding assault and compelled the bosses to reinstate fired iron worker Neil Florrimell. Florrimell, a supporter of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ), was sacked on March 15 for refusing to work with apprentices being used to break the strike of electricians at the Cockatoo Island dockyards. But this time the workers stuck together—and won!

The electricians vowed they weren't returning to work without Neil, and other unions were preparing to walk, too; the primarily naval shipyards that service the government's military machine were poised on the brink of an all-out strike. On March 26, with over a hundred workers spilling out of the packed courtroom, an arbitration commission ratified what the strike and its threatened extension had won: it recommended Neil's reinstatement. The next day Neil and the electricians were back on the ferry, surrounded by jubilant workmates who knew they'd all won a victory in this one.

It was a powerful example of what a little class solidarity can achieve. Traditional Laborite craft unionism divides the workers 15 different ways, the unions regularly break each other's strikes, grossly underpaid and mostly unorganised apprentices are used as a scab labour force, picket lines are rarely employed at all. And it's all institutionalised through the state with the vicious straitjacket of compulsory arbitration.

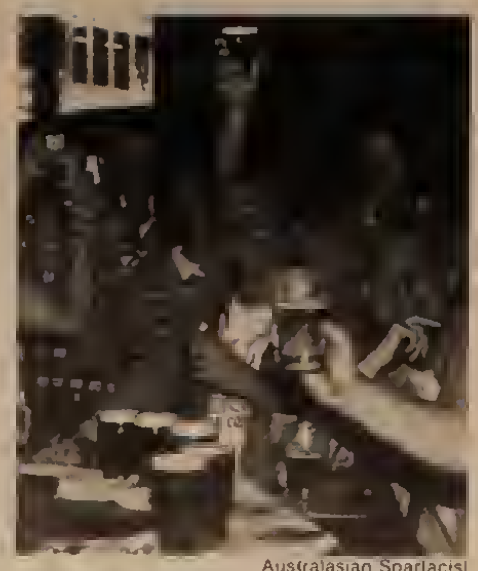
In the Sydney dockyards officials of Florrimell's own union, the Federated Ironworkers Association, ordered their members to work with the apprentices of the striking electricians. But the bosses and their agents ran into the hard fist of the working class. Neil refused to be a strikebreaker, appealed to the unions for solidarity and got the backing of the workers in the yard. Within a few days over 40 workers from the four major unions at the shipyard signed a statement demanding industrial solidarity with Florrimell and the electricians: "Strike action to defeat this company attack needs to be extended now, and right across the island if need be."

By the time of the arbitration hearing the bosses were already squealing about how the navy was being affected. From Brisbane to Melbourne, waterside workers had been hitting the bricks in their own disputes. All hell was about to break loose. While the nervous Hawke government dispatched two official emissaries to the arbitration session, almost 100 electricians packed the court to show their support for Florrimell. According to Neil, "Metal workers official Pat Johnson had to make the point to the court that every unionist on the island stood by what I had done and if it didn't reinstate me there'd be big industrial trouble. So in some ways the court had no choice but to reinstate me in order to head off what could have been a big explosion on the island" (interview in *Australasian Spartacist* supplement, 3 April).

It was not only a victory against the shipyard bosses but against the government as well. The bourgeois press was alarmed by the workers' victory, giving wide coverage, in the Sydney, Brisbane and national press, to Arbitration Commissioner Ted Bennett's lament that the shipyard should be renamed "Cuckoo Island": "It was the first jail of the early colony. Not so today. It can be evacuated at a moment's notice at the blowing of a delegate's whistle" (*The Australian*, 17 April). Bob Hawke's Cold War Labor government has chained Australian workers with three years of union-busting, social spending cuts and a vicious "Accord" or "social contract" between the trade-union bureaucracy and the state that amounts to a no-strike pledge writ large. At Cockatoo Island some of the workers' growing rage at Labor's austerity policies was unleashed, and the bourgeoisie didn't like it, because they're worried that Hawke and the union bureaucracy can't keep the working class in chains.

The bosses' hopes to return Australian workers to the penal colony through Hawke's brittle "class peace" can be smashed. The working class is increasingly alienated from the social-democratic Labor government. And Hawke's role as Reagan's regional enforcer is bitterly resented; following U.S. retaliation against New Zealand's refusal to dock U.S. nuclear ships, even Cold Warrior Hawke was forced to back down from his secret agreement to aid U.S. MX missile testing.

Meanwhile the trade-union and Labor "lefts" want to point the workers down the poisonous path of protectionism, such as the metal workers union's anti-Asian chauvinist "Australia on the Brink" campaign to keep out Japanese, Korean and other imports. At bottom all wings of the trade-union bureaucracy are politically bankrupt. They cannot fight the layoffs, social cuts and union-busting because they are wedded to the pro-capitalist leaders of the ruling Labor Party that administers capitalism, desperately trying to shore up Hawke's crumbling "Accord."



Australasian Spartacist

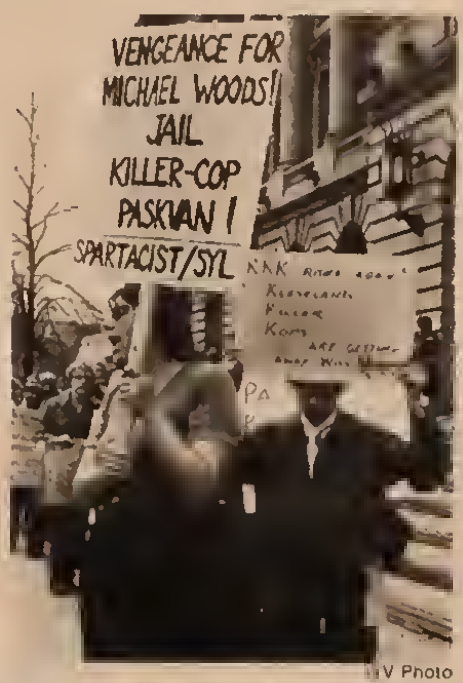
"This one's for us." Neil Florrimell and electricians celebrate victory.

The shipyard workers won this battle because they relied on class solidarity and not the Labor government and its state arbitration. The Spartacists and supporters like Neil Florrimell fight for such independent mobilisation of the power of the labour movement. The SL/ANZ stands for militant tactics like industrial unionism and picket lines that no one crosses. Above all the fight to turn the unions into weapons of struggle must be a political struggle to drive Hawke and his Cold War CIA-lovers out of the labour movement and expose the bankrupt "lefts." While the entire fake-left backed Hawke, the Spartacist League said "hell no" to this front man for Ronald Reagan, and stood intransigently against Hawke's virulent anti-Sovietism. It is only through such a revolutionary program that rejects all forms of social-democratic Laborism that proletarian power—a workers republic of Australia in a socialist Asia—can be realised. ■

Cleveland Killer Cop Kills Again

CLEVELAND—The notorious kill-crazy Cleveland cop Joseph Paskvan has struck again. This time his murder victim was Marcos Luciano, Jr., a 22-year-old auto mechanic from the Near West Side Puerto Rican community. Paskvan shot and killed Luciano April 10, firing three .357 bullets into his upper arm, chest and thighs. This latest murder in Paskvan's rampage has outraged wide segments of Cleveland's black, Hispanic and working-class white communities. And last week Luciano's 20-year-old widow, Carolyn, vowed to a community meeting at the Spanish-American Committee office, "I'll fight the rest of my life to get this man off the streets."

On April 15 over 100 people gathered, including the parents of Michael Woods (the young black man murdered by Paskvan three years ago) and the entire Luciano family with his widow and two children, following Marcos Jr.'s burial, to protest outside the Cleveland Justice Center. One demonstrator carried a sign, "KKK Rides Again! Kleveland Killer Kops are Getting Away With Murder!" Spartacist protesters demanded vengeance for Paskvan's murdered victims, jail the killer cop, and no reliance on the courts and civilian review boards.



WV Photo

April 15: After funeral for Marcos Luciano, Jr., over 100 protest Cleveland killer cop.

Marcos Luciano was shot down outside of a friend's house on West 50th Street. Earlier that evening, a woman living in the house had been threatened by a knife-wielding intruder, and Luciano had come over with a small pellet gun to defend her. Luciano was leaning on his car when Paskvan, dressed in civilian clothes, approached shouting, "Hold it, you young motherfucker!" and opened fire. A witness said he did not see Luciano raise any weapon.

Paskvan has been the perpetrator of a long string of murderous outrages. In his 12-year police career he has been involved in at least nine shootings and three murders. This disgusting killer is known in cop circles as "Orkin Man Joe" for his efforts to "exterminate" "society's maggots" (Fraternal Order of Police newsletter *The Communicator*, September 1982). In March 1978 Paskvan shot down Darrell Parks when the 20-year-old allegedly resisted arrest for driving without a license. On 23 July 1982 he wantonly killed Michael Woods as the young black man was driving downtown to get a birthday cake for his one-year-old son. And this murdering scum even has the audacity to file suit against Lucius Woods, his victim's father, for defamation of character (see "Racist Cleveland Cops Sue Their Victims," WV No. 374, 8 March)!

On April 19, chief police prosecutor Patrick Roache ruled that no criminal charges would be pressed against Paskvan. The next day police chief William T. Hanton said he agreed with the cop report 100 percent. But Paskvan's revolting record in this polarized and segregated city does seem to be provoking some sections of the bourgeoisie to see their hired gun as something of a liability. City councilman John Barnes has called for Paskvan to be assigned to a desk job and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* has launched a contemptible campaign to be sure he receives psychiatric counseling.

Likewise, various liberals and reformists have put forward programs to "reform" the situation, from calling to "prosecute" Paskvan in the racist courts, as the SWP does, to firing him from the police force (to clean out a few "rotten apples"), to raising the perennial call for a civilian review board. Others are saying that a black mayor is the solution. But Cleveland already had a black mayor, Carl Stokes, and it was under his administration that the cops set up black nationalist Ahmed Evans, leading to the so-called "Glenville riots" in 1968. City rulers, from Mayor George Voinovich to black Democrats like city council president George Forbes, did everything they could to gut the proposed review board, which the cops then got thrown out in court. In fact, *no* government agency in racist capitalist America will stop the killer cops with their itchy trigger fingers.

From California's Orange County where the cops wantonly murdered five-year-old black child Patrick Mason in his living room watching television, to New York City where infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs was blown away because she was behind in her rent, to Cleveland where Marcos Luciano was shot down in cold blood while trying to protect a woman in her home, cop terror is everywhere in Reagan's America. The cops, courts and capitalist politicians are enemies of the poor, blacks, Hispanics, all working people. Unions and minority organizations should be mobilized to bring out thousands to answer the racist terrorists, in and out of uniform, with mass labor/black action.

Joseph Paskvan is a professional racist killer who belongs behind bars for good! As he stacks up his own private body count on the streets of Cleveland, Paskvan likes to boast of his more than 100 firefights in his prior training as a Marine in Vietnam. This was a cause that Ronald Reagan still holds dear. But ten years ago, the heroic Vietnamese swept the likes of Paskvan out of their country. It's going to take a socialist revolution right here in the heartland of U.S. imperialism to put racist marauders like Paskvan out of action and get rid of the racist "law and order" they enforce. Vengeance for Michael Woods and Marcos Luciano, Jr.! ■

NYPD's Torture City

So now it's torture, by the New York City Police Department. Not just your usual beatings, kicks in the teeth, shoving down stairs and similar approved interrogation procedures routinely used by NYC's "finest." Not even the old technique of putting a telephone book on the suspect's head and then slamming it with a baseball bat (doesn't leave marks). No, today they're using the electric shock treatment, straight out of the CIA's Nicaraguan "contra" terror manual. What's next, New Yorkers are asking nervously, death squads?

Even the *New York Times* (25 April) worries that the cops are out of control; it used to be that cases of "spectacular police misconduct" were once or twice a year; now "they seem to be occurring once or twice a month," editorialized the haughty voice of the bourgeois establishment. Mayor Ed Koch and his black front-man police commissioner Benjamin Ward are feeling the heat: on Wednesday they transferred 50 cops out of the Queens "torture precinct," and two days later the entire NYPD top brass was hauled onto the carpet.

What's going on here is a wave of racist police bonapartism. The cops have slipped the leash and are running wild in the streets and stationhouses. Supposedly, the SNAP ("Street Narcotics Apprehension Program") squad at the 106th Precinct in Queens, which has been systematically torturing black suspects with electric stun guns, was never "authorized." But Koch's killer cops take their cue from Hizzoner, who's been praising every act of racist cop brutality, coroner cover-up and racist cops no doubt carved another notch on their stun gun and figured that would be that.

But Mark Davidson and his family courageously fought back. New Yorkers saw the clean-cut young black man on TV, his body covered with burn marks. Soon other victims came forward with tales of torture at the 106th Precinct. Pike, known to his cop buddies as the "Prince of Pain," had threatened to kill

Cummins/Newsday

18-year-old black youth Mark Davidson was tortured and burned by cops with 5,000-volt stun gun.

a 17-year-old Hispanic youth. Another black youth was stripped and zapped with the high-voltage stun gun while the cops ordered beer and pizza. Over in the 110th Precinct, cops beat up two Korean Americans while screaming racist epithets at them.

Queens district attorney John Santucci ordered Pike and his partner Jeffrey Gilbert arrested. At City Hall

Lord/Newsday

D.A. whitewash that comes down the pike.

On April 16, an 18-year-old black high school senior, Mark Davidson, who had no previous arrest record, was hauled into the Ozone Park stationhouse on a drug bust. They threw him into the soundproof interrogation chamber, his hands cuffed behind him, banged his head against the wall and punched him in the eye. While another cop held Davidson down, racist sicko sergeant Richard Pike started in with the stun gun, yelling, "This ain't TV, nigger. We're gonna be here all night until you give us the money."

Davidson's screams of pain were heard all over the station. Altogether, more than 49 wounds were burned into his chest, stomach, buttocks and back. Pike threatened to use the gun, which puts out a 5,000-volt charge from two metal prods, on the black youth's testicles. Finally, the torturers extorted a "confession" from their victim, that he had supposedly sold $10 worth of marijuana to an undercover cop. (A marked $10 bill never materialized.) The

Koch Whitewashes Gross the Ghoul

Meanwhile, back at Bellevue, a special counsel appointed by Mayor Koch has declared New York City coroner Elliot Gross "not guilty" of "the charges we investigated." This "blue ribbon" panel produced a whitewash of the amply documented findings by *New York Times* reporter Philip Shenon that Gross regularly covered up for police homicides. After city and state reports had slammed the Medical Examiner's office for incompetence and mismanagement, the Liman report stated that in "leaving open the causes of deaths of people in police custody," the coroner had followed standard "practice" that "antedates Dr. Gross's tenure."

This is the same line taken by Bronx judge Vitale in dropping a slap-on-the-wrist indictment against ESU cop Stephen Sullivan, who was "following departmental guidelines" in killing Eleanor Bumpurs. The Gross defense is the Sullivan defense is the Eichmann defense: they were all "only following orders." In the Ozone Park "torture precinct" scandal, D.A. Santucci is complaining about a "blue wall of silence." But as we noted last issue ("Koch's D.A. Morgenthau: He's Gross, Too," *WV* No. 377, 19 April), "the Mafia/cop code of *omertà* extends right to the top." Covering up for cop murder is just "standard operating procedure."

So the Koch/Morgenthau/Ward/Gross team are off and running for this year's mayoral election. A grinning Gross announced he intends to stick it to the *Times*, with a $5 million libel suit. On the torture scandal Koch claims "it is not systemic"; Ward says "I can't see a pattern." But all you have to do is list the recent cases:

- On December 9, Sharon Walker, a Queens motorist, was shot in the back and killed by off-duty NYPD sergeant Rudolph Hays after a minor traffic collision.
- On January 3, Darryl Dodson was shot dead by Brooklyn cop Joseph Vacchio responding to a call about a man with a gun (Dodson was unarmed).
- On February 24, Paul Fava was shot in the head while being searched by Bronx policeman Mervin Yearwood on an elevated subway platform. The alleged "crime" for which Fava was executed is alternatively described as "turnstile jumping" or throwing lightbulbs onto the tracks.
- On March 15, 70-year-old Dr. Hyman Chernow was killed and 72-year-old Upper East Side doorman Jack Sitowitz was struck by a police cruiser careening down Park Avenue. The hit-and-run driver, boozed-up sergeant Frederick Sherman, and his two tight-lipped partners claimed their car had been hit by a brick.
- On March 16, off-duty cop Russell Bjune celebrated St. Patrick's Day by assaulting Patricia Toro who was coming out of an abortion clinic, arresting her, and having her locked up in a jail cell overnight without medical attention.
- On April 14, off-duty Brooklyn cop Perry Novello lunged into a restaurant and tried to forcibly kidnap a waitress, a former girlfriend, then beat the restaurant owner onto the ground with his gun, handcuffed and kicked him.
- On April 17, Mark Davidson was tortured in the 106th Precinct station. Since then four more victims have testified to similar electric shock torture.

Not only is this pattern of cop brutality "systemic," it's the system—a system of racist injustice directed in particular at blacks, Hispanics and other minorities. The purpose of the stun gun interrogations on the second floor of the 106th Precinct wasn't even extracting "confessions" to crack down on drug dealing. What court is going to send a kid to Rikers Island on a $10 pot bust? No, the "SNAP" squad was set up to terrorize blacks moving into the formerly lily-white Ozone Park enclave. This is a uniformed lynch mob carrying out the same racist terror as the gang of ethnic punks in Gravesend, Brooklyn who in 1982 bludgeoned to death black transit worker Willie Turks for daring to be out on the streets at night in that "whites only" enclave.

In NYC election year 1985 the capitalist politicians can't ignore this police rampage. Koch is trying to get off the hook by calling in Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese for a federal whitewash. Yuppie challenger Carol Bellamy called on Koch to appoint a special commission to investigate the NYPD. Black machine Democrat Herman Farrell called for a new civilian review board. They can appoint all the commissions and review boards they want, but won't make a dent in police brutality or the cops' connections with organized crime any more than Mayor John Lindsay's Knapp Commission did 15 years ago. Such "safety valves" to dissipate mass outrage are just as much a part of the system of racist capitalist injustice as the D.A.'s office and the "blue wall of silence."

Columnist Sydney Schanberg sagely explains that the police do all this—beatings, torture, murder—because they are "alienated" and "misunderstood by the 'civilian' community." That's why "they so often eventually feel the need to band together into a self-protective, private society" (*New York Times*, 27 April). All those poor alienated misunderstood cops banded together on February 7 when 10,000 of them surrounded the Bronx courthouse packing their pieces and demanding the head of D.A. Mario Merola for indicting the murderer of Eleanor Bumpurs. And this ominous pressure tactic worked.

Killer cop Sullivan walked. Gross the ghoul is back on the job. The transit cops' "dirty dozen" who bludgeoned Michael Stewart to death are still going after "turnstile jumpers" and "graffiti artists" with their guns and nightsticks drawn. The answer to the growing bonapartist threat is not more "empathy with cops," or appeals to the capitalist state to "tighten the leash" on their attack dogs. At a July 1983 transit workers demonstration demanding vengeance for Willie Turks, TWU militants called for "union defense squads now!" Never was this call more urgent than today.

We need to mobilize our own forces to build a workers party, to organize powerful labor/black action against the racist terrorists in and out of uniform, in the fight for socialist revolution. ■

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Finish the Civil War!

BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE JIM CROW MILITARY

PART ONE OF TWO

"They say this is a war
For Freedom Over There.
Say, Mr. FDR
How 'bout some Freedom Here?"
—from "Ballad of Ned Turman"
(1942)

A Soldier's Story is set in the Deep South, at an army camp for black troops in World War II. And the signs of vicious "Jim Crow" racial segregation are everywhere. There's no doubt who the hero of the movie is supposed to be. As soon as handsome Captain Richard Davenport (Howard Rollins), a lawyer out of Howard University, steps off the bus, wearing his snappy army uniform and sunglasses "like MacArthur's," he evokes the polished, ebony middle-class black hero Sidney Poitier used to play, ready to do gentlemanly battle with the evils of racism.

"Haven't you ever seen a colored officer before?" a white drill instructor asks the gaping black GIs as Davenport is driven past. "No sir. Have you, sir?" they answer in unison. The captain is assigned to an empty barracks since his fellow white officers refuse to be housed with him. Davenport's mission is to investigate the murder of black sergeant Vernon Waters, and of course everyone suspects the local Klan or racist white officers at the base. "They ain't crazy about us tan Yanks in this part of the country," Davenport's driver notes.

But the trail leads instead to a black private, Melvin Peterson. While not political with a capital P, he is cast in this situation as a militant, a man who stands up for black rights. (Denzell Washington, who plays Peterson, was deliberately chosen for his resemblance to Malcolm X.) The murdered Sergeant Waters, a contradictory figure, was

Columbia Pictures photos

A Soldier's Story: Movie transcends liberal message of Capt. Davenport (left). At right, Sgt. Waters frames up C.J.

consumed by self-hatred born of racist oppression, determined to "improve" his race through his own personal program of "purification" in which he eliminated black soldiers he considered "inferior." "Them Nazis ain't all crazy—whole lotta people just can't fit into where things are goin'," he says at one point. After the sergeant frames up and jails his latest victim, the popular "C.J." Memphis—driving him to suicide—Peterson kills the sergeant one night to avenge "C.J."

Investigator Davenport finally captures Peterson after a chase and confronts him: "Who gave you the right to judge who is fit to be a Negro and who is not?" Here is one of the central themes of the movie: justice is "working within the system," although the black captain is clearly torn by the situation. The case "solved," Davenport is leaving the base the next day when he is given a ride by one of the less prejudiced white officers. "I guess I'm going to have to get used to Negroes with bars on their shoulders, Captain," says the white officer. Davenport replies, "Oh, you'll get used to it—you can bet your ass on that." And so they ride off supposedly into a new dawn of black advancement and equality.

Playwright Charles Fuller and director Norman Jewison have produced a powerful film. Its characters (except for Davenport) are not cardboard but full of contradictions. From lynchings to black self-hatred, *A Soldier's Story* plumbs the most excruciating aspects of racial oppression in America. It is also a movie with a message, a clear liberal message which is not tacked on but integral—every scene builds toward the climax. And yet that message falls flat. Blacks in audiences across the country cheer Peterson's actions and find Davenport's moral lecture a letdown. Why? Because they already know the sequel to *A Soldier's Story* in real life, in their lives.

They know it took "freedom rides," mass action, deaths, just to integrate drinking fountains, lunch counters and schools. Even then blacks remained on the bottom of American society, North and South, and today the schools are as segregated as before. Many remember that most of those black troops marching off to war never saw combat, so afraid were their white masters of the explosive combination of "Negroes with guns." (The play, at least, was less starry-eyed, reporting that the entire 221st Chemical Smoke Generating Company was wiped out by the Germans. But Hollywood wants its happy ending.) For Black America, it was Malcolm X, not Martin Luther King, who told it like it is:

> "Prior to 1939, our people were in a very menial position or condition. Most of us were waiters and porters and bellhops and janitors and waitresses and things of that sort. It was not until war was declared with Germany, and America became involved in a manpower shortage in regards to her factories plus her army, that the black man in this country was permitted to make a few strides forward. It was never out of some kind of moral enlightenment or moral awareness on the part of Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam only let the black man take a step forward when he himself had his back to the wall."
>
> —*Malcolm X Speaks* (1965)

As Leon Trotsky, founder of the Soviet Red Army and together with Lenin leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, wrote: "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme" (*The History of the Russian Revolution* [1930]). Certainly the black experience in the U.S. armed forces has been a concentrated expression of the virulent racism of American capitalist society.

Slavocracy vs. the Negro Soldier

From the beginning, the United States has always been a hard, mean, violently racist country, founded on genocide and the slave trade, and a slave economy. And so from colonial times to the present, the sight of armed blacks in uniform, organized for war, has been perceived as a dangerous threat to the racist status quo, whether it was plantation slavery or modern imperialism. For that reason the induction of blacks into the military was always a desperate last resort for the ruling class, to be undertaken only with the strictest racist precautions. Indeed, from the late 1700s up till the end of World War II—with the exception of the Civil War and its immediate aftermath—race lines actually *hardened* in the military.

From the time of their first arrival in the New World as slaves in 1619, American blacks have been used to fight the white man's wars—in fact, blacks have fought in *every* American war except the 1846 war with Mexico. But the idea of arming and training blacks to fight always sent shivers down the spines of the slaveholders: "There must be great caution used, lest our slaves when armed might become our masters," noted a group of colonial Carolina landowners (see historian Jack D. Foner's well-researched account, *Blacks and the Military in American History* [1974]). Hence the recruitment of blacks into the army was always resisted, and was done only when desperate manpower requirements left no alternative. Thus the shortage of men during the French and Indian wars of the 1750s led many towns to overlook laws excluding blacks in order to fulfill their quotas, and black slaves were promised freedom if they served. Blacks served in unsegregated units in this period and were paid the same wages as whites, although slaves had to surrender at least part of their wages to their masters, and typically the blacks would be assigned non-combat roles such as laborer, scout and servant.

In the American War of Independence, the Founding Fathers tried to avoid inducting blacks, although black soldiers had fought in such early battles as Lexington and Concord in 1775, and the famous black slave Crispus Attucks was one of the five martyrs of the 1770 Boston massacre. Foner reports that on 9 July 1775 commander in chief George Washington's headquarters issued orders to his officers not to recruit "any stroller, Negro, or vagabond." Washington was himself a major slaveholder and thought blacks would make inferior soldiers, but events forced a reversal of policy. Ironically it was the cynically opportunist *British monarchy* which first instituted the policy of offering freedom to black slaves who served on their side. As many slaves started deserting their masters for the British army, and as manpower shortages grew in the Continental Army, the Americans were soon forced to enlist free blacks,

National Archives

Black slave Crispus Attucks was one of the five martyrs of 1770 Boston massacre.

and then even slaves. Thus in this war for the birth of American bourgeois "democracy," the emerging American ruling class had to be compelled literally at the point of British guns to offer a few blacks their freedom in exchange for military service. Through the whole war, about 5,000 blacks served in the Continental Army of 300,000.

After the War of Independence, the conditions of blacks declined as they were no longer needed for the army. The slaveholders' fear of armed blacks was heightened by the greatest slave rebellion in modern times, Toussaint L'Ouverture's triumphant victory against Napoleon's army in Haiti in 1802. "The existence of a negro people in arms," wrote Napoleon's foreign minister Talleyrand to a general in Washington, "is a horrible spectacle for all white nations" (quoted in David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* [1979]). Certainly it was a horror to the white slaveholders of the U.S.—not until 1862, in the middle of the Civil War, did Washington recognize the black republic in the Caribbean. Meanwhile the exclusion of blacks from the military tightened, except in the navy, where difficulties in recruiting sufficient numbers of white sailors forced the recruitment of blacks and strict segregation was difficult to enforce.

In the War of 1812, the Americans were again forced to follow the British example of offering slaves freedom in exchange for military service, and 600 black troops fought for Andrew Jackson at the famous Battle of New Orleans. After the war, slaves seeking freedom took refuge among the motley Seminole Indians in Florida. But in 1830 President Andrew Jackson—a Southern cracker ahead of his racist time—ordered their removal. In the Second Seminole War (1835-42) Jackson managed to recapture a number of blacks for slavery, but the U.S. never managed to impose a victory treaty on the Seminoles.

Civil War: The Second American Revolution

The Civil War (1861-65) was the first and only American war in which blacks clearly had a stake. While Lincoln considered it to be a war to preserve the Union, the "irrepressible conflict" between Northern capitalism and Southern slavocracy quickly became apparent. As Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote at the very beginning of the war:

> "The present struggle between the South and North is...nothing but a struggle between two social systems, between the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other."
>
> —"The Civil War in the United States," 7 November 1861

Many Union commanders pressed for the arming and training of blacks, from professional soldiers like John C. Fremont to the abolitionists like Thomas Wentworth Higginson (a friend of John Brown) to the German-American Marxists like Joseph Wedemeyer. Lincoln and the War Department tried to resist the recruitment of blacks, and as Foner notes, "blacks themselves initiated much of the action that culminated in abolition and their admission into the armed forces. Thousands of fugitive slaves flooded the Union lines wherever federal forces penetrated new areas of the South." Union commanders had to decide on the spot what to do with the flood of sympathetic black fugitives, and many Union officers, starting with General Benjamin Butler in 1861, put the blacks to work constructing Union fortifications and performing other services. Finally in August 1862 Secretary of War Stanton relented by officially sanctioning the recruitment of blacks.

New York Historical Society

Port Hudson, Louisiana, 27 May 1863: The first major Civil War battle in which black troops took part.

Lincoln, recognizing the reality of the situation, issued the Emancipation Proclamation on 1 January 1863, and after that black recruitment began in earnest. Ex-slave and black revolutionary Frederick Douglass issued a historic appeal in March 1863, "Men of Color, To Arms!" arguing that "liberty won by white men would lose half its luster." In a famous speech, Douglass argued for black enlistment not only because the logic of the war must lead to the abolition of slavery, but also because blacks fighting for their own freedom would transform the black soul itself:

> "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder, and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States."
>
> —"Address for the Promotion of Colored Enlistments," 6 July 1863 [*The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. 3 [1952]]

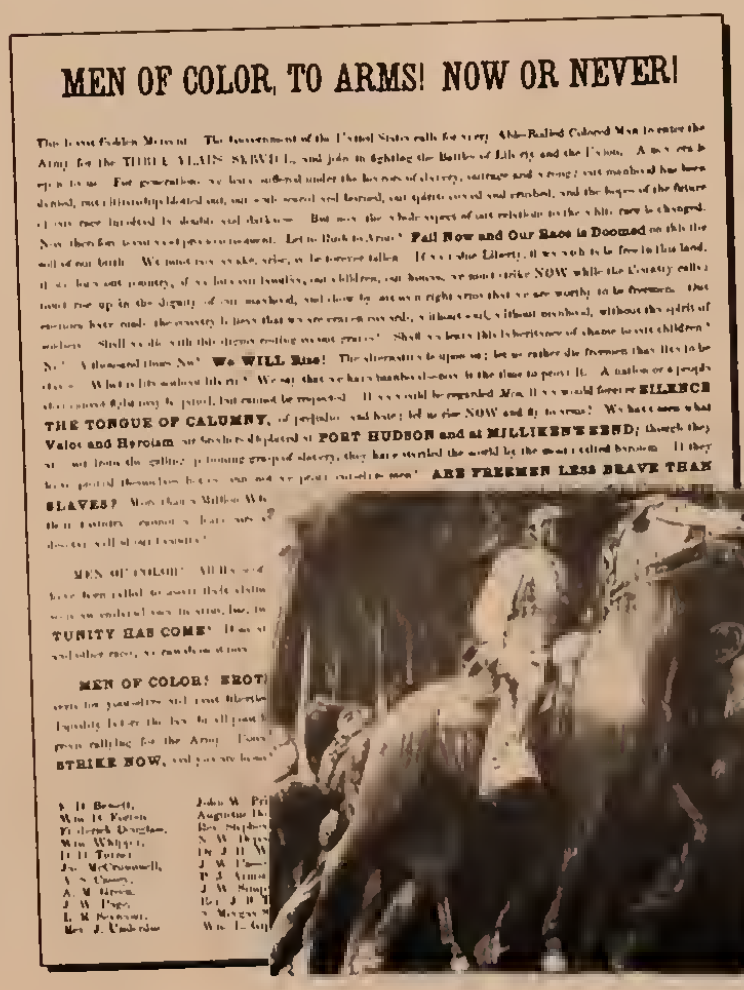
The close to 200,000 black troops who served in the Union Army (about 10 percent of the Union Army was black in 1865) and 30,000 in the navy (one-quarter of the total navy enlistments) provided the critical fighting spirit to bring Union victory. For instance, the famous 54th Massachusetts Regiment of black freedmen led by the white abolitionist, Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, fought valiantly in the attack on the Confederate stronghold of Fort Wagner, South Carolina, where 247 men of the 54th died, including Colonel Shaw (see *Young Spartacus* No. 90, April 1981). The racists' fear of armed blacks drove the Confederacy to take extra brutal measures against the black. Union troops—exemplified by the infamous massacre of over a hundred captured black troops at Fort Pillow in 1864 by Confederate butcher Nathan Bedford Forrest, who later founded the Ku Klux Klan.

The Civil War was a revolutionary war of liberation. In Dixie mythology, pictured in *Gone With the Wind*, Union General Sherman's "march to the sea" leaves nothing but flames of destruction and weeping belles behind. But for the freed slaves the Union banner was the sign of liberation:

> "Meridian [Mississippi] was thoroughly sacked.... Black smoke lay on the land as the troops marched away...and as the column swung back toward home territory it was followed, as Sherman recalled, by 'about ten miles of Negroes'."
>
> —Bruce Catton, *This Hallowed Ground*, 1955

But blacks also had to fight for equality inside the Union Army: the entire 54th Massachusetts Regiment and other black units refused to accept their pay because it was several dollars less than white soldiers' pay, until Congress rectified the situation in 1865. Summarizing his experience in the war, white abolitionist Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson who commanded the pioneer regiment of ex-slaves, the First South Carolina Volunteers, described how the arming of blacks transformed racial perceptions:

> "We who served with the black troops have this peculiar satisfaction, that, whatever dignity or sacredness the memories of the war may have to others, they have more to us...the peculiar privilege of associating with an outcast race, of training it to defend its rights and to perform its duties, this was our especial meed. The vacillating policy of the Government sometimes filled other officers with doubt and shame; until the negro had justice, they were but defending liberty with one hand and crushing it with the other. From this inconsistency we were free. Whatever the Government did, we at least were working in the right direction. If this was not recognized on our side of the lines, we knew that it was admitted on the other. Fighting with ropes round our necks, denied the ordinary courtesies of war till we ourselves compelled their concession, we could at least turn this outlawry into a compliment. We had touched the pivot of the war. Whether this vast and dusky mass should prove the weakness of the nation or its strength, must depend in great measure, we knew, upon our efforts. Till the blacks were armed, there was no guaranty of their freedom. It was their demeanor under arms that shamed the nation into recognizing them as men."
>
> —Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1869)



MEN OF COLOR, TO ARMS! NOW OR NEVER!

This is your Golden Moment. The Government of the United States calls for every Able-Bodied Colored Man to enter the Army for the THREE YEARS SERVICE, and join in fighting the Battles of Liberty and the Union. A mere opportunity to be Free. For generations we have suffered under the hot rule of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been derided, our intellect belittled, and our whole record scoffed and scorned, our rights denied and trampled, and the hopes of the future of our race laughed to disdain and darkness. But now the whole aspect of our relations to the white race is changed. Now there has come a new opportunity for manhood. Let us Rush to Arms! **Fail Now and Our Race is Doomed** on this the soil of our birth. We must rise or sink, strive, or be forever fallen. If we rise Liberty, if we sink to be free in this land, if we have our country, if we have our families, our children, our homes, we must strike NOW while the Country calls! must rise up in the dignity of our manhood, and show by our own right arms that we are worthy to be freemen. Our enemies have made the country to know that we are ready, without one, without manhood, without the spirit of soldiers. Shall we do this with this degree resting on our race? Shall we leave this inheritance of shame to our children? No! A thousand times No! **We WILL Rise!** The alternative is upon us; let us rather die freemen than live to be slaves. What is life without liberty? We say that we have humble desires in the time to come. A nation or a people that cannot fight may be pitied, but cannot be respected. It was said [illegible] Men, if we would forever be **SILENCE THE TONGUE OF CALUMNY**, of prejudice and hate; let us rise NOW and fly to arms! We have seen what **Valor and Heroism** are exhibited at **PORT HUDSON and at MILLIKEN'S BEND**; therefore they [illegible] **ARE FREEMEN LESS BRAVE THAN SLAVES?** More than a Million We [illegible] country, cannot a brave one [illegible] all our country!

MEN OF COLOR! All the world [illegible] TUNITY HAS COME! [illegible]

MEN OF COLOR! BROTH[illegible] for the Army. [illegible] **STRIKE NOW**, and you are [illegible]

A. H. Bassett, John W. Pr[illegible]
Wm. C. Parrish, Augustus H[illegible]
Frederick Douglass, Rev. Stephen [illegible]
Wm. Whipper, S. W. Depee
D. H. Ferrer, Dr. J. H. W[illegible]
Jas. McCrummell, J. W. Th[illegible]
A. S. Causey, P. J. Arm[illegible]
A. M. Green, J. W. Simp[illegible]
J. W. Page, Rev. J. P. T[illegible]
L. M. Benson, S. Morgan W[illegible]
Rev. J. Underdue, Wm. H. Gu[illegible]

Union Army black recruitment poster signed by Frederick Douglass. Statue of white abolitionist Col. Robert Shaw, commander of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment of black freedmen.

Young Spartacus

From Radical Reconstruction to Imperialist War

All in all, there were 16 all-black regiments in the Union Army, and in recognition of the black contribution, after the war Congress created four special permanent "colored" regiments of the army: the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry. In the postwar Reconstruction period, when the South was occupied by the Union Army and for a few years blacks were enfranchised, the Reconstruction state governments recruited former black soldiers into federal militias, which were sometimes used to put down Klan violence (such as in Arkansas). But too often the Reconstruction governors hesitated to mobilize armed blacks, because "it was the silent verdict of all America that Negroes must not be allowed to fight for themselves" (W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* [1935]). The Compromise of 1877, which involved the withdrawal of Union troops from the South, definitively put an end to the Reconstruction attempts at "equality" for blacks and ushered in a period of thoroughgoing racist reaction and Klan terror. From then till now, for Southern whites the image of armed blacks in uniform instantly evokes memories of

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Black Soldiers...

(continued from page 7)

the Civil War and black liberation, and so it is no coincidence that many blacks have been lynched in their army uniforms.

Ironically, the four regular black regiments were used after the Civil War to crush the other colored peoples of even lower social status than the blacks—the Indians. The black "Buffalo Soldiers" won many medals in the Indian Wars of 1869-1890, and were again used in the Spanish-American War of 1898, in the fight to seize Cuba for the U.S. ruling class. After a campaign around the slogan "No officers, no fight" resulted in the recruitment of 100 black officers, blacks joined in the creation of volunteer outfits in addition to the four regular black regiments. But as the U.S. turned to crushing an anti-imperialist guerrilla movement in the Philippines, a split developed in the black community as many felt sympathy for "another people of color." Many black soldiers actually deserted in the Philippines—the most famous was David Fagan of the 24th Infantry, who accepted a commission in the Philippines guerrilla forces of Emilio Aguinaldo.

The rise of American imperialism abroad in the Spanish-American War was of course directly linked to the triumph of racist reaction at home. The racist tide was reflected in a monumental racist frame-up of black soldiers of the 25th Infantry stationed at Fort Brown, Texas. The men had suffered the typical racial abuse by the white citizens of nearby Brownsville, and when a shooting occurred in the town in August 1906 in which one white man was killed and a cop injured, 170 black soldiers were immediately charged with murder even though their white officers proved the men had been asleep in their quarters at the time of the shooting. The War Department immediately sided with the townspeople, and without a trial, President Theodore Roosevelt signed an executive order drumming all 170 men out of the army with dishonorable discharges.

World War I: The Main Enemy Was at Home

The entry of the U.S. into World War I in 1917, allegedly to "make the world safe for democracy," at first raised false hopes among the black community that by fighting in that war perhaps a little "democracy" might be granted to blacks at home. Despite some opposition from black leaders like A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, the predominant black view as expressed by W.E.B. Du Bois was that an Allied victory would bring the Negro "the right to vote and the right to work and the right to live without insult." Du Bois urged blacks to "close ranks" behind the war effort and defer all "special grievances" until the war was over. It was a betrayal—for the entry of American imperialism into the world battle for booty only led to an intensification of racial and class oppression at home. Under President Wilson segregation became government policy, especially in Washington, D.C., where "colored" restrooms were established in government office buildings and blacks were systematically removed from federal employment.

Library of Congress

In Spanish-American War of 1898, black soldiers were used to seize Cuba.

As usual, the government was reluctant to use blacks in any combat role—the four experienced, regular all-black army regiments were never allowed to do any fighting throughout the war. But once again the need for manpower forced a reversal of policy, and blacks were inducted into new units to do some fighting. Eventually the rate of black draftees accepted was higher than the white acceptance rate, as whites found more ways to get deferments from the all-white draft boards. But of the 380,000 blacks drafted, only 42,000 were given a combat role, in the all-black 92nd and 93rd Divisions in France. Over one-third of American forces in Europe were black, but they were concentrated disproportionately in non-combat menial assignments.

Needless to say, there were very few black officers, and the (frequently Southern) white officers assigned to black units often treated their ranks with racist contempt. Even in France, where there was no native policy of segregation and black soldiers were more readily accepted as equals by the French soldiers, the U.S. Army tried to export Jim Crow to make it clear that blacks must know "their place" after the war. A secret order from General Pershing's headquarters to the French military liaison on 7 August 1918 made this clear:

> "We must prevent the rise of any pronounced degree of intimacy between French officers and black officers. We may be courteous and amiable with the last but we cannot deal with them on the same plane as white American officers without deeply wounding the latter. We must not eat with them, must not shake hands with them, seek to talk to them or to meet with them outside the requirements of military service. We must not commend too highly these troops particularly in front of white Americans. Make a point of keeping the native cantonment from spoiling the Negro. White Americans become very incensed at any particular expression of intimacy between white women and black men."
>
> —quoted in Mary Penick Motley, ed., *The Invisible Soldier* (1975)

Nevertheless, of the four all-black regiments attached to the French army (the 369th, 370th, 371st and 372nd), three received the *Croix de Guerre* medal from France. In contrast, the U.S. Army's fear of black leadership was highlighted in May 1917 when the army forced Colonel Charles Young, the only black West Point graduate on active duty, to retire for "medical reasons." Young would have been in line to become a general and hence possibly command white troops; he protested by riding on horseback from his home in Ohio to Washington, D.C. to prove his fitness, but it was no use. Young did manage to establish a training school for black officers at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and one of the first black officers to graduate from that school, Colonel Howard Donovan Queen, years later described the most infamous racist incident of the war:

> "In August 1917, a race riot between the white citizens of Houston, Texas, and the 24th Infantry Regiment, a Regular Army regiment, occurred. It was the result of insults and abuse heaped upon the members of the 24th by the white citizenry. Two Negroes and seventeen whites were killed in the ensuing battle...
>
> "Major General Chamberlain, Inspector General, United States Army, came to Fort Des Moines and in the presence of the 1,200 men announced, 'If you know anything about the matter you'd better start talking now because there is going to be a big hanging': this before the General Court-martial members had been appointed to try the case! Thirteen soldiers were hanged and a large number [42] were sent to prison for life."
>
> —Motley, *The Invisible Soldier*

This was the largest murder trial in U.S. history, and the *one-day* proceeding by an all-white military tribunal can only be called a legal lynching. It was a signal of what was in store for blacks in American "democracy" after the war. Indeed, hundreds were lynched during and after the war, many of them still wearing their army uniforms. The defeat of the postwar strike wave of 1919-20 encouraged the growth of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, and the dream of "freedom" for blacks quickly turned into a nightmare of race-terror.

If black soldiers returned from World War I to the lynch mobs, race riots and mass unemployment, this was due in no small part to the political immaturity of the American working class and the domination of the reactionary Jim Crow AFL in the organized labor movement (except for the heroic IWW). But in Russia, where the workers had a revolutionary leadership, a Bolshevik party that could link their aspirations to the emancipation of the colored peoples and oppressed nations of the tsarist empire, out of the blood and destruction of World War I there emerged the first victorious proletarian revolution. V. I. Lenin sought through the Communist International (Comintern) to impart to the young Communist parties that emerged in solidarity with the October Revolution the indispensable lessons of that revolution, especially the need to rally the specially oppressed to the banner of the proletariat. It was centrally the experience of the Russian Revolution that compelled would-be American revolutionists to turn to the unfinished tasks of the Civil War regarding black emancipation.

And so in 1920 at the Second Congress of the Comintern, at Lenin's request the American Communist John Reed gave a report on the black question in the U.S. in which he explained how the experience of blacks helped them to resist the postwar racist tide:

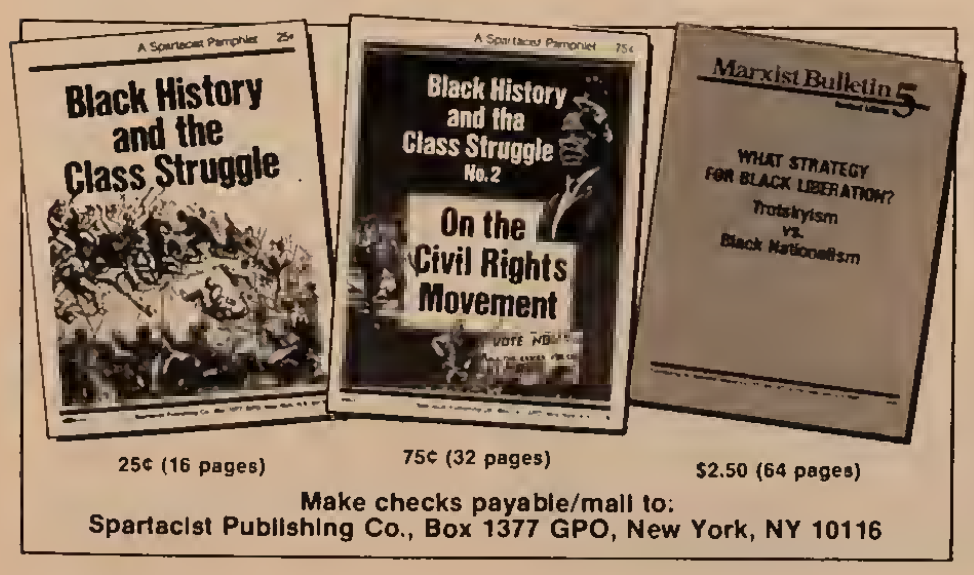
> "The first awakening of the Negroes took place after the Spanish-American War, in which the black troops had fought with extraordinary courage and from which they returned with the feeling that as men they were equal to the white troops.... With the beginning of the European war half a million Negroes who had joined the U.S. Army were sent to France, where they were billeted with French troop detachments and suddenly made the discovery that they were treated as equals socially and in every other respect. The American General Staff approached the French High Command and asked them to forbid Negroes to visit places used by whites and to treat them as second-class people. After the war the Negroes, many of whom had received medals for bravery from the English and French governments, returned to their Southern villages where they were subjected to lynch law because they dared to wear their uniforms and their decorations on the street,...
>
> "The first of these [racist] outbreaks took place in Washington, where civil servants from the administration returning from the war found their jobs occupied by Negroes. The civil servants were in the main Southerners. They organized a night attack on the Negro district in order to terrorize the Negroes into giving up their jobs. To everybody's amazement the Negroes came on to the streets fully armed. A fight developed and the Negroes fought so well that for every dead Negro there were three dead whites.... In all these fights the Negroes showed for the first time in history that they are armed and splendidly organized and are not at all afraid of the whites."
>
> —John Reed, report on the Negro Question, 25 July 1920 (reprinted in *WV* No. 348, 17 February 1984)

National Archives

February 1919: Returning soldiers of the black 369th Infantry Regiment wearing the Croix de Guerre.

The Communists, said Reed, should intervene in the black movement "to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people." To *finish the Civil War* requires a third, proletarian, American revolution, led by a multiracial communist party.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



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Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

participated in a 1944 mass execution of at least 86 American prisoners of war at Malmédy, Belgium (carried out by the SS First Panzer Division). They ignored the fact that the men of the SS Second Panzer carried out a massacre of 642 civilians at the French village of Oradour-sur-Glane that same year. And it certainly didn't bother them that this same unit, also known as "Das Reich" division, spearheaded Hitler's attack on Smolensk, Kiev and Kharkov in the Soviet Union. According to the *New York Times* (28 April), "In September 1941, some of its members assisted an extermination squad in the killing of 920 Jews near Minsk."

From the beginning Reagan's visit was intended to be a vehicle to demonstrate the unity of the Western imperialist NATO alliance. Like John Kennedy's 1963 visit to West Berlin where he looked over the Wall and proclaimed, "*Ich bin ein Berliner*" (I am a Berliner), it is to be a platform for anti-Soviet propaganda. The whole purpose of the trip is to draw attention away from the 40th anniversary of the World War II Allies' victory in Europe (V-E Day) on May 8. All the talk of "reconciliation" between former enemies is supposed to bury the fact that it was the Soviet peoples who bore the brunt of World War II and the Soviet army which brought down the Hitler tyranny. That's why Reagan also boycotted celebrations of the meeting of Soviet and American troops on the Elbe.

Bonn feels betrayed by its American ally. What's the fuss about, they ask, didn't we just divvy up the Hitlerite war criminals? The Americans built their whole space program with Nazi scientists, and helped set up West Germany's army and secret police with Hitler's former officers. Speaking before West Germany's current version of the Reichstag, Christian Democratic chancellor Kohl pointedly reminded his Social Democratic critics that none other than Kurt Schumacher, the virulently anti-Communist SPD leader after the war, was a prime mover in the policy of rehabilitating members of the Waffen SS. Meanwhile, anti-Semitic articles in the sensationalist German press claim that the outcry in the U.S. is the product of a Jewish conspiracy: "Reagan's Visit: The Power of the Jews" headlined the mass circulation *Quick* magazine.

In the U.S. a tiny gang of fascist punks, the SS Action Squad, spoke on the steps of Dearborn City Hall in Michigan celebrating Hitler's birthday and praising Reagan's trip. But they're about the only ones. The American people may not like "reds," but one thing they really *hate* is Nazis. World War II was an imperialist war, but the generation of Americans that fought that war believed they were fighting the heinous, barbarous crimes of the fascists. Hundreds of thousands of Americans are refugees or children of refugees from Nazi terror and genocide. While a handful of Nazi scum in the U.S. will crawl out of the gutters to shout "Sieg Heil!" to Reagan's homage to the Waffen SS at Bitburg—and more nativist fascists may be emboldened—America, including the hard-core racist Reaganites, is up in arms over Reagan's visit on the 40th anniversary of V-E Day.

Reagan is in trouble over this one, and his aides have been madly scrambling around in an effort at "damage control." National Security Adviser McFarlane tried to order Kohl to call off the cemetery visit. (The White House sometimes forgets the distinction between powerful imperialist allies and its Central American puppets.) They even had the *chutzpah* to ask hunter of Nazi war criminals Simon Wiesenthal to come along for the ride, no doubt recalling his recent signature on a full-page ad calling on Congress to fund the Nicaraguan contras. But Wiesenthal told them to forget it. Even U.S. Holocaust Commission chairman Elie Wiesel, who accepted a medal from Reagan, turned them down. At the White House awards ceremony, Wiesel implored Reagan, "Your place is with the victims of the SS." But he is wrong. Reagan *belongs* at Bitburg.

It's certainly fitting that Reagan and Kohl proclaim the "reconciliation" of German and American imperialism in an anti-Soviet crusade over the gravestones of the SS killers. But the American people hate Nazis, and Reagan may not like the reaction when thousands of anti-fascists and Holocaust survivors in concentration camp attire show up at Bergen-Belsen to repudiate these genocidal Cold Warriors. For our part, we stand with the leftists who reportedly passed out a leaflet on the anniversary of the liberation of Dachau thanking Soviet soldiers for freeing the victims of Nazi terror and for smashing the heinous Hitlerite dictatorship.

Nicaragua: Reagan's Vietnam?

Reagan pulled out all the stops to get his Nicaraguan "contra aid" bill passed by Congress. "Few votes will ever be so important to the survival of democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean. Few votes will ever be as important to the national security of the United States," he proclaimed bombastically in his weekly radio show (*New York Times*, 21 April). He even accused the Democrats directly of "surrender to Communism." But the USA today isn't the same as in the McCarthyite witch-hunts. It wasn't the $14 million that was at stake, everyone agreed: it was a "new Gulf of Tonkin resolution," promising "another Vietnam" in Central America. And after the U.S.' fiasco in its last colonial war, the bourgeoisie is leery about getting dragged down to defeat again.

Ten years after the last U.S. helicopter took off from the Saigon embassy, America is still obsessed with Vietnam. Currently, every TV network, every major newspaper is doing a retrospective, trying to find out "what went wrong?" Most of it is arrogant garbage, trying to put a brave face on defeat. Others recognize that the "Vietnam syndrome" continues to check the appetites of Washington. The *New York Times* (28 April) editorialized that:

> "To the cry of 'No More Vietnams,' the United States has tied itself into knots over Nicaragua. The President wants a virtual declaration of war against the Sandinistas—no more piecemeal humiliations by Soviet proxies. Congress, in a stunning demurral, says no more piecemeal investments of prestige in a war we're unwilling to send American boys to finish."

Richard Nixon writes a book titled *No More Vietnams*; the same cry is uttered by the liberals, rad-libs and reformists who lament this debacle for Washington. But we Marxists, Trotskyists, say "Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

Der Spiegel

Reagan and Kohl—new anti-Soviet axis.

The day after his defeat in Congress, Secretary of State Shultz lashed out in an anti-Communist diatribe on "The Meaning of Vietnam." "South Vietnam was not a Jeffersonian democracy with full civil liberties" (!), he admitted. Hardly—not with Hitler-loving dictators like Marshal Ky in power, political dissidents thrown into "tiger cages," suspected Viet Cong assassinated by the CIA's Phoenix Program, entire villages carpetbombed by B-52s. (For that matter, "Jeffersonian democracy" meant chattel slavery for blacks.) But still, the U.S. was supposedly engaged in a "noble cause" in bringing "democracy" and "economic progress" to Asia. Back in the days of naked colonialism, it used to be called the "white man's burden," bringing "civilization" to "savages."

The problem in Vietnam, said Shultz, was not that the U.S. went in but that it got out. And today? "Our goals in Central America are like those we had in Vietnam," he declared. The Reaganites want to avenge U.S. imperialism's humiliation in Indochina with the blood of Nicaragua. Vietnam was the first-ever military defeat for Yankee imperialism, and it's precisely the fear of another losing war that has stayed their hand from Angola to Afghanistan. The Reagan gang wants to disappear this reality, blaming it all on the liberal media's "stab in the back," just like Hitler blamed the Social Democrats for Germany's loss in World War I. But more enlightened sectors of the American ruling class, including much of the Pentagon, know different.

It's not that the Democrats love the Sandinistas. Far from it. The "compromise" contra aid bill failed by only *two* votes, and the *Washington Post* (26 April) noted in a headline, "Congress Expected to Back Some Form of Aid to 'Contras'." The Democrats steadily voted for the CIA's "covert war" on the Sandinistas up until a year ago when the mining of Nicaraguan harbors made it impossible to keep up any semblance of "plausible deniability" of U.S. involvement. They called for economic strangulation of Nicaragua through a trade embargo—which Reagan is taking them up on. But they know that the contras are militarily as useless without the 101st Airborne as Hitler's East European *Einsatzkommandos* were without the *Wehrmacht* (army) behind them. And they're afraid that direct U.S. military intervention would lead to explosions throughout Latin America and at home.

The Spartacist League has declared for several years, "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!" The reformists spread the Big Lie that this demand was a Reaganite provocation, and built a popular-front "anti-intervention" movement under the aegis of the Democrats. Last spring, summer and fall they went all out to "defeat Reagan" and "vote for peace in November"—i.e., for loser Democrat Mondale, who called for a full-fledged naval "quarantine" of Sandinista Nicaragua, an unambiguous act of war! And on the "contra aid" fight, the *Washington Post* underlined, "During Congressional Debates, Virtually No One Defended Nicaragua's Sandinista Government."

In seeking a bloc with the liberal Democrats, the popular-frontists hark back to the days of "the good war," World War II, when Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill were allies. WWII is presented as a "war for democracy" and a "war against fascism," but as soon as Germany and Japan were defeated, the colonies were reoccupied and the fascists were cleaned up and put back in power as "freedom-loving democrats" in the war against "Soviet totalitarianism." If you support the war, you support the victory of "your" side. The victory of U.S. imperialism led straight to the Cold War, Korea, Vietnam and now Central America. Hitler is gone... and now you have Reagan, who threatens to plunge the planet into barbarism in order to restore the "American century."

In World War II, the Trotskyists defended the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, but opposed the inter-imperialist slaughter which laid waste to most of Europe and much of Asia, just as Lenin and the Bolsheviks called for revolutionary defeatism on all sides in the First World War. The Democratic Party, the party of World Wars I and II, of Yankee intervention at the Bay of Pigs, Santo Domingo and Vietnam, will hardly stop U.S. intervention in Central America. Voting hundreds of millions to CIA puppet Duarte in El Salvador, they are up to their necks in it. And so are the fake-leftists who support them.

UPI

Losers scramble to board last flight out of Da Nang, April 1975.

In 1945, Nazi fascism was not rooted out but replaced by another form of bourgeois rule. Those Nazis who could, fled to South America or made themselves useful to the Americans, or took up their places again in West Germany. The torture techniques of the death camps were taken over by the CIA and transmitted to Latin American death squads, from Argentina to El Salvador. Only where capitalism has been overthrown, from East Berlin to Hanoi, have the war criminals been brought to justice. The degeneration of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay is reflected in the leadership it throws up. The American bourgeoisie wanted Ronald Reagan, and it got the Nazis in the bargain. From South Africa to Germany to Central America and the United States, the scourge of fascism will only be wiped out through international socialist revolution. ■

Wohl/Sygma

Reagan's "brother" at work: contra slits throat of Sandinista supporter.

V-E Day in Germany...

(continued from page 3)

October 1944, nearly all of Eastern Europe had been liberated by the Red Army.

The Western Allies were deeply disturbed: the influence of the Soviet Union had to be driven back. So they finally established the Western Front, and the race to Berlin began. On 6 June 1944, U.S. troops landed in Normandy. Up to that time the Germans had been able to concentrate 95 percent of their divisions in the East, and the Red Army never faced less than 65 percent of the Wehrmacht strength. In the last analysis, "Operation Thunderclap," the April 1945 British-American firebombing of Dresden, filled with refugees from the East, which took 35,000 lives, and even more so the atomic mass murder in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, were intended to intimidate the Soviet Union.

West German Imperialism: Hitler's Heirs

In the Soviet occupation zone, which later became the DDR, resurgent Nazism was deprived of any social base through the destruction of capitalism, and more than 350 Nazi mass murderers were sentenced to death or life imprisonment. In contrast, the Nuremburg Trials of 1945-46 and other Allied war crimes trials only served as an alibi. Prominent Nazis like the banker Hermann Josef Abs were soon pulling the strings again. Abs, an influential board member of the Deutsche Bank under Hitler who was sentenced *in absentia* to 15 years hard labor by Yugoslavia, became chairman of the board and headed the Reconstruction Credit Agency! Hitler's war industry chief, Friedrich Flick, who had made gigantic profits from the slave labor of 40,000 foreign forced-laborers and concentration camp victims, was released from jail in 1950 and soon became known as Bonn's "uncrowned finance minister." Flick Jr. deals with Bonn governments and the Bundestag [West German parliament] as branches of his industrial empire: representatives of the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Free Democrats all snap to attention in return for cold cash.

American imperialism had nothing against the reinstatement of "former" Nazis in key positions in politics and the economy. Only a strong German capitalism could be of use against the Soviet Union. In the United States itself, the CIA falsified 800 files and gave Nazi specialists "laundered" documents in order to make use of them for their own purposes. The file of "V-2" rocket builder Wernher von Braun was among the dossiers of 14 scientists who in 1947 were considered "security risks" by the U.S. but were later "denazified" at the stroke of a pen. The "Foreign Armies East" secret service under Wehrmacht general Gehlen was absorbed by the CIA to continue its spying and sabotage against the Soviet Union. The Gehlen organization was taken over in 1955 as West Germany's secret police. Together with Adenauer's secret service coordinator Globke, sentenced in the DDR to life imprisonment as one of the organizers of the genocide against Jews, Gehlen created the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution *(Verfassungsschutz)*.

Yakov Ryumkin

Stalingrad, August 1942-January 1943: Hardest fought battle in WW II. Workers' Russia shattered Hitler's dreams of conquest.

The constitution for which the men in trenchcoats do their spying and persecution asserts the claim of the Federal Republic [West Germany] to be the successor state to Hitler's Third Reich, *within the German borders of 1937* (thus including much of present-day Poland and parts of the USSR). So when Bonn's state secretary for "Inner-German Affairs," Ottfried Henning, claims "East Prussia belongs to Germany" he is only stating openly what has implicitly been official policy all along. In June Chancellor Kohl is to speak at a revanchist Silesian "exiles" convention under the slogan: "Silesia remains our future in a Europe of free peoples." The January issue of their newspaper pointed out this vision of the future:

> "The armed forces of the German Federal Republic had marched through the Warsaw Pact area without coming upon resistance to speak of, and now stood on the Soviet border.... The fact of German reunification had come—without war!"

Leaders of Polish Solidarność, who look to the Frankfurt bankers for their salvation, seem to forget that the German imperialists are not exactly generous with their *Lebensraum*.

SPD Nationalism: Rollback in "Peace" Costume

Forty years after the end of the war, U.S. imperialism is only first among equals. Interimperialist competition is escalating into bitter trade wars, and differences between the NATO brothers-in-arms have increased—differences centering on the question of *how* the Soviet Union should be destroyed. The basis for "Europacifism" is the fear of Europe being turned into an atomic battlefield. In West Germany, the Social Democrats, once a kept party of the CIA, have switched masters back to German imperialism. The SPD's road isn't that of open revanchism, whose pro-war course would only lead West Germany to defeat and atomic catastrophe. Social Democracy wants to win back German imperialist dominance over Eastern Europe, to destroy the East German and Polish workers states, by undermining them economically through internal counterrevolution, like the Lutheran church-dominated "peace" movement in East Germany or the (now prostrate) yellow "union" Solidarność in Poland.

Walter Hahn

Firebombing of Dresden (right) and atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were monstrous war crimes whose intent was to intimidate Soviet Union.

The "left" nationalism of the SPD is a trap for the German working class. Everyone knows that the CDU/CSU (Christian Democrats) are riddled with former Nazis, while Social Democracy pretends to be the party of clean hands. SPD chairman Willy Brandt presents himself, a one-time anti-fascist fighter, as the most effective figure to reconcile the German workers with their "own" bourgeoisie. Oskar Lafontaine, successful SPD "peace" candidate in the Saar, expresses this clearly: more autonomy inside NATO, no MX missiles, and a powerful arsenal for the Bundeswehr. The SPD boasts that it is the real party of *Ostpolitik* ("Eastern policies") for German imperialism. Quite right. Its tradition as a reformist workers party gives it the chance to act in the East German workers state as a pro-imperialist alternative to Stalinism, disguised as a true, national "force for peace."

West Germany's left trails in the wake of Social Democracy. The Greens make their contribution to whitewashing German imperialism by demanding that Kohl visit Auschwitz [in Poland] on May 8th. They pose as peace wardens, but the Green-supported "peace" movement in the DDR, and their beloved Solidarność, aim at the economic, political and military disarming of the workers states in the face of imperialism. On May 4, "Greens," "Autonomists," Maoists and pseudo-Trotskyists will demonstrate against the Reagan visit and the imperialist world economic summit in Bonn—an anti-American and anti-Soviet demonstration of the new German nationalism. An effective protest against the imperialist robbers would have to be based on defense of the DDR, Poland, the Soviet Union and other workers states, with the perspective of class war against one's "own" bourgeoisie.

Among the belligerent powers of World War II only the Soviet Union today sees a reason to celebrate the destruction of the criminal Hitler regime on May 8th. Reagan and Kohl would like everyone to forget the horrors of the Nazi regime, because the imperialist enemies of old are now NATO allies carrying out the program of Admiral Dönitz. DDR leader Erich Honecker recently remarked:

> "We will not forget the victims of Hitler's barbarism and the victims of the Dresden bombing terror.... All in all, you can't say that the right conclusions have been drawn from World War II. Not even the Star Wars architects or their planners would survive a war unleashed with atomic weapons."

The "right conclusion," say the Stalinists, is to resuscitate the old wartime alliance. But even if there were a chance for a Gorbachev-Reagan pact, it would no more protect the Soviet Union against imperialist attack than did Stalin's pact with Hitler. A proletarian political revolution is needed to oust the sellout bureaucracy in the degenerated/deformed workers states. Not détente illusions but international socialist revolution will defend the remaining gains of the October Revolution.

Germany was divided as the result of the defeat of German imperialism in the last world war. Talk of reunification without overthrowing resurgent German capitalism in the West is a call for counterrevolution in the East and a new world war—this time a nuclear holocaust for all humanity. To achieve a progressive solution to the German question, a revolutionary-internationalist, authentically communist party must be built which energetically opposes the "left" nationalism of the "peace" movement as well as open right-wing revanchism. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands seeks to build such a party, fighting for revolutionary reunification of Germany as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. The red flag which was unfurled over the Brandenburg Gate on 1 May 1945 must fly over all of Europe, as a signal for world revolution, for a socialist future in which genocide and war are banished forever. That is our goal. ■

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Smash Apartheid...

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African consulates, the result was a wave of struggle which could go beyond the boundaries of liberal "witness" and "dissent." It was the black struggle for civil rights that put an end to Cold War McCarthyism and awakened the last generation of militants to political consciousness fighting Jim Crow segregation in America. The protests over South Africa are not just a question of "foreign policy"; the black question is the key to the American revolution.

From the powers that be, the reaction to this nascent student upheaval has ranged from brute force to sophisticated attempts at co-option; both have the shared purpose of nipping in the bud a potentially explosive opposition. UC Berkeley exemplifies the combination of brute force *and* co-option. From shouting down Reagan's dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick at Cal in 1983 to militant street demos against Reagan's secretary of war Weinberger last summer to protests against Marine recruiters on campus this spring, a series of militant actions have stirred students. The response of the UC administration has been repression, cop beatings and arrests. Campus cops used the deadly choke hold on Spartacus Youth League member and Berkeley student Guillermo Bermúdez on March 28 at the protest that drove out Marine recruiters, breaking his arm, and then charged the 5'5" Bermúdez with "assault" against the burly 6'3" cop! The cop rampage at Berkeley is so vicious that some 48 witnesses and victims testified to the UCPD terror campaign at a recent Berkeley Police Review Commission.

In a dawn raid April 16, campus police in riot gear busted 154 protesters on the steps of Biko Hall. Later that day thousands turned out to protest the arrests, and the demonstrations have continued since then. On April 24, some 6,000 swelled into Sproul/Biko Plaza, then converged on a meeting with the UC Regents. This "discourse" was rigged from the outset to allow luminaries from the Democratic Party and trade-union bureaucracy and student bureaucrats from various UC campuses to digress at length about the "moral quandary" facing the university community. It was demonstrably *not* a forum for any of the student victims of the campus cops' peculiar views on "democracy," nor for militant opposition to apartheid slavery, and effectively dissipated the strength of the protest that day. At the meeting, UC president Gardner had the gall to lecture students on the "correct" method of civil disobedience, pointing to Martin Luther King and Gandhi as role models. A lecture on pacifism from the man whose cops routinely beat student protesters bloody! On April 26, another four students were arrested, beaten and jailed; bail was set at astronomically high figures.

The events at Columbia are the starkest expression of the "soft kill" technique against student protest. Here the administration was determined *not* to call the cops, and wisely so from the rulers' point of view. New York City would likely explode over a repeat of 1968 when the brutal cop riot against student blockaders shocked the city and radicalized a layer of idealistic students, breaking them from illusions in the university as a "free marketplace of ideas" and in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state. Today, in the face of growing outrage among blacks in particular over the New York Police Department's spree of racist killings and now electric-shock torture, university officials were not about to risk a big mass bust of black and white students protesting apartheid racism. And why bother? With a cooperative liberal leadership of the protests who had chained the front door to Hamilton Hall but not the back, Columbia figured they could leave them out there 'til nuclear winter.

Young Spartacus

UC Berkeley, April 16: thousands protest mass bust of student anti-apartheid demonstrators.

After prolonged shadowboxing between university attorneys and the student Committee for a Free South Africa (CFSA), a court finally upheld Columbia's request for an injunction. The student Committee obediently removed the chains, and to put an upbeat face on it decided to end the blockade with a march through Harlem. This was significant: Columbia, the imperialist think tank, is also a notorious Harlem slumlord, and it was the students' demands to open campus facilities to the neighboring black community of Morningside Heights which sparked the '68 "Columbia revolt." On the April 25 march through Harlem, an SYL contingent chanting "From Harlem to Soweto—Same struggle, same fight! Workers of the world unite!" was well received by marchers and onlookers alike. But the march ended with protesters being herded into a Harlem church to hear the election campaign announcement of CFSA's lawyer C. Vernon Mason that he was running for district attorney!

Deals with the administration were no "sellout" by the CFSA leadership. From the beginning, the black Democrats who initiated the action have proclaimed their goal to be "disinvestment" of Columbia's stock in South Africa, a demand the students have generally accepted as a legitimate means of fighting apartheid. Thus the whole strategy of the movement is rooted in wheeling and dealing over how best to manipulate endowment portfolios, as if there is *any way* the capitalist class can be made to act in the interests of the oppressed black masses on whose exploitation the whole rotten system rests!

The implicit idea behind the "Free South Africa" campaign is that somehow American bankers, auto magnates, oil barons, and so forth can be shamed into pressuring their South African partners to act right... like in the good ole USA. But if you could free South African blacks simply by negotiating with the Columbia trustees, surely the people of Harlem would long since be free. South African black leader, ANC president Oliver Tambo, said as much in a speech in New York April 27, when he told black supporters in Harlem, "You are now free. Well, perhaps not as free as you'd like to be. But we look across the Atlantic and say, in that country, in the United States, these things don't happen anymore." "Oh yes, they do!" angry voices from the crowd shouted back.

While opposing the demand for divestment as a liberal/moralist tactic which is at best meaningless and at worst counterproductive, we Marxists recognize that the current outbreak of student struggle has taken on the character of a referendum on apartheid. Spartacus Youth League members from Columbia to Berkeley to UCLA have taken their place with the students against the U.S.-backed Pretoria regime, the university, its cops and the courts. A support telegram from Hamilton Hall blockaders at Columbia, initiated by the SYL, was cheered by Berkeley students on the steps of Sproul Hall. But we are also intervening in this struggle to divest a new generation of youth of their illusions in "liberal" imperialism. We know the imperialists cannot be shamed into abandoning their key anti-Soviet partner and gendarme in the strategic region of southern Africa. We know apartheid cannot be smashed short of the workers seizure of power which wipes out South African capitalism once and for all.

Students at Berkeley got some token working-class support April 18, when some 500 convention delegates of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union boarded buses and came over to join student protesters on the steps of Biko Hall, with a banner "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All" and placards reading "We Back South African Unions." It was a gesture by the ILWU leadership of Jimmy Herman. Much more significant was the battle over the ship, the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, which sat at Pier 80 in San Francisco for ten days last November/December while the longshoremen refused to unload its South African cargo. This action grew out of a desire for militant protest against the racist apartheid repression, although the union bureaucrats tried to sabotage it and get themselves off the hook by such tactics as "work the ship, not the cargo." Finally they capitulated in the face of a government injunction and ordered ILWU members to move the *Kimberley*'s blood cargo. On April 16, the day of the mass bust at Berkeley, Stan Gow of the ILWU Local 10 Executive Board came to the Cal campus, receiving cheers from the crowd when he told the students "I strongly urge you all to sit down" and stick together 6,000-strong against the threat of new arrests. But, like the ILWU tops' betrayal, the student bureaucrats rushed in to urge people to disperse and dissipate the action.

Jesse Jackson showed up at Columbia and Rutgers hoping to repeat the old 1960s shell game of turning student protest into voting cattle for the imperialist Democrats. During Vietnam, antiwar demonstrations were massive but had little impact on the war because they were focused on the campuses. The Spartacist League sought to win students to a working-class perspective, agitating for antiwar political strikes of labor. Our movement approaches the new generation of student protesters with the advantage of a fighting Marxist youth organization that is intervening in major protests across the country. Not divestment—a utopian call for a "strike" of capital to pressure the apartheid racists—but a working-class struggle for power from Durban to Detroit. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

cordoned-off townships will be massacred without any chance that their sacrifice will bring down the white-supremacist regime. Incidents such as the severe burning two weeks ago of a white youth who stopped in a black township to buy liquor could be used as the pretext to unleash the bloody holocaust. A senior cop declared, "If there are any further attacks on whites... there will be a serious risk of white vigilante action.... We are only a step away from it" (*Newsweek*, 29 April).

It is urgently necessary to bring the power of the black proletariat into struggle for its own class rule. The increasing organization and consciousness of this working class is the Achilles' heel of apartheid capitalism. With a revolutionary proletarian leadership the black union movement could give direction and purpose to the rebellion of youth in the townships, all of whom are wage earners or families of workers. The determined Afrikaner rulers can isolate and napalm black townships, but they cannot replace or obliterate the black working class, which produces the wealth of South Africa.

To succeed, the liberation struggle against apartheid must throw off the nationalist leadership, which only looks to the workers as a vehicle to power for a petty-bourgeois layer aspiring to exploit "their own" black toilers, as in Machel's Mozambique and Mugabe's Zimbabwe. Instead, as we stated in "South Africa: Razor's Edge" (*WV* No. 376, 5 April), internationalist communists, black, coloured, Indian and white, must lay the basis for a multiracial revolutionary workers party, to lead the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Revolt and Repression in South Africa

APRIL 29—As anti-apartheid protest sweeps major American campuses, mass revolt and massive repression continue throughout South Africa. At the world's largest gold mine at Vaal Reefs 14,400 black miners went on strike protesting low wages and the firing of four shop stewards. Since their strike was "illegal" under Pretoria's slave labor laws, these courageous miners knew that they faced mass firings and deportation to the desperately impoverished bantustans and neighboring black states like Mozambique. Indeed the company, Anglo-American, fired all strikers, who proceeded to barricade themselves in their hostels. On Saturday the South African cops moved in with rubber bullets and tear gas to evict the strikers. But the miners strike, like the Transvaal general strike in November, demonstrates that South Africa's migratory labor system of indentured servitude no longer cows black labor.

In the black townships collaborators with the apartheid regime are being doused with gasoline and torched or hacked to death, and repeated confrontations with heavily armed South African cops are met with new Sharpeville massacres. Sixteen leaders of the largest anti-apartheid formation, the United Democratic Front (UDF), have been indicted for treason, and the last two leaders at liberty have now been seized. The UDF 16 will stand trial for their lives for the "crime" of leading peaceful protests for basic human dignity and rights like being able to live with your family. Drop the charges against the UDF 16! Free all anti-apartheid fighters!

In South Africa today, funerals and religious services are the *only* public meetings blacks are permitted to organize and attend. And as they bury their dead, with tens of thousands singing religious hymns and liberation anthems, bloody police repression is daily producing new martyrs. Alan Cowell reported in the *New York Times* (28 April) repeated chants of "This is a bad place" punctuated by cries of "Bazooka!" from militant youth yearning to replace stones with guns in their running battle with the police.

South Africa is heading for civil war. But should it slide into simply a black-vs.-white race-national military conflict, the poorly armed blacks in the

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Protests Sweep U.S. Campuses

Smash Apartheid!

In the last month student actions against South African apartheid—blockades, "sit-outs," sit-ins, demonstrations—have swept the campuses in proportions not seen since the 1960s and early '70s. When students at Columbia blockaded Hamilton Hall on April 4—renamed Mandela Hall in honor of the "banned" and imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC)—it sparked nationwide campus protests. The week following the Columbia blockade, students at UC Berkeley took similar action at Sproul Hall (now named Biko Hall in honor of the martyred South African Black Consciousness Movement leader), which continues as we go to press. Mass arrests at Berkeley—the largest since the early days of the Free Speech Movement—and a calculated campaign of cop brutality have not dissuaded the protesters, but had the opposite effect. Over 700, including faculty members, have been arrested in the course of daily sit-ins at the administration building at Cornell University.

Both at Berkeley and Cornell, students have resisted the cops, surrounding buses and trying to stop them carting off arrested demonstrators. Even in Boulder, Colorado nearly 500 were arrested for protesting CIA dirty work in Central America. Student actions have taken place at Harvard and Tufts University in the Boston area, at UCLA and UC Santa Cruz, at Madison, Ann Arbor, Princeton, Rutgers, Oberlin and Northwestern. A "national day of action" called for April 24 by anti-apartheid student protesters brought out thousands across the country. This has not escaped the notice of the bourgeoisie: the *New York Times* (25 April) noted a "tentative and somewhat limited resurgence of student activism at American colleges and universities this spring. For the first time in many years, campuses are stirring to calls to take a stand on the political and social issues of the day."

For the past several years the media has been playing up the phenomenon of "conservatism on campus," students kissing the ground after being "rescued" by the Grenada invasion, flag-waving youth chanting "USA! USA!" at the Los Angeles Olympics, "youth for Reagan" election rallies. But we have repeatedly noted the shallowness of this mood:

> "The 'new patriotism' of middle-class college-age youth has yet to be tested in blood. If the nuclear maniacs running this country think they can finally get over the 'Vietnam syndrome' of bourgeois defeatism with a generation of youth for whom Vietnam is at best a fuzzy TV-screen memory, *they* ain't seen nothing yet. The body bags returning from a Yankee invasion of Nicaragua would gag the flag wavers faster than Dr. Strangelove could holler 'Yahoo!'"
>
> —*Young Spartacus* No. 124, February 1985

No students have yet been drafted to invade Central America. But already the campuses which were prominent centers of student radicalism during the Vietnam War are the scene of mass militant protest. And together with Reagan's impasse over Nicaragua and the fiasco of his upcoming SS cemetery visit, a breach has been opened in the wall of Reagan reaction.

Young Spartacus

Berkeley students sit in at Biko Hall. From Columbia U. to UC Berkeley anti-apartheid protests crack Reagan reaction on campus.

The protests were sparked by the South African police murder of dozens of black protesters near the industrial city of Uitenhage last month, marching to a funeral on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. While Reagan alibis this latest massacre and calls for "constructive engagement" on behalf of the racist apartheid regime, the South African black revolt has touched the raw nerve of the race question in the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz warned the U.S. "cannot afford to let southern Africa become a divisive domestic issue—tearing our country apart" (*New York Times*, 17 April). But South Africa *has* become a burning issue in this country. American blacks see in South Africa the magnification of their own racist oppression.

After their disastrous support to Mondale last November, the black Democrats rushed to look up the address of the South African embassy in order to clean up their image. But when it moved beyond symbolic arrests and photo opportunities outside South

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Young Spartacus

Berkeley campus cops: Do they think they're in South Africa?

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 379 X-523 17 May 1985

Two Black Activists Murdered, Unions Call National Work Stoppage

South Africa: Black Struggle Needs Workers Party

Peters/New York Times

Forty black and multiracial unions in South Africa have called for a nationwide two-hour work stoppage May 14 to protest the racist murder of two prominent black activists in police custody. This will be the first nationwide multi-union labor action since February 1982 when 100,000 workers downed tools to protest the torture/death of Neil Aggett, a white organizer for the black union movement. In the apartheid police state, "detention" often equals a death sentence. Remember Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko and Neil Aggett!

In the black township of Odendaalsrust in the Orange Free State, 150 miles south of Johannesburg, Sipho Mutsi, a 20-year-old organizer for the black Congress of South African Students, was held for "questioning." This "interrogation" resulted in his delivery dead-on-arrival to a hospital May 5 from a brain hemorrhage caused by blows to the head. In

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Smash Reagan's War Embargo! Kick Out the Capitalists!

Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

May Day 1985 may go down in history as the day Ronald Reagan ordered the expropriation of the Nicaraguan capitalist class. Winging his way across the Atlantic en route to an acrimonious imperialist economic summit and his Bitburg infamy, Reagan signed an executive order declaring a total embargo on U.S. trade with Sandinista Nicaragua, as well as cutting air and sea links. In one blow Washington cut off the local "branch office bourgeoisie" from their home offices, putting its very existence in question. In an editorial titled, "And Now the Banana War," the *New York Times* (2 May) commented: "The Administration has been so afraid of 'another Cuba' that it has made it almost impossible for the Managua regime to behave like anything other than Cuba."

Reagan's policy is to drive the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) regime either into total submission or into the arms of the Russians, in order to prepare a U.S. invasion. His conditions for surrender: accept "free enterprise" and "free elections," and if the wrong side wins (as with the FSLN's two-to-one victory at the polls last November) then by definition they're not "free." Otherwise, Washington will do its best to eliminate the "mixed economy," in order to justify annihilating "Sandino-Communism." The U.S. may just have given Nicaragua a giant push down the "Cuban road" to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the consolidation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

After almost six years of precarious balancing by the Sandinistas, the question of the class character of the Nicaraguan state is soon to be resolved. But not because Reagan wants to do any favors for the workers and peasants of Central America. On the contrary, the arrogant imperialist trade embargo is a clear *act of war*. Moreover, Congress is again considering open U.S. aid to the CIA's "contra" (counterrevolutionary) army, this time with Democratic support. And the White House is reportedly reviewing contingency plans for a naval blockade. In the face of the U.S. war moves, now more than ever it is urgently necessary to *Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!*

Naythons/Gamma-Liaison

Sandinista troops at the ready. Nicaraguan people fought to drive out Somoza butchers, will defend revolution against U.S. invasion.

Washington sees Central America as the front line of its drive for war against the Soviet Union: if they can bump off Nicaragua, Cuba's next on their hit list. But despite all the talk of "new patriotism," the more it looks like Reagan might invade, the more popular opposition grows. The latest poll shows that by almost four-to-one the American people oppose U.S. involvement in attempts to overthrow the Sandinistas. As American revolutionists it is our duty to do everything possible to stay the bloody hand of Yankee imperialism. The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well, and this time there could be *labor strikes against imperialist war* from Day One of a U.S. invasion of Central America.

"President Reagan... keeps warning us we had better overthrow the Nicaraguan Government before it destroys our way of life throughout Central America," quipped pundit Russell Baker (*New York Times*, 3 April). Many Americans don't see it Reagan's way. Nor do they buy the "Red Banana Menace." They're not for "reconciliation" with Nazism in Europe, either, and they're worried that with its "Star Wars" fantasies Washington may really get us into it with the Russians. The Reaganauts think that the 1984 landslide elections gave them a "mandate" to reconquer the world. But with Reagan's commemoration of the Bitburg SS graves, his open support to racist massacres in South Africa and now the Nicaragua trade embargo, they may have made a big mistake. We're not the only ones who would like to see this government go, and if Reagan keeps it up the result could deeply radicalize the American working people.

From Hitler to Reagan

Speaking at a joint press conference in Madrid with Spanish prime minister Felipe González, Nicaraguan president

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

another black township in the Transvaal, 30 miles east of Johannesburg, on May 4 police seized Andries Raditsela, a 29-year-old senior shop steward for the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) and executive member of the black Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU). Raditsela's parents found him several hours later still in police custody and beaten unconscious. Charges against Raditsela under the draconian Internal Security Act were immediately dropped, but he died on May 6, also from a brain hemorrhage due to blows to the head.

Mounting repression from the white-supremacist regime has not quelled the continuing revolt of South African blacks. But the entrenched white minority which lives off the superexploitation of black labor is armed to the teeth and determined to give up nothing. In addition to the murder of black activists and massacre of blacks in the Eastern Cape, the apartheid butchers have recently sent thousands of cops and soldiers to patrol the black townships and their environs with the clear message: in the next round of massacres the blood of tens if not hundreds of thousands of black toilers will stain the land from which they have been dispossessed. The dependency on black labor is the Achilles' heel of apartheid. Black labor in its struggle for class and national emancipation must place at its head a multiracial revolutionary workers party fighting for a black-centered workers government.

The murder of Raditsela is stark proof that the apartheid capitalists have declared open warfare to break the resistance of South Africa's burgeoning and increasingly powerful black trade-union movement. The bosses are trying to exploit South Africa's deep recession which has caused unemployment estimated at 25 percent (the racist regime does not bother to keep unemployment statistics on the black African majority) to deal serious blows against the unions. As we reported in our last issue, in late April the giant Anglo American mining conglomerate of Harry Oppenheimer fired 14,400 black migrant workers on an "illegal" strike at Vaal Reefs, the world's largest gold mine. Then this so-called "liberal" mining house sent the cops, using rubber bullets and tear gas, to evict the miners from their hostels and deport them to the starving bantustans. This follows the pattern of mass firings at the SASOL oil-from-coal plant after the two-day Transvaal stayaway strike last November, with black unionists forced out of the hostels, scattered to remote areas. The CWIU, which was essentially wiped out at SASOL, is now trying to rebuild there after the bosses agreed to rehire only 70 percent of the workers and only half of their shop stewards.

However, the mass firings have not stilled the voice of black labor. In Johannesburg on April 30, riot police hauled off to jail 39 black union activists who were holding a peaceful rally at City Hall against layoffs and in support of their union, the Metal & Allied Workers Union, in its negotiations with the metal industry. The next day, May Day, they were rearrested as they marched out on bail from a courthouse. May Day rallies this year were the largest since 1950 when the Communist Party and African National Congress (ANC) defied a government ban and held demonstrations throughout the Witwatersrand, suffering scores of casualties. This year hundreds of trade unionists who gathered outside the

Africasia

Uitenhage martyrs funeral: grief and defiance.

Johannesburg headquarters of leading anti-apartheid organizations to celebrate the international proletarian holiday by chanting freedom songs were dispersed by police dogs and tear gas.

Smash Apartheid! Workers To Power!

A decade of black union organization and combativity marks a new generation of urbanized blacks who have been integrated into South African industry, albeit at the bottom. The Transvaal two-day general strike, the wave of strikes in the gold mines, demonstrate the potential power of this black proletariat. The Transvaal stayaway demonstrated the capacity to link the teeming masses of the black townships and bantustans to the power of South Africa's six-million-strong black proletariat. This proletariat must forge its own revolutionary vanguard party to rally all the oppressed in the struggle for workers power.

In the absence of such a leadership the apartheid rulers have been able to isolate, deflect or crush each wave of black revolt. Further, the regime—with decades of experience of "divide and conquer"—has been turning the mounting frustration, anger and combativity of the black masses inward, setting black against black. In the overcrowded black townships, just anger directed against the hated black collaborators of apartheid, the cops and the councilmen, has taken an ugly turn toward indiscriminate, inter-tribal and anti-migrant terror.

The bantustans were created not only to turn the masses of blacks into a vast industrial reserve army for apartheid superexploitation, but to recreate and foster old tribal divisions. In February hundreds of Tswana laborers were brought to Cape Town to move the belongings of Xhosa residents of the Crossroads squatter settlement—a move the people of Crossroads had laid down their lives to resist. In March, Zulu policemen were introduced alongside white cops to terrorize the seething Xhosa townships of the Eastern Cape Province. South African *Führer* P.W. Botha recently descended by helicopter on a remote hillside to address a huge gathering of black members of a reactionary Zionist-like religious sect on the subject of...god's wish for obedience to those he has chosen to rule.

In the township where Raditsela was murdered, Tsakane, five days of clashes between residents and Xhosa and Zulu-speaking migrant workers from bantustans as far as 600 miles away resulted in the killing of 16 blacks. In each major round of township revolts there have been clashes like this, fostered by the pass system which divides blacks between a minority with urban residence rights and a majority without. This division has been exacerbated by the present recession as residents fear migrant workers will take their jobs at lower pay.

Clearly, there can be no successful unionization of blacks without the incorporation of migrants. When the black unions were first legalized in the late 1970s, one of their first successes was to get the government to repeal a ban on organizing migrants. Importantly, the Transvaal stayaway included the widespread participation of the migrants, despite the threat of deportation, and despite the threat to those with families back in the Zulu bantustan, hostages to the terror of the Inkatha thugs of Chief Buthelezi who opposed the strike. Through the migrant workers, the black labor movement can send shock waves into the tribally-divided bantustans, shaking their puppet despotisms.

In the black industrial proletariat drawn from every national and ethnic group in southern Africa, increasingly urbanized and conscious of its power, lies the key to overcoming tribal divisions and religious backwardness. The outstanding question is leadership. But for decades black struggle has been dominated by competing brands of nationalism, represented primarily by the Stalinist CP and the ANC on the one hand, and the "black consciousness" Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) on the other. Under the guise of multiracialism, the ANC and CP espouse popular-frontist accommodation with so-called "progressive" capitalists like union-buster Harry Oppenheimer. With protests through the United Democratic Front (UDF), sporadic guerrilla attacks, and lobbying imperialist liberals like Teddy Kennedy, they seek not to smash the apartheid regime, but to bring it to the bargaining table.

AZAPO through the National Forum combines abstract socialist rhetoric with a hard racialist nationalism in which there is no room for whites like Neil Aggett and which is modeled on black despots like Ghana's Nkrumah and Zimbabwe's Mugabe. We solidarize with AZAPO's protests against the visit of the "condescending savior" Kennedy. But its petty-bourgeois nationalism is manifest in its subsequent invitation to the sinister Louis Farrakhan to speak at its national conference. The anti-Semitic demagogue Farrakhan spent much of last year stumping for Jesse Jackson's capitalist Democratic Party campaign.

Not only do the nationalists constitute a dangerous roadblock in the struggle to smash apartheid and for workers revolution, but they have now mobilized their supporters into a virtual civil war against one another, especially around Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape where the black revolt has been particularly deep and widespread. Here AZAPO and UDF supporters have firebombed each other's homes in recent weeks, causing several deaths.

South Africa is headed for civil war and insolar as the struggle remains along strictly black vs. white national lines, it will be a bloody disaster for the oppressed. However, with its six-million-strong black proletariat, the class principle can prevail in South Africa. Urgently required is the building of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular frontism, leading the working class and all the oppressed in socialist revolution.

The murders of Raditsela and Mutsi, the upcoming treason trial of 16 UDF leaders, the mass firings of black strikers give the lie to the myth that apartheid can be reformed and lasting concessions wring from South African capitalism. Reagan's "constructive engagement" is drenched in the blood of the fallen martyrs, the hundreds mowed down in the townships, the funeral marchers cut down outside Port Elizabeth on the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Every major black working-class battle must challenge the institutional structure of apartheid slavery and thereby the Washington/Pretoria anti-Soviet axis. The revolt of black labor must find the road to its own class rule. ■

Honor Buchenwald Trotskyists!

TROTSKY

LENIN

One week after the liberation of Buchenwald in April 1945 Trotskyist cadres, who had continued their revolutionary internationalist struggle against fascism within that Nazi death camp, issued a "Declaration" signed by Austrian," French and Belgian Trotskyists Ernst Federn, Karl Fischer, Marcel Beaufrère and Florent Gallay, which stated:

The unanimity so ostentatiously displayed at the international imperialist peace conferences is intended to dupe the masses by concealing the antagonisms inherent among the capitalist powers. However, coinciding military interests vis-à-vis Germany cannot prevent the explosion of the antagonisms in the Allied camp. To these antagonisms must be added the inevitable crises and the social tumult of the decaying capitalist mode of production....

This development renders it possible for the German proletariat to rapidly recover from its profound defeat and to again place itself at the head of the European working class in the battle for the overthrow of capitalism.... The proletariat can fulfill its historic task only under the leadership of a new world revolutionary party. The creation of this party is the most pressing task of the most advanced sections of the working class....

The bourgeoisie and the uprooted petty bourgeoisie brought fascism to power. Fascism is the creation of capitalism. Only the successful, independent action of the working class against capitalism is capable of eradicating the evil of fascism, along with its root causes. In this struggle the hesitant petty bourgeoisie will join forces with the revolutionary proletariat on the offensive, as the history of the great revolutions demonstrates.

—Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald
(IV International), 20 April 1945

WORKERS VANGUARD

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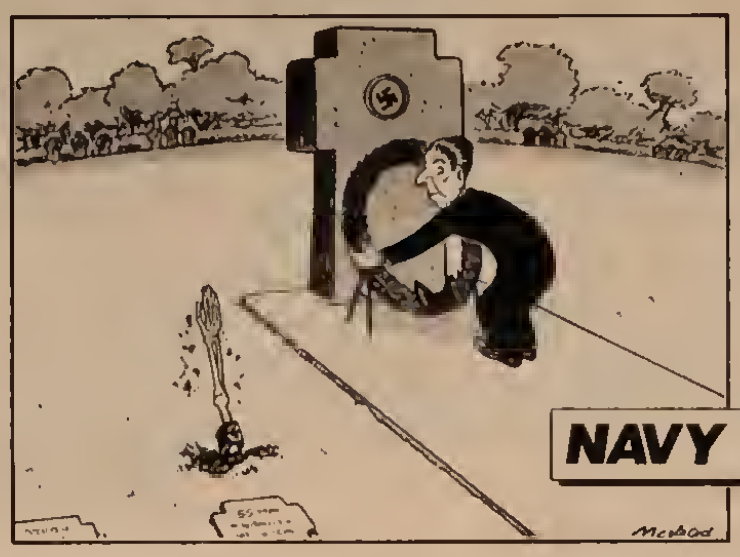
Holocaust Survivors Dragged Off at Bergen-Belsen Protest

Reagan Goose-Steps Across Europe

Reagan went to Bitburg with a purpose and a program: embracing "the enemy" from World War II in order to prepare for America's next imperialist war, against the U.S.' former WW II "ally," the Soviet Union. Honoring the Nazi SS graves was deliberate: for the U.S. imperialist commander in chief, Hitler's killer elite who fought against Soviet Russia on the Eastern Front were the "good Germans" who have to be rehabilitated for the anti-Soviet war drive. Reagan at first refused to visit a concentration camp, knowing that public recognition of the horror of Nazi Germany would undercut this "reconciliation." The Bergen-Belsen visit was added only as a sop to massive outrage over the visit to SS graves at Bitburg. But the uproar has seriously damaged Reagan. And a week after this "historic" visit West German chancellor Kohl got creamed at the polls.

On Sunday, May 5, two thousand former concentration camp inmates, children and grandchildren of those who perished in Nazi death camps came from all over Europe to protest the obscene spectacle of Reagan and Kohl's visit to Bergen-Belsen. There were over 1,000 demonstrators in Bitburg where Reagan consecrated the anti-Soviet alliance with his strongest NATO ally, West Germany. American black politicians laid wreaths at the Dachau death camp in a gesture of outrage over Reagan's sinister visit.

At Bergen-Belsen, where over 60,000 (including 30,000 Soviet prisoners of war) perished in agony, instead of the watchtowers there rose a giant 100-foot



Reagan's salute to Nazis too much even for Pentagon brass.

TV tower to beam Reagan's speech back to the U.S.A. "I am a Jew," Reagan cynically said, while his U.S. Secret Service made sure Bergen-Belsen was "*judenrein*"—"cleansed of Jews" in the Nazi phrase—for Reagan and Kohl. As the carefully invited guests were surrounded by a gigantic security cordon, the camp was sealed off with roadblocks.

At dawn the day before, West German police seized 35 French former anti-Nazi resistance fighters and camp survivors, dragging them off to a waiting bus to be taken away. "I'm just following orders," given by the U.S. Secret Service, they said. That night 20 carloads of West German police surrounded Bergen-Belsen and forced Jews, including Americans, out of the document center where they intended to celebrate the Sabbath and protest Reagan's visit. "Quiet is important," said the West German Minister for Social Affairs: "Dignity must prevail."

Indeed no disturbing voices of witnesses or survivors of the Nazi Holocaust broke Reagan's chilling *Ruhe und Ordnung* ("quiet and order") at Bergen-Belsen. Jewish groups boycotted the ceremony, along with representatives of hastily invited Sinti and Roma gypsies, half a million of whom were also slaughtered by Hitler. In contrast, at commemorative gatherings in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in April celebrating the Soviet Union's victory over fascism, death camp survivors, including 700 at Ravensbruck, came and spoke out in German, French, Russian, Dutch, Polish, Italian; in every language of the people who suffered under the Nazis. No wreaths were laid on SS graves there.

Reagan Belonged at Bitburg

With Reagan's visit to Bitburg, Helmut Kohl, head of the state that is the self-proclaimed legal successor to Hitler's Third Reich, was to be repaid

"No Jews allowed" when Reagan and Kohl visit Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

for enforcing the deployment of the U.S.' Pershing missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. And they *intentionally* picked a military cemetery with SS graves. For Reagan the Hitlerite killers fighting Russia were just great—the only problem was they were doing it in the interests of Berlin, not Washington, D.C. But even high levels of the U.S. armed forces were upset. A cartoon in the *Navy Times* caught the moment well: as Reagan lays his wreath, the skeletal Nazi arm rises from the grave to give the straight-arm Hitler salute.

So Reagan and Kohl bowed before the graves of the Waffen SS, who like the Green Berets in the Vietnam War were responsible for the mass murder of civilians and prisoners of war, and were well suited for their assignment as torturers in the concentration camps. As Reagan laid his wreath at a monument erected by Hitler in 1934, part of his campaign to bring German nationalism to white heat in preparation for World War II, the SS graves were decorated with flowers, and someone had laid a wreath (temporarily moved to the side while U.S. TV cameras were present) hailing the Waffen SS as "German heroes." The Waffen SS buried at Bitburg were from the SS Second Panzer Division, which massacred 642 men, women and children at the French village of Oradour-sur-Glane, herding many into a church, locking the doors and then setting the church afire.

Former Waffen SS officers—and there are plenty in West Germany—also celebrated. The Waffen SS "Death's Head Division" wound up a conclave May 5, the same day Reagan went to Bitburg. The 12th SS Panzer "Hitler Youth" Division and "Adolf Hitler Bodyguard" First Panzer SS Corps' meeting on May 11-12 was protected by West German police from 5,000 angry protesters. "The most natural thing in the world," blandly stated a former SS officer of Reagan's visit. "It was high time. After all we are sitting in one boat, in NATO" (*New York Times*, 3 May). Reagan's wreath-laying only made blatant and public what has in fact been the "natural" policy of U.S. imperialism—to forgive and embrace the Nazis and enlist them in their anti-Soviet crusade.

This began even before the official opening of the Cold War, in the very closing days of WW II, when U.S. intelligence offered sanctuary in the U.S. to members of the SS Einsatzgruppen and Eastern European Nazis who slaughtered thousands of Jews, gypsies, communists and others on the Eastern Front. As Alexander Cockburn pointed out in the *Wall Street Journal* (2 May), for Reagan "the date of May 8, 1945 appears to represent the moment when the Russians were finally stopped at the Elbe by the Americans, the British and the good Germans." As for those SS men involved in the massacre of 86 U.S. prisoners of war at Malmédy, whom Reagan's men were supposedly so concerned about, Cockburn pointed out that the 73 members of the First Panzer Corps tried by the U.S. for the massacre were essentially let off—none ever executed—as a direct result of Cold War pressure, including from U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy!

From Hitler to Franco: Reagan's Anti-Communist Crusade

Reagan's European trip, including the annual "economic summit" of Western imperialist powers (plus Japan), was supposed to be a triumphal procession reasserting American predominance over the former battlefields of Europe. But the Bonn summit dissolved into an uproar of opposition to Reagan's economic boycott of Nicaragua. And French president Mitterrand's refusal to go along with U.S. trade discussion proposals exposed the inability of these competing national capitalisms to coordinate *any* rational economic policy.

The vile stench of anti-Semitism pervaded Reagan's West Germany trip, as Kohl apologized for the disruptive actions of "a minority." Reagan's spokesmen were laughed off the stage by reporters as they tried to explain away Reagan's repeated grotesque "apologies" to Kohl for all the protest in the U.S. While the opposition West German Social Democratic Party did not openly oppose Reagan's Bitburg visit, Reagan drove the point home that he *meant* to honor the Nazis by refusing to meet with Social Democratic leader Willy Brandt, just about the only West German politician today who actually *fought* in the anti-Nazi resistance in Germany.

Fresh from the SS graves, and a stay at the castle of Hitler's godson, Reagan went on to Madrid, where he settled into former dictator Franco's palace. This visit, designed to thank the Spanish government for entering the NATO alliance, was met by a massive, quarter-million-strong protest against Reagan, against NATO and against the Nicaragua embargo. The demonstrators recalled Reagan's statement last October that "most Americans" thought the American volunteers who fought for the Spanish Republic against Franco's Nazi-supported dictatorship, in the civil war that was the direct prelude to WW II, were "on the wrong side." This was more than a little embarrassing for the present Spanish government of Socialist premier Felipe González.

Across the continent, Reagan's vicious anti-Communist crusade became more arrogant the more opposition he met. In Strasbourg, intended as the high point and occasion for a "Free Europe" tirade against the Soviet Union, there were big walkouts, signs protesting the Nicaragua boycott, and disgust from parliamentary delegations. Revealing his growing impatience with even the formalities of parliamentary capitalist "democracy," Reagan made a nasty joke following the walkout of a delegation led by the British Labour Party at the European "parliament" to the effect that he wished he could get members of the American Congress to do the same.

Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen overshadowed the entire tour, exposing the

continued on page 15

Frances/El Pais

May 5: Hundreds of thousands in Spain protested Reagan visit, saying "No to NATO!"

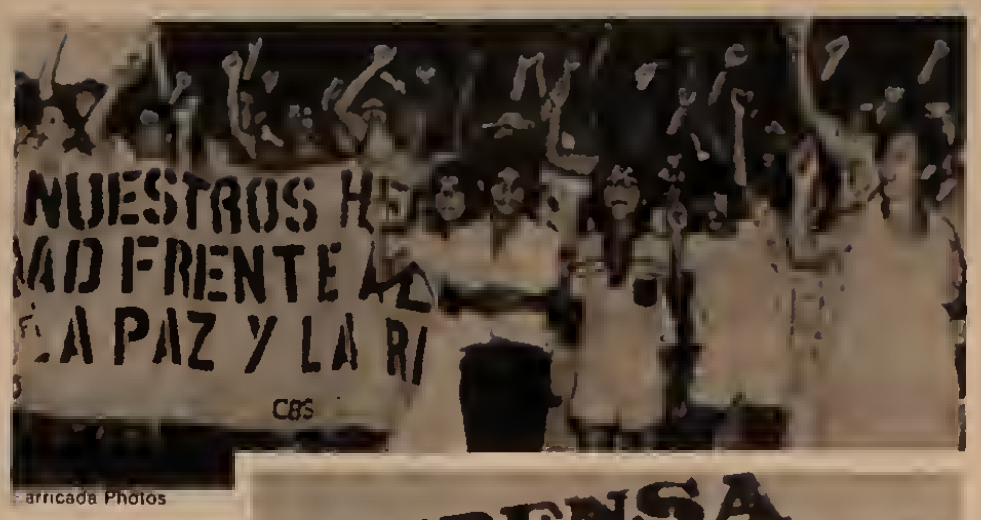
Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

Daniel Ortega charged that Reagan "is emulating what Hitler did, a comparison that is not exaggerated.... Reagan wants to turn Nicaragua into a big concentration camp" (*New York Times*, 12 May). Reagan's idea of "negotiations" also comes from the Nazis, consisting mainly of the *Diktat*, or ultimatum. To obtain Congressional backing for the "contra" mercenaries, Washington made a "peace" offer amounting, in the words of Nicaraguan foreign minister D'Escoto, to the threat, "You drop dead, or I will kill you." Replying to this demand that Managua talk with the cutthroat rapists, torturers and murderers left over from the Somoza dictatorship, who have assassinated almost 3,000 civilians in the last three years, the Nicaraguan ambassador had a simple reply: "Never!" And responding to the trade embargo, the Sandinistas' *Barricada* headlined: "Not One Step Back."

Reagan's immediate target is not the Sandinistas, however, but the U.S. Congress. To decree the embargo, Reagan declared a "national emergency," absurdly claiming that the Sandinistas represent "an urgent threat...to the security and foreign policy of the United States"! Goebbels would have admired this consummate practitioner of the Big Lie. White House spokesman Larry Speakes baldly stated that it was Congress' refusal to fund the contras that produced this "emergency." No doubt the National Security advisers in the White House basement were inspired by their puppet Suárez Córdova in Honduras, who upon learning that the Honduran Congress had appointed five new Supreme Court justices simply threw the judges in jail and had troops ring the parliament. How long before Democratic House speaker "Tip" O'Neill looks out the window of his Capitol office to see it surrounded with military force...must realistically be recognized as an eventual option, given our stakes in the region" (*New York Times*, 17 April). And the U.S. is already finalizing its contingency plans for an invasion: "Army Plans for 'What if' Latin War," headlined the 4 May *Times*.

U.S. trade sanctions will have little direct economic effect on the Sandinistas, especially since Washington's NATO allies have refused to go along with the boycott. And with the U.S.-backed "freedom fighters" consisting of contra thugs who only know how to slit the throats of defenseless civilians, it's clear that the real alternative to accommodation with the radical-nationalist Sandinistas is to send in the Marines, and the 82nd and 101st Airborne and the rest. An attack force of twenty *thousand* U.S. troops barely managed to take Grenada from 700-plus middle-aged Cuban construction workers in 1983. And Nicaragua will be no Grenada—the people are armed and determined to defend their revolution.



Barricada Photos

Angry demonstrators in Managua, 1982, denounce right-wing newspaper, La Prensa, voice of the counter-revolutionary "internal front."

Nicaragua: Reagan's Cuba?

Since Reagan has told them to drop dead, and they will certainly die if the Somozaists return, the Sandinistas have little to lose now by expropriating the bourgeoisie. The U.S. trade embargo may have signed the death warrant for Nicaraguan capitalism. Certainly local businessmen, who will now be unable to obtain vital pesticides and spare parts from the U.S., or to salt away profits gained from "decapitalizing" (looting) their companies, are none too happy about the measure. Alfredo Montealegre, president of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Industries, remarked: "This is what the United States tried to do to Cuba.... All it did was give Castro excuses for everything he did in Cuba. That's what will happen here with the Sandinistas. This will give them the excuse to repress the private sector, to get rid of us" (*Washington Post*, 2 May).

Parallels to Fidel Castro's Cuba have been evident since the first days of the Nicaraguan Revolution (see our article "Another Cuba? What Next for Nicaragua?" *WV* No. 238, 17 August 1979). A reactionary puppet dictator, whose strings were pulled by the United States right to the end, was overthrown in a popular revolution led by radical nationalists. The unstable result: a petty-bourgeois government not wedded to the defense of private capitalist or collectivized proletarian property forms. In Cuba the refusal of Esso (backed by the U.S. State Department) in June 1960 to refine Soviet oil led to the first wave of nationalizations of American capitalists' property; the second wave, marking the expropriation of the Cuban bourgeoisie, went hand in hand with a U.S. trade boycott decreed in October of that year (J.P. Morray, *The Second Revolution in Cuba* [1962]).

In Nicaragua, the initial goals of the guerrillas in power did not go beyond democratic reforms, and the first post-Somoza junta was a "popular front" with sectors of the bourgeoisie. However, the guns were in the hands of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and in overthrowing the dynastic dictatorship which owned most of the country, the political revolution had profound social implications. Although the Sandinistas tried to freeze the social revolution, the hostility of imperialism (and of the weak domestic bourgeoisie), made a farce out of Sandinista plans for a "mixed economy." Today 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy is still in private hands; but cut off from dollar exchange, restricted to the paper *córdobas* which are worthless outside Nicaragua, the bourgeoisie won't be able to realize profits or attract capital. Even if the Sandinistas do not immediately take decisive steps, we'll probably soon see the Nicaraguan capitalists lining up for flights to Miami.

The Sandinista government cannot simultaneously win the war against the contras, prop up the bourgeoisie and feed the people. In this war economy (40 percent of the budget goes to defense needs), prices for basic foods have *tripled* this year, while transportation costs *quadrupled* in the last month as the government removes subsidies the country cannot afford. There is penury at every level in Nicaragua today: the poor can't buy meat and the middle class can't buy designer jeans. And now they are faced with outright economic war as preparation for a direct onslaught by the Yankee war machine. The capitalists are a pro-imperialist "fifth column" within the country: to expropriate them in order to break their economic stranglehold has become a life and death question for the Nicaraguan Revolution.

The "mixed economy" went together with "political pluralism" (for the bourgeois parties) and a "nonaligned foreign policy." It was all part of the FSLN's nationalist project aimed at achieving "peaceful coexistence" with the domestic and imperialist bourgeoisie. But Reagan would not oblige, and now with the trade embargo the bankruptcy of the regime's previous policies has been definitively shown. As they go under, the "patriotic capitalists" of Sandinista pipe dreams will likely be driven to violent paroxysms of hostility to the regime. And there will undoubtedly be sharp disputes, and splits, in the FSLN leadership. What is needed above all is the forging of a revolutionary-internationalist vanguard party, harking back to the communist program of Lenin and Trotsky and fighting for permanent revolution throughout Central America.

The Sandinistas not only haven't "said uncle" as Reagan demanded, they've gotten the Democrats mad as well, simply by seeking to defend themselves. The pretext for the trade sanctions was Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega's visit to Moscow last week, immediately after the U.S. Congress voted down the administration's "contra aid" bill. While defense minister Humberto Ortega saw off 100 Cuban military advisers (of a total of 784) the day after the embargo was announced—their departure was announced in February as a unilateral Sandinista concession—he vowed that the Cubans would be back if they were needed. And for the last couple of months the Sandinista army and elite "irregular warfare" battalions have been creaming the contras on the battlefield, driving them back to their refuges in Honduras.

The Vietnam Syndrome and the Cuba Syndrome

In response to the embargo, Sandinista vice president Sergio Ramirez defiantly declared, "We will become closer to all countries that support this revolution, and that includes the Soviet Union." While Washington played up Ortega's Moscow trip as evidence that Nicaragua was now behind the Iron Curtain, the Russians are probably quite annoyed: Reagan just dumped a baby on their doorstep. And the Kremlin bureaucrats don't seem very happy about the prospect. The TASS statement on Ortega's meeting with Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev said that "the U.S.S.R. will continue to give friendly Nicaragua assistance in resolving urgent problems of economic development, and also political and diplomatic support in its efforts to uphold its sovereignty"—i.e., militarily, the Sandinistas are on their own.

We have repeatedly emphasized that defense of the Soviet Union means fighting for military victory to leftist

Goldberg/Sygma

U.S. invasion "maneuvers" on Honduran coast target Nicaragua.

dump trucks, supposedly to avert a "terrorist threat"?

The Nicaragua trade embargo shows that the Reaganites have accurately taken the measure of the pusillanimous Democratic "opposition." During the wrangling over disguised "humanitarian" vs. open military aid to the contra killers, the liberals called for exhausting other "options," such as a trade embargo. In last fall's presidential campaign, loser Democrat Mondale called for "quarantining" Nicaragua, which is far more drastic than anything Reagan has done so far. So when Congressional Democrats joined Republicans in condemning Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow last month, the White House saw its opportunity. *Today Ronald Reagan is carrying out the Democrats' program on Nicaragua, and now wavering Democrats say they would vote for a "contra aid" bill after all.*

Reagan is clearing the decks for full-scale military intervention in Central America. Back in February, General Paul Gorman, retiring commander of the U.S. Southern Command, told a Senate committee that, whether or not they got more American dollars, the contras can't hope for victory in "the foreseeable future." A top-secret administration report to Congress last month said that the "direct application of U.S.

WV Photo

Soviet freighter in Nicaraguan port of Corinto brings critical aid to beleaguered country. Sign says: "You don't discuss the sovereignty of a people, you defend it."

insurgents in El Salvador, to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution. From the Bay of Pigs invasion to the U.S.' dirty, losing war in Vietnam, anti-Sovietism has been the constant pretext for imperialist adventures. For the past decade, however, U.S. imperialism has been stymied, politically and militarily, by the "Vietnam syndrome." The Pentagon's fear of repeating their humiliating defeat in Indochina prevented among other things Jimmy Carter from intervening to prop up Somoza in 1979. Today everyone from Richard Nixon to the rad-lib "solidarity movement" proclaims, "No More Vietnams." But we communists say, "Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

The Reagan administration is also haunted by the "Cuba syndrome." The day after his defeat in Congress over aid to the Nicaraguan contras, Secretary of State Shultz lashed out in an anti-Communist diatribe on "The Meaning of Vietnam." He ended up with a plea, "Do we want another Cuba in this hemisphere?" For the masses of the impoverished and oppressed of Latin America, the answer would be an overwhelming "yes." Many know that Castro's Cuba has the lowest infant mortality rate and the highest literacy rate in the region. And in the face of the imperialist debt crisis, Cuba is the only country in Latin America to escape mass unemployment and continue economic growth in the last half decade. That, of course, is another reason why the imperialists want "No more Cubas."

The same, unfortunately, is true of

Wide World

1960: Cuban militiaman guards expropriated U.S. oil refinery. Oil workers union banner denounces Yankee imperialism, calls for death to the mercenaries.

Castro himself. In a recent interview with the Spanish news agency EFE, the Cuban leader declared, "Economic development is the top priority for the Nicaraguan government, not the construction of socialism" (*Granma Weekly Review*, 3 March). Certainly you can't have socialism in one former banana republic like Nicaragua, any more than in one Caribbean island like Cuba. But the struggle for proletarian revolution in Central America, throughout Latin America and in the North American imperialist heartland is key to survival for the Nicaraguan working people. Daniel Ortega recently told Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa that the FSLN is prepared to sacrifice the Salvadoran revolution, if only Washington would strike a deal:

> "We're willing to stop the movement of military aid, or any other kind of aid, through Nicaragua to El Salvador, and we're willing to accept international verification."
>
> —*New York Times Magazine*, 28 April

But the Sandinistas may find that their hand has been forced, that it's either expropriate the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie ...or perish.

For the past five years we have repeatedly emphasized that "Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in Central America," that Nicaragua and El Salvador are on the front line of the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive. Reformists and rad-libs screamed that even to say this was a Reaganite provocation ...and then went crawling from Democrat to Democrat in Congress. The U.S. trade boycott has proved our point to the hilt. It's not just a crazed Reagan; *virtually the entire American bourgeoisie has lined up in support of this war measure against the Nicaraguan Revolution.* What's going on in Central America is not merely a struggle for self-determination but *class war.*

The imperialists are playing with fire in their insane anti-Soviet war drive. From Cambodia to Afghanistan to Nicaragua (not to mention Poland) they are trying to harass and provoke the Kremlin. But the introduction of U.S. troops into Central America could spark a revolutionary conflagration throughout the region, and must be met by sharp class struggle at home. In combating Reagan's attack on the Central American masses, American workers and youth will be fighting their *own* battle against a ruling class that would turn them into cannon fodder for the Pentagon war machine. The fate of the Soviet Union, the future of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world is at stake. The imperialist beast must be stopped, now, in Nicaragua and above all in the United States, before it's too late. ■

Migra Cop Blasts 12-Year-Old in Back

Racist Shooting Over Mexican Border

LOS ANGELES—On April 18, a U.S. border patrolman fired across the international frontier which divides the San Diego suburb of San Ysidro from Tijuana, Mexico, shooting 12-year-old Humberto Carrillo in the back and leaving him bleeding on the ground. According to eyewitnesses, the border guards had just nabbed the boy's older brother Eduardo on the U.S. side of the border and were beating him bloody. When Humberto and other children began screaming across the chain link fence from the Tijuana side, agent Edward Cole crouched, aimed and shot three times across the border at the kids. Humberto is currently recovering from surgery to relieve the pressure on his lungs from a rib broken as it deflected the bullet from his heart. But agent Cole is back at his bloody mission on the border. He won't be prosecuted because San Diego district attorney Edwin Miller says the shooting is "justified": "When the person is outside the boundaries of the U.S., there is no federal statute that applies at all" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 May). *La migra* claims a license to shoot and kill with impunity!

The Mexican consul general in San Diego, Javier Escobar, has protested this grotesque shooting. Eduardo Carrillo reportedly hopped the fence to get a hamburger from a fast food joint in San Ysidro. After Humberto was shot, a Tijuana man carried the wounded boy across the border, insisting he be treated in an American hospital. Eduardo was detained by the INS for over 24 hours while his brother lay in Mercy Hospital in San Diego. Agent Cole claimed he fired through the chain link fence because he feared "great bodily injury" from rocks being thrown at him by children. That's why he shot Humberto *in the back!* The boys' mother, Mrs. Maria Elena Estrada, has filed a civil suit against the federal government for $3 million in damages.

Coming in the midst of other government actions to "tighten up control" over the border, Hispanic residents in the area fear a wave of terror, both official and unofficial, along the 2,000-mile *linea*. In February, the U.S. choked off the border in retaliation for the shooting of a Mexican American narcotics agent in Guadalajara. And the San Ysidro shooting came only three days after the announcement that a 30-day INS sweep has rounded up 7,200 undocumented workers along the border. The INS is now introducing an elite SWAT squad. Meanwhile the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill, which sparked repeated protests here, is being reintroduced into Congress, but this time without any "amnesty" clause.

Anti-Hispanic racism throughout the whole border area is marked by right-wing terror from the marauding police to KKK nightriders. In San Diego, Klan "grand dragon" Tom Metzger, who ran as a Democratic Party candidate for Congress, organized vigilante lynch mob "border patrols" to terrorize Mexicans. This dangerous climate finds its expression in crazed minds such as Viet vet James Huberty who last July shot up the MacDonald's restaurant in San Ysidro, obscenely muttering about "damned Vietnamese" while killing 21 people and injuring 19 more. The press managed to suppress the fact that almost every person shot was Hispanic—many of them farm workers and their kids.

In order to whip up chauvinist support for U.S. intervention in Central America, Ronald Reagan conjures up the spectre of hordes of brown-skinned "feet people" swarming into the U.S. Along the border, the venal, violent Border Patrol poses as defenders of the "American way of life." In reality, American capitalism thrives on and cultivates the illegal entry of foreign labor precisely in order to play upon a workforce of desperate and vulnerable people. Welcomed by employers when times are good, in periods of depression, the government scapegoats the "illegal aliens" for the misery caused by American capitalism's own crisis and decline.

While fully 70 percent of California's 350,000 farm workers are undocumented, immigrant workers are no longer confined to traditional stoop-labor, table-mopping jobs but are becoming the backbone of the economy in states of the Southwest. In high-tech Silicon Valley, "illegals" now constitute a fifth or more of the workforce, making everything from printed circuit boards for IBM computers to assembling microchips for use in guided missiles. Significantly, the Garment Workers Union has taken the lead in organizing undocumented workers in Los Angeles, center of the $3 billion a year California apparel industry in which two-thirds of the labor is estimated to be illegal. An ILGWU contract at Hollander Homes Fashions, Inc. requires the company to rehire any undocumented worker who is deported and comes back to work with a new name or Social Security number (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 May)!

American workers must fight protectionist poison and defend immigrant workers against racist bosses and their hired thugs. Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! INS cop Cole must not go free! For workers action to stop the *migra* gun thugs! ■

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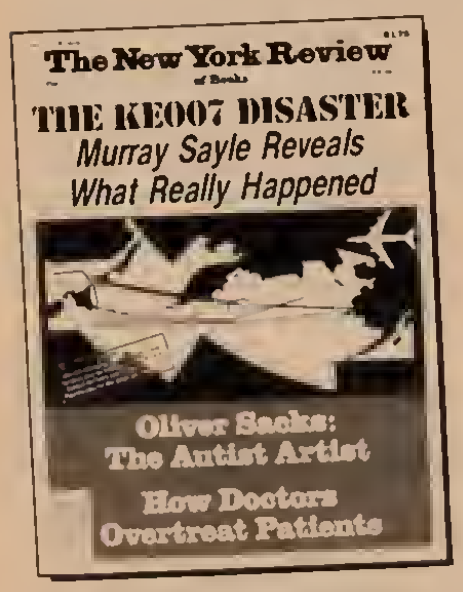
The New York (Kept) Review of Books

When Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007 went spiraling down into the Sea of Japan on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983, Ronald Reagan pulled out all the stops in his anti-Soviet crusade. The American news media instantly snapped to attention for their commander in chief, dutifully peddling the most preposterous Russians-eat-babies-for-breakfast lies. It was ominous war propaganda, said George Kennan, the original Cold Warrior, who ought to know it when he sees it. The "free but responsible" press automatically dismissed all inconsistencies in the U.S. story as "Soviet propaganda." When finally a year later the liberal *Nation* published David Pearson's exposé on "What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It," the *New York Times* (28 October 1984) response was to quote White House media manipulator Richard Burt, who labeled it "baloney." End of discussion.

From Day One *Workers Vanguard* exhaustively exposed Reagan's sinister Mission 007 and the U.S.' Big Lie cover-up. We noted, Jeane Kirkpatrick to the contrary, that the Russian pilots did everything possible to warn the KAL jet, and that the Soviet air defense forces didn't know it was a passenger plane they were pursuing. We also pointed to Washington's extensive information about the flight, the Korean Air Lines' history of cooperation with the CIA, and a whole string of similar U.S. provocations. But for the American bourgeois media a Marxist newspaper is beyond the pale, especially ours which openly says that the Soviet Union has the right and duty to defend itself against imperialist war provocations.

As time goes on, however, the accumulated mountain of evidence of a U.S. conspiracy can no longer be ignored. Now even "respectable" scholars are taking notice, with the publication of two independent books on the subject. The first, *Black Box: KAL 007 and the Superpowers*, is by Alexander Dallin, a renowned anti-Soviet "expert" on the Soviet Union who cannot by any stretch of the liberal imagination be considered "tainted" by communist leanings. Dallin meticulously goes through all the possible theories of KAL 007's errant course. Notably, he includes in his list of theories an accurate account



of the Soviet argument presented after the disaster by Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov and also by Air Marshal Piotr Kirsanov.

It was Kirsanov who presented the details of the American "ferret" spy satellite and its tight coordination with the flight path of KAL 007 that night. (Dallin even reprints the TASS map of this coordination, something which no American bourgeois publication has done up to now.) Dallin's conclusion, though presented in the cautious and tentative language of an academic scholar, is damning:

> "Given the political explosiveness of the issue, it is especially important not to jump to the conclusion that the whole thing was engineered by the United States unless there is good evidence to sustain this view. To be sure, the logic of that argument is strong.... In fact, it must be acknowledged that with the passage of time this argument, unlike all others, looms stronger than before."

The second book, *KAL Flight 007: The Hidden Story* by Oliver Clubb, does not hesitate to be blunt in its conclusions. Clubb, an associate professor of political science at Syracuse University, has been given short shrift by reviewers, ostensibly because his is not a technical account. But Clubb sketches out the holes in the government's story, and does one very important thing: he details the little-publicized 1978 incident, when another KAL plane overflew the top-secret Murmansk military region of the Soviet Union before it was forced down onto a frozen lake by Soviet fighters. He shows how the Paris-Anchorage-Seoul flight did a virtual U-turn just above Greenland in order to penetrate Soviet airspace over the Kola Peninsula.

Quoting the *Washington Post* (25 April 1978) Clubb notes that this turn was so drastic that several passengers later related that "they had become concerned when they noticed that the plane, which had been flying toward the setting sun, was suddenly flying away from it" into the dark of night. Some "navigational error"! Clubb's conclusion is that "both flights [1978 and 1983] had been instigated by U.S. intelligence for the evident purpose, perhaps among others, of studying the operation of the air defenses guarding vital Soviet naval installations."

WV Graphic

1978 and 1983, two provocative penetrations of Soviet airspace. U.S. is testing Soviet defenses in preparation for American nuclear first strike.

So many new cracks in the wall of silence have opened up recently that even the *New York Times* (21 April) has been forced to pay serious attention for the first time, in a book review by Philip Taubman, who details Dallin's conclusions in particular. The list of public figures who have now gone on record saying that KAL 007 was on a U.S. spy mission includes Greek prime minister Andreas Papandreou and former U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright. Fulbright, who repeatedly punctured President Johnson's lies during the Vietnam War, gave his experienced opinion of government statements: "They fit the facts to fit the policy."

NY Review of Books: Reagan's White(wash) Paper

Now that people are mentioning the unmentionable, in steps the *New York Review of Books* (25 April) with a thinly veiled attempt to save Reagan's keister with an article purporting to reveal "What Really Happened" to the doomed Korean Air Lines flight. The *NYRB* is important because they have a reputable name. Back during the Vietnam War when Irving Howe's *Dissent* and Norman Podhoretz' *Commentary* became so discredited as mouthpieces for State Department propaganda that Woody Allen suggested they merge and call it *Dysentery*, that's when the *New York Review of Books* appeared on the scene. More recently these Cold War liberal literati have published sophisticated apologies for Polish Solidarność by Abraham Brumberg, the former editor of the CIA's house organ, *Problems of Communism*, and articles by William Shawcross equating the Vietnamese in Kampuchea with the genocidal Pol Pot.

The *NYRB* poses as a thinking man's anti-Communist journal, but to swallow the eleven newspaper pages by Tokyo-based Australian "journalist" Murray Sayle on KAL 007 you would have to suspend thought altogether. The Sayle piece practically amounts to a U.S. government "White Paper." It's no accident Washington leaves it to an ostensible outsider to present its case: not a single radar tape or any other data has been or will be released by Washington (as relatives of 007 victims recently found out in court), because even the smallest piece of data could blow the whole operation.

Sayle is out to pull off a technical snow job, so he must first establish his "expert" credentials. "I hold a certificate of competence in navigation," he brags, "for yachts"! Not impressed? He adds:

> "I have also had some experience flying in the cockpit with American and other civil and military pilots, in Vietnam and elsewhere, and even a little experience of Soviet military methods of intelligence gathering (having been arrested and interrogated in Prague in 1968)."

What is Sayle trying to tell us, that he flew Air America for the CIA in Asia? He took notes on a B-52 while carpet-bombing Indochinese peasants? He got caught carrying messages for the British embassy in Prague? This man proudly describes the profile of an American and/or British agent, and expects thereby to raise his credibility! In the language of *Private Eye* magazine, we detect the odor of smelly socks journalists from the British reptile press who would sell the secret of Dunkirk for a liver topped off by a double brandy.

In the middle of his technical flim-flam, Sayle weaves in some redbaiting with all the subtlety of Allen Dulles. "Of course I am not for a second suggesting that Pearson is a Soviet dupe or sympathizer," he protests too much, and then goes on to suggest that the *Nation*'s arguments "reflect the thinking of 'Soviet leading circles'." (Horrors!) In case anyone missed the point, he returns to it again at the very end, noting that the "overriding priority" of the Soviet

New Statesman

Cockpit of Boeing 747. Pilot stares head on at INS switch (arrow) which Sayle claims KAL 007 crew failed to notice for five and a half hours!

leadership is to "maintain the facade of infallibility" and complaining that their "protestations of innocence" are finding an audience in the West.

But his whitewash won't wash. Apparently in order to appear credible, Sayle actually gives away too much, as in his opening admission:

> "Washington officials refuse to disclose details of the intelligence operation that they agree was being conducted against the Soviet installations *on Sakhalin* on the night of the shoot-down." [our emphasis]

He also concedes what's widely known, that the U.S. mobilized a vast array of detection capabilities in the area of the Kamchatka Peninsula because of "intense U.S. intelligence interest in the [Soviet missile] launch planned for that night." Having admitted all this, he then dismisses out of hand all "conspiracy theories" with a smarmy guffaw about James Bond and exploding cigars, despite the long history of such U.S. provocations. (The 1960 U-2 incident was only the most well-publicized; there have been far more serious provocative probes, such as the deliberate violation of Soviet territorial waters by a nuclear-armed U.S. submarine, the USS *Gato*, in 1969.) Sayle acts like a shyster lawyer who's been given a rotten case to defend: if the facts are against you, pound the law; if the law's against you, pound the facts; if they're both against you, pound the table.

The Sayle piece is a tissue of lies—but one with many seams, and as soon as you touch it they begin unravelling. To begin with, the *NYRB* article purports to be a book review of six items—including the two books mentioned above—yet Clubb and Dallin are quickly dismissed in a few snotty sentences, and Sayle turns to a gigantic polemic against David Pearson and the *Nation*. Then "seasoned investigator" Sayle declares he has "no choice" (since "conspiracies can seldom be wholly disproved") but to turn to "the search for a feasible accident," no matter how implausible and how much a shaky house of cards it is. His first try, in the London Tory *Spectator* (10 September 1983), was the theory that the KAL pilots were flying a Great Circle route through Soviet air space...in order to save fuel! When that one was shot down, he turned to his current pet theory, that the plane "accidentally" flew a constant magnetic compass heading.

To support his "accident" theory, Sayle has the problem of explaining how for 5-1/2 hours the KAL jetliner flew hundreds of miles off course without the crew catching the "error." Like everyone else except President Reagan, Sayle dismisses the possibility of the failure of three independent Inertial Navigation Systems (INS) on board: "No simultaneous triple failure of an INS system has ever been recorded." So he concludes that the errant flight was caused by the crew failing to switch on the INS, instead leaving the switch in the "magnetic heading" mode. But to back up this claim he must pile factual inaccuracy upon blatant distortion upon deliberate lie after lie after lie.

Lie No. 1: Sayle admits that the statistical chance of such a switch error as the one he posits occurring is "admittedly, very rare" (by his own statistics of North Atlantic crossings, we calculate it to be one in 250,000). But "rare does not mean impossible" and "pilots make mistakes," he concludes profoundly. In this case, however, the crew would have had to make the same mistake *repeatedly*—not only at Bethel, Alaska but also at obligatory checkpoints named NABIE, NEEVA, NIPPI. And all the while they would be staring at the switch which is in the very center of the instrument panel of a Boeing 747!

Lie No. 2: Sayle claims that when passing these checkpoints, the KAL crew simply relied on INS alert lights to indicate position, without noticing that the navigational system was not switched on. But upon arrival at each checkpoint, the pilot must report by radio to the air traffic control center (first Anchorage and later Tokyo) giving his position, the time, altitude, and estimated time of arrival at the next checkpoint.

Moreover, at points where there is a VOR (Very High Frequency Omnidirectional Radio Range) beacon available, the Korean Air Lines B747 Operations Manual specifies the procedure to be followed for checking the accuracy of the INS:

> "During INS flight on an airway using VOR, [crew] sets RADIO/INS switch to RADIO position with the appropriate radio aids tuned and monitor courses selected for the airways being flown. If there is INS nav. error, initiate INS position update."
>
> —Attachment B, 1818th Report to Council by the President of the Air Navigation Commission, International Civil Aviation Organization, 16 February 1984

This ICAO report specifically notes that the crew *should have* caught any error by using the en-route VOR beacons and other navigational aids: "Except for the Anchorage VOR, which was out of service, there were no recorded defects in respect of any of the available en-route aids.... Had the company procedures been followed, it would have been possible for the flight crew to verify the aircraft's adherence to track at reporting points Bethel, NABIE and NEEVA."

Lie No. 3: Aside from these aids, the captain would also see the present longitude and latitude readout on his INS, as Sayle admits, but then he writes: "Had Captain Chun plotted any of these against a chart, he would have instantly seen he was off course. But he did not have the necessary maps aboard to do so." Yet the ICAO Air Navigation Commission report (which Sayle is ostensibly reviewing) notes specifically: "The Jeppesen high-altitude en-route chart for the North Pacific was available for use on the flight deck."

Indeed, the KAL operations manual specifically *requires* the use of this chart to check the coordinates entered into the INS before takeoff. And in any case, we don't believe an experienced navigator—especially Captain Chun Byung, who had flown this route *27 times*—would need a chart to recognize a grossly incorrect position. An experienced yachtsman would certainly know a well-traveled course like the back of his hand. (Remember Horatio Hornblower? You'll never make it out of midshipman if you need a chart all the time.)

Lie No. 4: Sayle simply dismisses the fact that these 747s also have weather radar (commonly used in ground-mapping mode on such trips as an extra check, which would have revealed the unexpected land masses of Kamchatka and Sakhalin below), claiming that "there is a tendency among younger pilots today to put excessive trust in the wondrous INS system." Is that supposed to include Captain Chun, 45, a ten-year veteran of the Korean Air Force and personal pilot of the South Korean president?!

Duncan Campbell notes in a *New Statesman* (26 April) review of Sayle's assertions: "But a 747 passenger airliner carries two pilots and is equipped with a multitude of duplicated or triplicated navigation systems. The KAL 747 had 3 Inertial Navigation Systems (INS), 2 magnetic compasses, 2 weather and ground radar sets, 7 receivers for radio navigation beacons, 5 ordinary radio sets, and so on. It would not have been easy for an experienced flight crew to misinterpret or disregard every single indication of a navigational error from all this cockpit equipment." Dallin quotes retired Canadian major general Richard Rohmer who concluded about the KAL 007 pilots:

> "Yes, they knew exactly where they were from the time they left Anchorage through the false way point checks that they transmitted past Kamchatka and over Sakhalin Island to their destruction."

AP

Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, now top commander of Soviet Army's Western theater, at 9 September 1983 Moscow news conference demonstrating provocative collusion between KAL 007 and Americans' RC-135 spy plane.

Lie No. 5: The pillar of Sayle's "magnetic heading" theory is the assertion that "The spot at which KE007 was shot down lies on the magnetic heading of 246 degrees from Anchorage." (In a "magnetic heading" mode, the plane will be navigated by compass.) He even charts a course on a map purporting to represent "constant magnetic heading 246°." *Except the KAL airliner's watery grave isn't anywhere near 246 degrees magnetic from Anchorage.*

Dallin reproduces a map showing the theoretical course of 246 degrees from Anchorage, demonstrating that KAL 007 *would have missed Sakhalin entirely*, bypassing it well to the south. Sayle is aware of this, though he doesn't tell the reader directly, instead adding a lengthy qualifier, "taking account of the winds the aircraft encountered that night, as reported by the aircraft's copilot by radio, plus or minus fifty miles to allow for the less-than-precise measurement of the wind pattern and variations in the earth's magnetic field." The only wind here is the one Sayle makes. And, of course, even if the pilot of KAL Flight 007 *was* following magnetic heading 246 for part of his course, *it could have been deliberate.*

All this verbiage by Sayle is a massive and deliberate diversion, to avoid Pearson's main argument—that the U.S. must have been following the course of KAL 007 that night. What about the *several* RC-135 spy planes reported by the Soviets, the Cobra Judy radar on the U.S. navy ship *Observation Island* off Kamchatka, the powerful Cobra Dane phased array radar on Shemya Island in the Aleutians, the "ferret" satellite, and numerous other intelligence capabilities, including the NSA (National Security Agency) and Japanese military radar at Wakkanai, on the island of Hokkaido, barely 100 miles from the spot the Korean airliner was shot down?

Lie No. 6: Attempting to downplay U.S. detection capabilities, Sayle throws up a smokescreen asserting that "all radar" are limited "to line-of-sight or a little beyond it." Even the easily available public record reveals, however, that the U.S. has at least two Over-the-Horizon Backscatter (OTH-B) radars located in the continental U.S., with capabilities going far beyond line-of-sight. According to the authoritative *Jane's Weapons Systems 1982-83*, these radars "can detect aircraft at distances of 500 to 1800 nautical miles."

Arms control experts David Hafemeister, Joseph Romm and Kosta Tsipis have noted (in the March 1985 *Scientific American*) that:

> "When the launching site of a missile is too deep inside Soviet territory to be observed by conventional ground-based radars, the U.S. utilizes 'over the horizon' radars. These devices project beams that the ionosphere, acting like a mirror, reflects into the interior of the U.S.S.R."

More than likely Cobra Dane on Shemya Island in the Aleutians has OTH capability, since its "prime mission" is to monitor "Soviet missile launches into the Kamchatka Peninsula and North Pacific Ocean," according to the communications magazine *Signal* (May-June 1977). Among Cobra Dane's capabilities, says *Signal*, is "ionospheric monitoring."

Lie No. 7: Similarly, Sayle straight-out lies about the capabilities of the RC-135s, baldly asserting that they're only passive, to "pick up electronic intelligence...on airborne tape-recorders" to be "analyzed later on the ground," and so the plane could not have identified or warned KAL 007.

But former Air Force intelligence officers T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard specifically debunked this government line about the RC-135 being merely a "passive listening

continued on page 14

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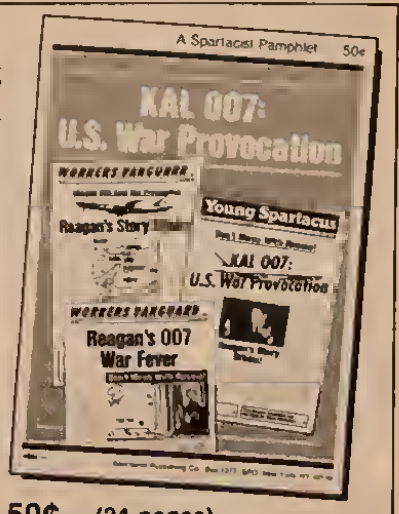

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Smash Fascist Smear of SL

Imagine that you open up a presumably left-wing paper and see this headline: "Fascists Lead 5,000 Black Workers to Stop Klan in Washington." You might think you fell asleep and woke up in *Alice in Wonderland*. What kind of "fascists" would lead thousands of militants, drawn mainly from predominantly black unions, to stop a KKK provocation? On 27 November 1982 the Spartacist League mobilized the vanguard of the black working class to deal a big defeat to the racist terrorists who, emboldened by Reagan reaction and by the broad-daylight "Greensboro massacre" of five leftist union and civil rights activists in North Carolina, were seeking to march in the nation's capital for the first time since 1925. Now somebody wants you to believe that the organization which led the labor-based action that stopped the Klan is "racist" and "fascist." These characterizations of the SL appeared in the March 1 *Bulletin*, newspaper of the Workers League. And if the *Bulletin* did not print the headline we have imagined for them about November 27, it's only because the WL rarely mentions the existence of the mobilization—the largest labor-based anti-fascist action since the 1939 anti-Nazi rally at Madison Square Garden, also led by Trotskyists—except to hail it as a "provocation."

The WL is the sinister American incarnation of Thomas Gerard Healy (aka "Gerry"), a corrupt plebeian political adventurer who, as sort of an illegitimate stepchild of Sir James Goldsmith, Rupert Murdoch and Ian MacGregor, runs a considerably larger operation in England. The *Bulletin* article, ostensibly a response to our coverage of the case of Bernhard Goetz, the so-called "New York subway gunman," claims that our articles are "explicitly racist" and establish the completion of "the evolution of the Spartacist group toward fascism." Later it defines us as "a middle-class cult group" and expounds on our political origins in the typical Healyite style which combines deliberate slander with a bizarre paranoia. The article launched in the U.S. was picked up and reprinted by Healy's papers in England and Australia and, in Sinhalese translation, in Sri Lanka.

Then on April 19 a new *Bulletin* article appeared headlined "Spartacist Opposes Anti-Apartheid Struggle," charging us with "demoralization, cynicism and racism" and terming us "petty-bourgeois reactionaries." Both articles carry the by-line of David North, head of the local American Workers League. The basis for Healy's charges of Spartacist "racism" and "fascism" boils down to two things: 1) that we object to the Healyites' view that people, as opposed to the state, have no right to bear arms; 2) that we say that nothing short of proletarian revolution can win freedom for the black masses of South Africa. But what's really going on here has little to do with Goetz or South Africa, and everything to do with the British miners strike, as we shall see.

We are of course no strangers to the Healy slander mill, and we've been near tops on the Healyite hit list for many years, having been awarded in the pages of the *Bulletin* the grandiose title of "fingerman for the world capitalists" as far back as 1968. But those acquainted with Healy, who know that his pretensions to be part of the workers movement, to be a "Trotskyist" even, are utterly fraudulent, also know that the levered libelous outpourings of Healy's pen are not just random. It is time once again to consider the question: what is Gerry Healy up to now?

Gerry Healy has a problem. His problem is that a lot of people just learned some things in the heat of sharp class struggle in Britain. And they saw Gerry Healy and his gang fronting for the redbaiters and union-busters, screaming for the blood of miners union leader Arthur Scargill.

The British miners strike was 12 months of class warfare in the coal fields, a militant struggle which shook Margaret Thatcher's Britain to its foundations and pointed toward the question of which class shall rule. Confronted with the deliberate treachery of the pro-capitalist Labour Party/Trades Union Congress tops who, all in the name of "unity" of course, herded scabs and isolated the miners to face Thatcher's fury, the militant miners, winning to their side the best elements of the oppressed and exploited, held out for a year and spiked the Tories' effort at wholesale destruction of the union.

All of the English fake-left stands pretty exposed by their gutless behavior. Flinching from the hard battle against the hated "Iron Lady," they mostly made outright apologies for scabbing, and all espoused "unity" when what was needed was a sharp break with the TUC/Labour tops' stab-in-the-back refusal to spread the miners strike. But even among this sorry lot, Healy's gang was distinguished by very special treachery.

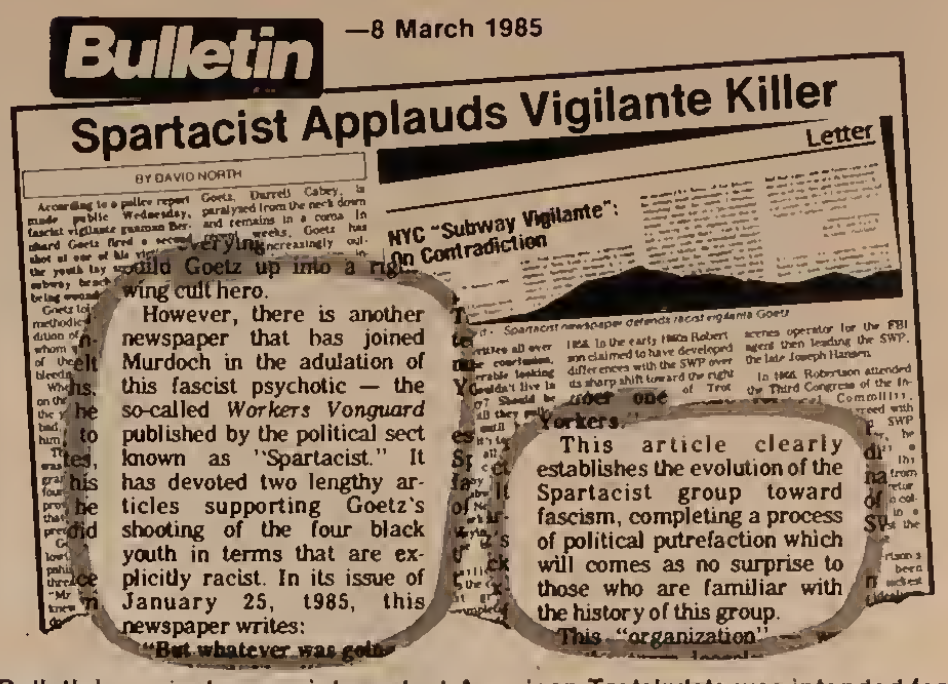
WV Photo

Union-based mass mobilization of blacks led by reds takes back the streets of Washington from killer KKK. Healyites now say Spartacists who initiated this militant anti-fascist action are "fascists."

Fingerman for TUC Cold Warriors

Healy made his loathsome "contribution" to the British miners strike before the strike began, at the Trades Union Congress meeting at Blackpool in September 1983. The order of the day there was to draw the line in support of the Cold War politics of Reagan/Thatcher and to impose on the unions the policies of the TUC right wing, including cooperation with the Tories over anti-union legislation and conciliation toward the rightist, pro-American split from the Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party. The key task for the likes of Frank Chapple, Bill Sirs & Co. was to isolate leftist union leaders, and in particular to witchhunt miners union head Arthur Scargill, so that this militant union should face all alone the anti-union assault that Thatcher was already preparing.

The Blackpool TUC opened by solidarizing with Reagan's barbarous



Bulletin's cynical smear job against American Trotskyists was intended for foreign consumption. But militant British miners will not soon forget who their friends were—or forgive their despicable Healyite enemies.

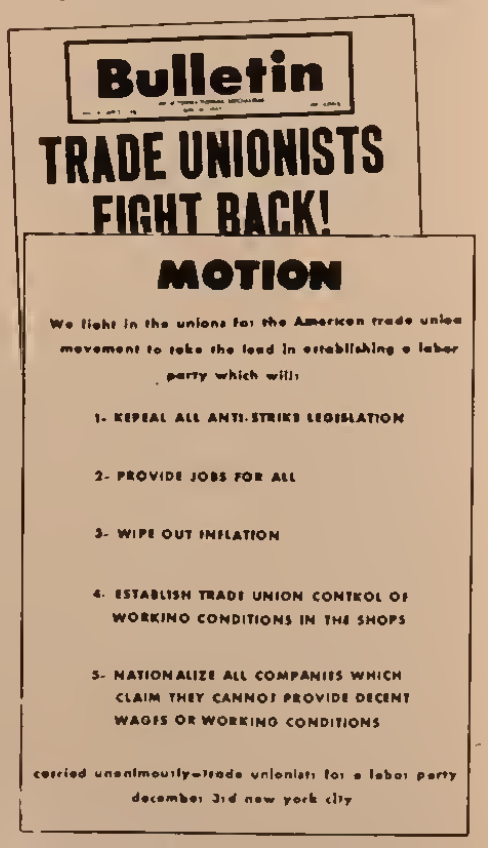
Korean Air Lines Flight 007 war provocation against the Soviet Union, which sent over 200 innocent people to their deaths. Not surprising, given that Chapple, Sirs and others of the TUC leaders are open sponsors of the CIA-backed "Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding," mouthpiece in the labor movement for Thatcher's NATO-loving line. In the midst of this carnival of the Labour rights, on the third day of the TUC, the Healyites dropped a carefully aimed bombshell: their *News Line* published a letter by Arthur Scargill in which he correctly castigated Polish Solidarność as "an anti-socialist organisation" seeking the overthrow of the Polish state. Healy had waited seven weeks to publish Scargill's letter at the optimal moment. It was a bonanza for the Tory rags of Fleet Street and became the centerpiece of the TUC right's wholesale redbaiting attack on Scargill. The Healyites were so proud that they issued a pamphlet about their role in the anti-Scargill witchhunt.

The British miners strike—which side were you on? This is the defining question for the left in England right now. And where was Healy?—the fingerman for the most right-wing agents of British capitalism in the labor movement, at the very moment that the lines were being drawn for the biggest class battle in more than half a century. The South Yorkshire miners who reportedly canceled their order for *News Line* after Blackpool expressed the contempt for Healy and his whores which has certainly become generalized in the miners' communities.

We're Marxists, defenders of the working class. We vigorously supported the miners strike, by raising the strategy and tactics we believe were necessary to win the struggle, including by seeking where we could to spread the strike to other unions (our supporter Patrick Sliney was sacked because he fought for active solidarity by his own union). American Spartacists, through the Partisan Defense Committee, raised over $20,000 for the British miners from American workers, against the active opposition of the AFL-CIO tops who refused to lift one little finger for a militant British union which is led by "reds" like Scargill. We have our criticisms of the miners' leadership; indeed neither we nor Scargill have been quiet about our differences, but over this crucial class battle there was a unity of action, albeit a very lopsided one. And Scargill ran the miners strike about as well as any Labourite bureaucrat could—that is, showing the limitations and underlying weakness of the best-intentioned "Labour left" reformist.

Meanwhile, some of the best elements among the miners have started paying attention to the Spartacist League of Britain. They think the Spartacists had the right strategy to win the miners' struggle: pull in a couple of the other key unions to "shut down the country." Alone among the British left papers, our *Workers Hammer* told the truth: the need for a fighting workers leadership not afraid to confront the capitalist state in a struggle which poses the question of class power; the essential role of a revolutionary party forged by splitting the militant ranks of labor from the traitorous tops, uniting the vanguard fighters on behalf of all the oppressed of capitalism. That's why slandering the Spartacists has suddenly become urgent business for the Healy gang once again. England is Healy's home base, and he even used to aspire to a following among the miners. So the American Healyites in their remote bunker got their orders to do a smear job on the Sparts.

The opportunist British left, and Healy the counterfeit leftist, are eager for the working people to forget the lessons of the hard-fought strike, which was a profound exposure of the slavish Labour "leadership." The social consciousness of the miners was altered as they found that the specially oppressed, from blacks and Asians to homosexuals, were a solid base of outside support for the strike. The miners got a concentrated education in the nature of the bosses' state and the cops. And they learned about Healy. In the normal course of things, lessons pretty quickly become eroded or submerged in defeat, as political life flows back into the usual


Bulletin

TRADE UNIONISTS FIGHT BACK!

MOTION

We fight in the unions for the American trade union movement to take the lead in establishing a labor party which will:

1- REPEAL ALL ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION

2- PROVIDE JOBS FOR ALL

3- WIPE OUT INFLATION

4- ESTABLISH TRADE UNION CONTROL OF WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE SHOPS

5- NATIONALIZE ALL COMPANIES WHICH CLAIM THEY CANNOT PROVIDE DECENT WAGES OR WORKING CONDITIONS

carried unanimously—trade unionists for a labor party december 3rd new york city

1967 program for a "labor party," Healy-style: antiwar activists, blacks need not apply.

channels—i.e., the reformist channels of the Labour Party. But the miners union has a long memory, and it's our job to see that the lessons of this struggle are not forgotten. Of course all the "left-wing" fakers have a stake in the idea that past betrayals should be forgotten, forgiven, accepted as "necessary" or inevitable. But for Healy it is a principle that there must be no memory in political life. The determination to glory in lies, to wage war on consciousness, is perhaps the most consistent feature of Healy's loathsome political career.

Healyites: An Organization for Hire

When we first encountered the Healyites many years ago, they had begun espousing orthodox, anti-revisionist Trotskyism. (Indeed they still try to do so when it suits them, except that they come close to posing Trotsky as Stalin's agent—a fairly unique paranoid delusion.) But they do not have inherent politics of their own nor have they had any for a long time. For nearly two decades, they have done their best to be simply an organization for hire.

Healy's appetites came to fruition when the Healy gang became the most unashamed devotees of assorted gangs of Near East murderers, vicious reactionary militarist regimes like Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi's Islamic fanatics in Libya. The Healyites have been among the world's most fulsome supporters of the ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, the most grotesque champions of the "unity" of Arafat's PLO. In 1979 they explicitly justified the Iraqi Ba'ath regime's execution of 21 members of the Stalinist Communist Party, historically the leadership of the militant, strategic oil workers. Healy's embrace of these murderous capitalist regimes was prepared by years of cynical adulation of the so-called "Arab Revolution," a classless and entirely disembodied notion whose function is to permit those who are so inclined to justify anything in the name of "anti-imperialism." But more than ideology is involved in Healy's posture; the deal was consummated with something a lot more solid than the collected works of Colonel Qaddafi. Healy's embrace of Qaddafi coincided with the reappearance of a Healyite daily paper, *News Line*, in England two months after his previous daily, *Workers Press*, had folded.

Hence the Healyites, as corrupt press agents for some of the world's most unappetizing capitalist regimes, are hardly acting as a part of the workers movement. But then they have always been distinguished by an incredible programmatic instability and a cynicism which boggles the mind, as well as a penchant for physical gangsterism against dissident members and political opponents. They are characterized by slavish Labourite reformism, which in the U.S. is expressed in the most grotesque catering to the white labor aristocracy, at the same time as they seek to appeal to restless youth with the most ultra-"revolutionary," not to say bloodthirsty, rhetoric. The Healyites are a professional cheering section for Third World nationalism and worse, at the same time as they are marked closer to home by the most cringing legalism. Out of this dichotomy comes the attachment to frenzied slander and violence and the insistence that nobody should remember what was written yesterday and the day before.

From their earliest days the American Healyites have been on the market for an influential patron to sell themselves to. When they're not practicing the world's oldest profession on behalf of Near Eastern despots, they are sucking up to the labor bureaucrats at home. In 1967, at the very moment when millions of youth were being radicalized by the imperialist war against Vietnam and the movement for black freedom, the *Bulletin* put forward a program for a "labor party" that only George Meany could love. Meany, who headed the AFL-CIO at the time, was part of the Cold War labor "leadership" installed after the American labor movement was beheaded by the anti-"red" purges which drove out the communists and militants after World War II. Meany & Co. supported U.S. imperialism's war against Vietnam even after most capitalist politicians had given it up as a losing cause.

Take a look at the WL's five-point "labor party" program, which we reproduce here from the *Bulletin*'s front page. For the WL, the war and black people just didn't exist. A program for labor? This was a program for the bureaucratic fat-cats whose conservative, openly racist and pro-government line makes the AFL-CIO a bastion of sellouts at home and a witting cover for the CIA's anti-labor machinations all over the world. Now almost 20 years later, George Meany himself couldn't have done a better job than Healy did at Blackpool to spearhead the Cold War witchhunt of Scargill to facilitate "Iron Lady" Thatcher's union-busting.

Catering to the labor bureaucracy means mimicking every aspect of racial insensitivity and political backwardness. And so the WL displays a recurring fondness for cops and prison guards as an alleged part of the labor movement: in 1971 the *Bulletin*'s approving front-page article on a bonapartist "strike" by New York cops was headlined "New York Labor Explodes."

An undated *Bulletin* supplement issued in about March of this year perfectly illustrates this profile. The supplement is by Ed Winn, a black transit worker identified as "the Workers League candidate for President of the United States in the 1984 elections." Addressed to the members of the New York transit workers union—a strategic union with a militant history and a high proportion of black, Spanish-speaking and immigrant workers—the supplement runs two full pages of newsprint, mainly on the upcoming transit contract and the perennial WL call for a "Congress of Labor," without ever mentioning one single word about black people in any connection. What kind of program for city labor can exclude the central necessity of a labor-led fight against racist oppression, against cop brutality, against the killer cutbacks, against the resurgent racist reaction in Reagan's America? The WL calls for... a Labor Party, obviously one that won't mention blacks even when addressing a largely black union which ought to be the powerful fist behind the demands of the impoverished ghetto masses. Even where the WL suggests as its own eventual goals "a workers government," "socialist policies," "revolutionary struggle," etc., there is clearly no place in such "policies" for black struggle and no hint that socialists are committed to utterly smashing racism as a vital necessity to win the communist road to human freedom.

This is all of a piece with the WL's repellant affinity for cops and prison guards, the *Bulletin* headline "Black Caucuses Are Reactionary," the constant sneering at women's liberation which perfectly reflects the Healyites' consistent hostility to all questions of fighting special oppression.

But at the same time that the Healyites are sucking up to the labor aristocracy, they're also working the other side of the street (or you could say that they're crippled on two legs). To obtain a "base," they spout a lot of militant rhetoric intended to appeal to restless, alienated unemployed young people. This provides a pool of semi-lumpenized kids to serve as cannon fodder under the direction of a totally cynical and corrupt cadre. The emphasis on youth also has another advantage: it's important to Healy that nobody know what he said yesterday, and kids are good for that.

But this system, transplanted into the U.S. by the Workers League, has a problem which is reflected in the exaggeratedly schizophrenic profile apparent in every issue of the *Bulletin*. In England, the lumpen youth and the working class are mainly of the same ethnicity. The 16-year-old white kid that joins Healy's Young Socialists out of desperation at the conditions of life under decrepit British capitalism normally partakes of the same general outlook as his older brother—he is aware that there is a working class and a capitalist class and sees the Labour Party as immutably the vehicle for protecting working-class interests, however impatient he may be with the old men who run it. He can enjoy the endless youth marches and the revolutionary rhetoric in the spirit in which they are intended: as pressure tactics in the framework of the tired old reformist perspective toward the Labour Party, "make the Lefts light."

In America, the counterpart to these unemployed white youth are a lot harder to handle. They are mainly black and, under the American conditions of negligible class consciousness in the whole working class, they can by no means be presumed to be pro-union, and will not be kept in line by the exciting prospect of a labor party, particularly the pro-cop, anti-black "labor party" favored by the WL. So the Healyites have some problems as they run around depressed inner cities like Detroit seeking a base by posing as defenders of black folk and "racist"-baiting anyone who intrudes on their turf.

Not all their problems are political, either. The schema worked out by Healy for the English social reality and loyally applied by the WL here has had some unexpected consequences. As you may know, every issue of the *Bulletin* since October 1977 has carried a front-page call: "Investigate the Murder of Tom Henehan." From the facts as the WL presents them, we have to assume that

continued on page 10

Healy's News Line (bottom) in carefully timed bombshell sets up miners union leader Scargill for witchhunters' barrage in Tory press (top).

Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain banner calls for massive union solidarity with embattled miners. Healy served as lingerman for TUC Cold Warriors, Tory union-busters against leftist miners union leader.

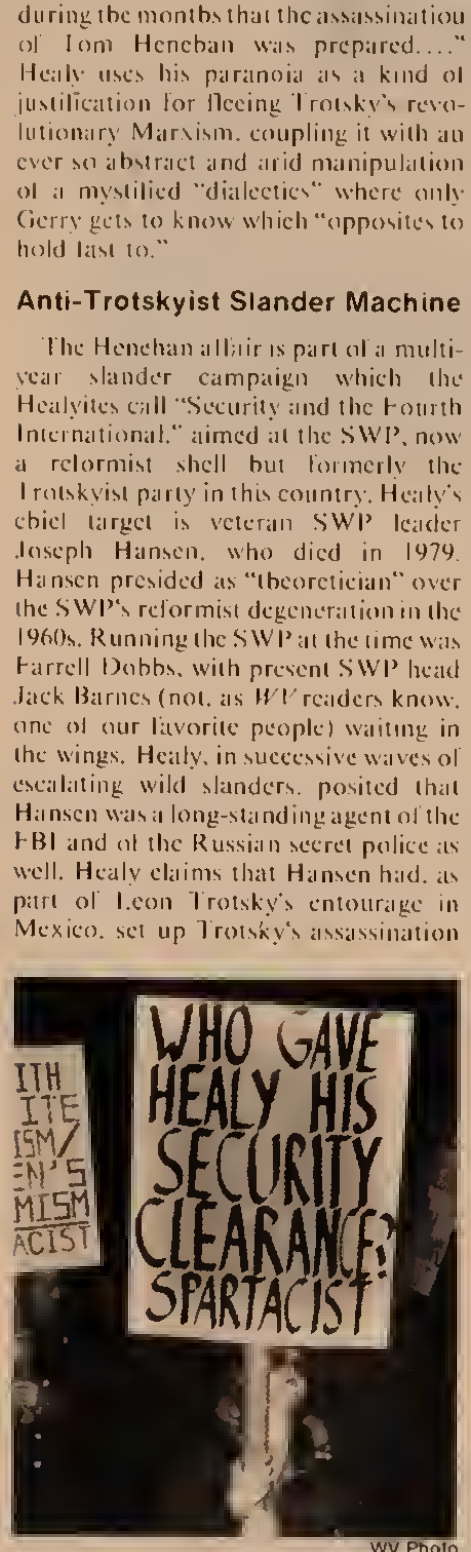
Smash Fascist Smear of SL...

(continued from page 9)

Henehan, a Healyite cadre who was on duty at a WL dance when he was shot, was probably just applying the normal Healyite techniques of cajoling and strong-arming kids looking for a good time, in order to get them onto the buses for a conference somewhere, or into a contingent for a youth march, or into a dance hall for a Healyite festivity, and then to keep them there. Only this time, unfortunately for Tom Henehan, some of the kids the WL was manhandling evidently had big brothers. Of course this rather simple explanation is far from sufficient for the WL, which insists that the two men who were convicted of shooting Henehan were paid political assassins, and insinuates they were working for the Socialist Workers Party, laying heavy stress on "the role of confessed FBI informant Edward Heisler within the leadership of the SWP during the months that the assassination of Tom Henehan was prepared...." Healy uses his paranoia as a kind of justification for fleeing Trotsky's revolutionary Marxism, coupling it with an ever so abstract and arid manipulation of a mystified "dialectics" where only Gerry gets to know which "opposites to hold fast to."

Anti-Trotskyist Slander Machine

The Henehan affair is part of a multi-year slander campaign which the Healyites call "Security and the Fourth International," aimed at the SWP, now a reformist shell but formerly the Trotskyist party in this country. Healy's chief target is veteran SWP leader Joseph Hansen, who died in 1979. Hansen presided as "theoretician" over the SWP's reformist degeneration in the 1960s. Running the SWP at the time was Farrell Dobbs, with present SWP head Jack Barnes (not, as *WV* readers know, one of our favorite people) waiting in the wings. Healy, in successive waves of escalating wild slanders, posited that Hansen was a long-standing agent of the FBI and of the Russian secret police as well. Healy claims that Hansen had, as part of Leon Trotsky's entourage in Mexico, set up Trotsky's assassination



WV Photo

Spartacists protest Healyite slander campaign against Hansen, Cannon, Trotsky.

by the Stalinist GPU. Thereby Healy echoes the discredited Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by his "own people." And from the claim that Hansen was an operative of the Stalinist and capitalist secret police, it's a short half-step from Hansen to Cannon to Trotsky.

A dozen years ago the SWP, even as a fully reformist party with no programmatic attachment to Trotskyism, was interested in and capable of defending its veteran comrades. For our part, the Spartacist League, in addition to signing the SWP's united-front defense statement, campaigned vigorously against Healy's lies with our own demonstrations and articles raising slogans like "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?" and "Joseph Hansen Is an Honest Revisionist."

With the death of Hansen and the accelerated purging by Barnes of virtually every element of organizational and human continuity with the old SWP, Barnes' party became unwilling or totally unable to defend the name of the old Fourth International against the Healyite slander machine. A couple of years ago the American Healyites brought suit in federal court against the SWP for having expelled one Alan Gelfand. Thus they invoked the U.S. government as arbiter, supposedly to return the SWP to the revolutionary road! Legally Gelfand's case centered on demanding that the U.S. court should intervene in the running of voluntary organizations of the left and determine who is and isn't a member. Propagandistically the suit—charging the SWP was FBI-controlled through the SWP leadership—was a vehicle for re-raising the ludicrous slanders against Hansen. But the SWP shamefully ducked the whole issue of Hansen as a supposed accomplice to the Trotsky murder, while keeping the very existence of Gelfand's outrageous challenge to workers organizations' rights secret from the public for as long as possible.

Healy Loves the Law

Taking workers organizations to the capitalist courts is a hallmark of Healyism. For at the same time that the Healyites are violent, they're very legalistic, and indeed Healy just loves the law. In 1966 the Healyites strong-armed Ernie Tate, an SWP supporter, when he was trying to sell literature on the sidewalk outside a Healyite political event in London, then brought charges against him in court. In 1981 the British Healyites' Vanessa Redgrave brought a libel suit against *Socialist Organiser* editor Sean Matgamna after Matgamna published an exposé of these political bandits. (Interestingly, Redgrave's suit conspicuously chose not to contest Matgamna's allegation that Healy & Co. have received material aid from Qaddafi's Libya.)

Healy's love for the law brings us straight back to the Goetz case. For the Healyites' basic thrust on the Goetz case is, simply, that only duly constituted authority should carry guns. All the cheerleading for "revolution" abroad notwithstanding, nobody beats Healy for legalism close to home.

Last December 22 a skinny white guy, Bernhard Goetz, shot four young black men during an apparent shakedown on the IRT subway, and the case of the "subway vigilante" began. We have written about the Goetz case, a fable of our time, illuminating the desperately sharply posed conditions of life in Reagan's America. It's an ambiguous situation, and we said so.

What the Healyites have to say about our approach to the Goetz case bears, as might be expected from this crew, little relationship to reality. Thus:

> "However, there is another newspaper that has joined [*Post* publisher Ropert] Murdoch in the adulation of this fascist psychotic—the so-called *Workers Vanguard* published by the political sect known as 'Spartacist.' It has devoted two lengthy articles supporting Goetz's shooting of the four black youth in terms that are explicitly racist.... This article clearly establishes the evolution of the Spartacist group toward fascism, completing a process of political putrefaction which will come as no surprise to those who are familiar with the history of this group...."

The *Bulletin* goes on to define us as "a middle-class cult group set up around the person of James L. Robertson," who, it says, has functioned since the early 1960s "as a behind the scenes operator for [you guessed it] the FBI agent then leading the SWP, the late Joseph Hansen."

Probably the Healyites are counting on the indisputable shock value of the Goetz affair itself for the distant reader. Even many Americans, if they aren't vividly aware of the New York subways, will just be put off by the idea of people shooting people. Middle-class Britishers who think their own cops never carry guns are probably utterly bewildered by the American social reality. It's hard for them to know what it means to be approached by four young black strangers in the IRT (the South African legal code, perhaps derived from the British, has a precise phrase for what New Yorkers know as a shakedown: "demanding with menaces"). English readers might consider how it feels to walk into a railroad car full of crazed soccer fans. Or try walking down Shankhill Road at high noon wearing a crucifix. Brother, your ass is grass. What is "racist" about saying, as the Healyites quote from *Workers Vanguard*, "Marauding by black youths on the NYC subways is a mass phenomenon"? That is a fact, which black people *especially* are painfully aware of, because they are the most frequent victims.

To convey a sense of the American social reality, more specifically the violence that racism and desperation breed, in our original articles on Goetz we quoted from *Manchild in the Promised Land*, a work by a black writer which is eloquent and precise on the subject of lumpen crime. This time, in deference to the WL's ultra-philistinism, we will put literary sources aside and simply quote in full a little story from the *New York Times*:

> "A group of four teen-agers robbed three men on the IRT No. 2 elevated subway line in the Bronx early yesterday, stabbing two victims and beating the third, the police said.
>
> "Two of the victims, from the Bronx, were asleep when the gang attacked them, according to a spokesman for the transit police, Edward Silberfarb.
>
> "The first incident occurred at 2 A.M., when Joseph Lee, 33 years old, was attacked by the group on a southbound train entering the Gun Hill Road station. He told the police he had been punched, kicked and robbed of $20. He was treated at Jacobi Hospital for minor injuries.
>
> "An hour later, the youths chased Warren Kendew, 30, from the 219th Street platform, stabbed him and took his wallet with $15, Mr. Silberfarb said.
>
> "Then the youths assaulted Carl Thorpe, 39, on a northbound train. He told the police that a youth had cut his right leg with a knife and that the gang had stolen his wallet with $70.
>
> "Mr. Kendew and Mr. Thorpe were listed in serious condition at Misericordia Hospital."
>
> —*New York Times*, 20 April

The *Times*, by neglecting to mention the race of either the four assailants or their three victims, will have made it impossible for the WL to evaluate the above incident. To us, it makes no difference whether these were black youth attacking whites, white youth mugging blacks, Puerto Rican youth mugging whites and blacks, or any other variant. Nobody, oppressed or not, has a license to prey upon the people. Kids with no jobs and no prospects want to eat potato chips and look at TV like everyone else, so they need money, but it's still pretty terrifying when they get it by mugging you on the subways.

The Goetz case is contradictory and so is the outcry it has produced. It is being used simultaneously to whip up racist "backlash" sentiment and to push gun control. Central to everything we have written on Goetz is the understanding that in this violent racist country there is a huge congruence between the fear of lumpen crime and racism, and thus vigilantism necessarily acquires a fascistic political coloration. But we have also pointed out the desperation of hostile, mutually terrorized populations in the big cities, who know the capitalist "justice" system "isn't working." So a lot of working people—and when we say "working people" we, unlike the Healyites, don't just mean white working people—initially responded to the Goetz case by observing that people might be better behaved if they were reminded that the skinny white guy with glasses, the black grandfather sitting next to him or the Hispanic mother across the aisle might just be "packing" a gun. This response was particularly marked among black people.

WV Photo

Detroit anti-Klan protesters support the right of self-defense, in wake of KKK/Nazi murder of five militants in Greensboro, North Carolina, 1979.

Integral to this widespread attitude is fear, and not just the often justified fear of random, casual crimes of violence by lumpen youth with little to lose, but also the eminently sensible fear of the cops. Nobody thinks the cops—being too busy sitting around getting drunk when they are not out dealing drugs or choking black kids to death—will protect them. Particularly in the social matrix of New York City, a cop is: 1) a psycho, 2) a racist and 3) not too fond of the big boys who really are on top. (Of course, the Healyites don't share this view, instead embracing the cops as a purported part of the union movement.) The real problem in New York today isn't one "subway vigilante" but the systematic police torture and murder of dark-skinned people, a daily occurrence in today's "fear city." Seeking to hide this fact, the WL puts itself right up there with Ed Koch in alibiing cop terror against the working people.

Meanwhile, the reformist groups in this country, who are at bottom mainly just guilty liberals, don't dare touch the explosively interlocked questions of crime and race. They must therefore paper over the contradictions of the Goetz case with simplifying mythology. Here the WL is absolutely indistinguishable from the common variety of reformist leftists (though as we have said, they are far from being merely this). Thus for the *Bulletin* Goetz is simply a "fascist." The Communist Party, similarly, has suggested that Goetz was some kind of German, in other words a Nazi. (Indeed, Goetz was some kind of German—his mother was a German Jew who fled Germany.) The reformist press symmetrically presents the black kids (who already had criminal records) as if they were on their way to a church social. The recourse to simplifying invention is the tip-off that they're hiding something.

They're hiding how hard it is in this country, how brutal and desperate. The masses are being attacked in every imaginable way by a vicious Reaganite bourgeoisie on top while being eaten from below by despairing lumpen youth. And these moods do tend to a polarization—ultimately, fascism or workers revolution. And the reformists are in the business of pretending that things will get all better if only we bring back the capitalist Democratic Party (in Britain, the sellout Labour Party). For there to be any illusion of reasonableness to this "solution," it is necessary to minimize the problem. If things were not so raw, if racism were not so integral to the fabric of capitalism, if injustice and oppression were not fundamentally rooted in the social order, indeed we wouldn't be for socialist revolution, a cataclysmic historical event frequently accompanied by very bloody savagery from the ruling class, and it's not just the

ruling class of South Africa that we're talking about.

Healyites' Message: Trust the State

What keeps drawing the establishment press, the glossy news magazines and the TV types back to the Goetz case, as a tongue is drawn to a hurting tooth, is their incomprehension that so many people of all backgrounds don't think the answer to crime is the cops. As Marxists, we oppose the monopoly of the means of violence in the hands of the capitalist state: gun control means nobody will have guns except the racist cops, the criminal elements which capitalism spawns, and let's not forget the *Times* editors with their pistol-packin' chauffeurs. When the *Times*' Sulzberger lectures that everything would be okay if people would just be reasonable and the cops would act responsibly, he knows he's got his armed men downstairs and his pistol in his desk drawer.

So the bourgeois press just can't stand the widespread alienation from the capitalist "justice" system and cops. Their line boils down to: in the interests of social orderliness, the citizens must rely on the cops no matter what. Nobody is more explicit on this than William Safire, the former Nixon press agent who is now the house ultra-conservative for the *New York Times*. In his *Times* column on April 8, Safire wrote:

> "The only way to stop crime is to uphold the law. If you are carrying a handgun without a license in New York State, you are breaking the law. Don't do it and don't condone it. If you start to make exceptions for people who are especially frightened, you undercut the authority of the police....
>
> "If you are menaced by someone who demands your property, give it to him, remembering his face or voice; only if you are reasonably sure he means to kill you, and you happen to be legally armed, should you give it to him in the more vigorous sense. Most of us are not legally armed, nor should we be; in those cases, our anti-crime responsibility is to be noisy and observant victims.
>
> "Certainly victims have rights, and all too many innocent people are terrified by punks; that is more reason for law-and-order hard-liners to keep the amateurs out of the job that must be done by professionals.
>
> "Become involved with law enforcement; bear witness; but leave lethal counterforce to the people we authorize to wear their guns on the outside."

Safire, who sees himself as a conscious agent for the capitalist state, thinks that unless you happen to be legally armed, you should die for the higher good of the state. This, curiously enough, doesn't satisfy most people. But at least Safire is consistent; he knows he's a particularly right-wing mouthpiece for America's rulers. His line is: trust the state. And so is Healy's. For Healy too, only duly constituted authority should have guns. The corollary is that the British cops had the right to do anything they wanted to the striking miners. We say no, everybody has the right to carry and to be accountable for their deeds. Which in the case of Goetz is a moot point, for the "subway shooting" was an ambiguous situation: a disturbed, possibly racist, previously victimized, armed man and four menacing criminal youth, one of whom may now be paralyzed for life.

In the British Isles everybody (with the conspicuous exceptions of the IRA and the British government) believes that firearms are a bad business. Well, we have to observe that great questions are generally resolved with guns, and sometimes daily individual existence also involves this question. In this racist society, blacks have been terrorized

Cop-loving Workers League salutes bonapartist "militancy" of capitalism's hired gunmen.

Militant policemen march for parity during strike which was supported by 85%.

since the beginning of slave times; the gravest offense for them has been the mere possession of a firearm, just as for the Irish Catholics in Ulster. Those who intend to engage in social struggle cannot afford to be principled pacifists. We continue to feel keenly and bitterly the Greensboro massacre, where a well-organized cabal of Klansmen and Nazis with the assistance of the cops and FBI opened fire on a peaceful anti-KKK demonstration and selectively assassinated five supporters of the leftist Communist Workers Party. We wish that we could have been part of an effective security squad protecting those anti-racist demonstrators. And through our strategy of mobilizing the organized power of labor and blacks against fascist terror we assisted the black unionists and youth of Washington, D.C. in stopping the emboldened Klan in the streets.

On the level of individual existence too, one had better have a calculus of violence. Consider three cases: the crucial Willie Turks case, the tangential Tom Henehan case, and the dubious Bernhard Goetz case. Willie Turks was a black transit worker whose job took him to the Gravesend section of Brooklyn, an enclave of ethnic white losers. For the crime of wanting to buy a bagel on Avenue X late at night after getting off work, Willie Turks was beaten to death by a gang of racist punk kids. We think Turks should have been carrying; we think he should have had a fighting chance at self-defense. Following his murder we agitated that the Transport Workers Union should mobilize a massive demonstration of unionists on flatbed trucks through Gravesend to serve notice that Willie Turks had thousands of union brothers who intend to protect the rights and lives of black working people. That's the kind of law and order we support. But not Healy; he is for the absolute monopoly of armed force by the previously authorized gunmen of the capitalist state, which is of course presumed to be colorblind and class-neutral.

To recognize the ambiguity of the Goetz case means to defend the idea that Willie Turks ought to be alive. And that the Klansmen and not the anti-Klan radicals at Greensboro should be in the ground, like their comrades at Bitburg. Self-defense for Willie Turks is the individual unit of what, collectively posed, is simply the right to engage in social struggle; the right to demonstrate against the Klan, and ultimately the right of a workers party to organize for power. Marxists understand that bourgeois democracy operates in this country, up to the point that the ruling class begins to feel itself threatened; at that point, the couple of communist representatives that we will have managed to get elected to the bourgeois parliament get hauled off and shot. Whether or not you can abjure the use of force on principle depends on your aims. It's not that Healy has flunked Lenin on the nature of the state, force and violence. No, it's just that what he seeks is not socialist revolution but cooption, whether it's in the government barracks in Tripoli, Libya or Baghdad, Iraq, or at home in England's Buckingham Palace.

A Short Course in American History

The *Bulletin* article was written for foreign consumption; Healy intends it to be read by suckers who are moreover ignorant of American reality. Today in America, nearly half our homes have firearms—long arms, handguns, often both. This is not generally known in countries with strong states that emerged to institutionalize the oppression of their own people, unlike America, created by European settlers pushing the frontier westward over the continent's indigenous inhabitants.

According to the National Rifle Association, every recent study shows that between 45 and 50 percent of American households have guns: the "Decision Making Information Survey" in 1978, for instance, put the figure at 47 percent. Furthermore, the guns are spread fairly evenly throughout the population; there are regional differences, but the only disparity between blacks and whites is that the weapons blacks own are usually less expensive. And it's good for the cops that when they go to the shooting range they get to pass rows and rows of expert marksmen who are women, kids, blacks, Asians, you name it.

Formal legal equality for blacks, obtained only after World War II for the most part, includes the right to bear arms, and black Americans cherish that right no less than whites. Indeed, turning this point around, a powerful impetus to the civil rights movement was returning black soldiers who, having risked their lives in World War II and especially Korea, were not about to submit passively to the degradations of Jim Crow racism when they got back home.

The right to bear arms in America was established in a reactionary context: a frontier society murderously subduing the continent's aboriginal peoples and controlling a laboring population consisting largely of black slaves, indentured servants, etc. But it became part of the formal legal doctrine of this country and is protected in the U.S. Constitution. Now there is a faction fight going on over this question: the right to possess a gun is mostly protected, but the right to carry is under fire. The purposes behind the gun control campaign, and its intended bloody consequences, are nowhere clearer than in the case of the martyred Malcolm X. As the most prominent militant champion of black rights and an outspoken advocate of self-defense against racist attack, Malcolm X was, in his own words, "a marked man." Naturally the cops had less than no interest when he got death threats and his house was bombed. But when it became known that Malcolm was carrying a .30 caliber carbine in his car, the New York City Council zipped through legislation against carrying rifles or shotguns in public. And then when Malcolm X was shot down in the Audubon Ballroom, the man who was immediately arrested was one of Malcolm's bodyguards who had managed to wound one of the assassins. Indeed the state, William Safire and Gerry Healy are very tender on the right of self-defense. In the face of deadly danger, they insist, you should just die, because it strengthens the state.

So Americans have guns, and want to keep them. This is a sociological fact of life in America, and will be a useful fact when the mass of the American population feels immediately and overtly threatened by a tyrannical government. As Marxists, we have campaigned consistently for the right of self-defense and against gun control. In reporting on our first electoral campaign, for Berkeley City Council, we cited in our first paragraph our "support of the right of American Negroes to armed self-defense in the face of racist violence" (*Spartacist* No. 4, May-June 1965).

In our article on the 1964 cop riot against the masses of Harlem, we called for neighborhood block councils to organize the ghetto struggles, wage rent strikes against slumlords, and oppose cop brutality: "Moreover, such councils form a natural basis for the organization of defense patrols to protect the community against future police riots—and such patrols are the embryo of that workers militia which will defend the coming American Revolution" ("Harlem Riot and After," *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965). A major document adopted at the SL's Founding Conference in 1966 calls for revolutionary ghetto organizations: "One of the most important functions of such representative popular organs would be the organization and direction of effective self-defense against police and racist violence. The potential for rapid growth by the American fascist movement adds to the seriousness of this task..." ("Black and Red: Class Struggle Road

continued on page 12

Workers Press

Life-sized little Gerry Healy (in foreground) dwarfed by his ego-maniacal projection.

Spartacist Forum

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CHICAGO

Smash Fascist Smear of SL...

(continued from page 11)

to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967).

A leaflet which we mass-distributed in Newark following the 1967 ghetto upheaval contained the call to "*Defend* the Black Ghettoes—every serious and responsible workingman should exercise his right to own a gun." And during the Vietnam War, in our major article against the petty-bourgeois strategy of draft resistance, insisting that antiwar radicals must not separate themselves from the mass of working-class draftees, we cited the importance of "Familiarization with weapons and military technique—It is indisputable that when the U.S. has a social revolution, the ruling powers will go down fighting, and ignorance of armed struggle will not help us.... What a good thing it is that several hundred thousand Black people have had free military training, courtesy of Uncle Sam!" ("You Will Go!" *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968).

In every one of the election campaigns that the Spartacist League has run during the last several years, from the Marjorie Stamberg campaign in New York in 1978 to the Richard Bradley/Diana Coleman campaign in San Francisco in 1984, we have prominently featured our Marxist opposition to gun control. In *Workers Vanguard* we have featured articles with headlines like "Gun Control Kills Blacks." And we have raised the right of self-defense prominently in demonstrations, as for example when we along with vanguard elements of the auto workers union mobilized against a Klan threat to rally in Detroit in the immediate aftermath of the Greensboro massacre.

Our general outlook is to agitate, under particular, appropriate, urgent circumstances, for an armed popular militia independent of the established state power. There is a long historical tradition behind this. Concretely, where the armed forces of the state are seen as immediately illegitimate and abusive, the effective call for and creation of such a militia can be a springboard for dual power. In Russia such a formation was called the Red Guards. But of course England, already under Charles II, wiped away such ideas after the English Revolution. And the English parlour pinks, masquerading only sometimes in red wolf's clothing, have gone but a very little way to undo that counterrevolution. And Gerry Healy is of that legally fetishistic English pinko ilk. But he is also specially dangerous, because he imposes this kind of nasty English authoritarianism on his followers in very different circumstances around the world where the question of social power is active and immediate. He is a racketeer in the "revolution" business.

Healyites Set Up South African Masses

Turning now to the *Bulletin*'s sinister article on South Africa, we find the Spartacist League castigated for "the demoralization, cynicism and racism which characterizes the political attitude of declassed anti-Marxist radicals toward the revolutionary struggles of the working class and the oppressed colonial people." The Healyites derive this from our article "South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April, which calls for the building of a revolutionary proletarian party which counterposes to popular frontism and nationalism "the program of *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Our article warns that unless the

Workers Hammer

Thomas Gerard Healy and friends.

apartheid state is smashed and the racist rulers expropriated by workers revolution, the South African butchers are fully capable of unleashing massacres like Sharpeville and Uitenhage many times over.

The Healyite polemic considers that our call for a black-centered workers republic and our statement that "the white population must have a place in an anti-racist society" constitute "an ultimatum directed against the black masses." And they say that "In its call for a 'multiracial working-class vanguard,' Spartacist takes the side of that elite section of the South African working class which Leon Trotsky described as the 'privileged, arrogant caste of whites'." Of course, in order to paint us as some kind of white-lovers, the Healyites have to drop right out of the South African reality nearly a million Indians and two and a half million people of mixed race.

What is the situation of the South African struggle today? The black masses have repeatedly displayed the most courageous defiance of the racist regime. The country appears to be seething on the brink of a widespread, open insurrection. Only the apartheid regime is not on the brink of collapse, though it may be scared enough to unleash an orgy of bloodletting against the defenseless people. Those who think the South African apartheid regime is about to collapse are counting, naively or cynically, on the notion that the apartheid butchers can be restrained by world public opinion. Thus the whole perspective of "divestment," which posits an international strike of capital led by the U.S., whose rulers, the terror-bombers of Vietnam and Hiroshima, are seen as somehow more moral than their allies in Pretoria. In the very same issue of the *Bulletin* which attacks us as "defeatist," an account of U.S. campus anti-apartheid protests gives pride of place to a Columbia student whose quoted remarks begin: "It has been really going well. We have had support from Bishop Tutu and Jesse Jackson...." Indeed the Healyites, when they are not mouthing slogans of "People's War" for the consumption of militants, take a completely uncritical approach to those who believe that the decisive factor in South Africa will be the intervention of the Jesse Jacksons and Teddy Kennedys.

As for the black militants of South Africa, and those like us who stand in defense of their rights, we don't have to love the South African whites, we just have to deal with them, because they are there and they have no intention of going anywhere else. Of course the *Bulletin* article makes no effort to answer the questions we have raised in our press, because they are concerned above all to make sure no hint of what the Spartacist League is talking about escapes from the columns of the *Bulletin*. For the Healyites, the whites are a non-question; obviously, the answer is to drive them into the sea. Only there are four to five million of them and they have all the guns. What works on a thin slice of white settler colony in Rhodesia won't work here.

In South Africa, one race sits on top of another. This means that the whole white population partakes of the superexploitation of black labor, living at five or ten times the standard of living of the blacks. This in turn means that white labor will in the main be violently hostile to black rights, tending to resist to the last man, at an unspeakable cost of black lives. It also means that the whites comprise a technical elite with an overwhelming share of crucial skills. Thus we wrote that:

> "The white population must have a place in an anti-racist society; the model is how Trotsky offered thousands of tsarist officers a job to do, placing their skills at the disposal of the new Bolshevik regime and the Soviet peoples. South Africa's two and a half million coloureds, who comprise a strategic part of the Cape proletariat, and the nearly one million Indians, mainly a commercial population, are no less a vital component.... South African whites are an oppressor people who can easily and guiltily envision the terms of oppression reversed, and are determined not to be on the receiving end. That makes them extremely dangerous...."

Though we do not envision the apartheid regime agreeing to dismantle itself after being shamed by international finger-wagging (that being a variant of the Reverend M.L. King's line, shared by Bishop Tutu, that if the oppressed show how nobly they can suffer, the slavemasters will have to grant them freedom), we are not "defeatist." We see the fracturing of that society on the basis that in South Africa there has been created, in the mines and factories, a concentrated and increasingly organized force of five million black proletarians, the gravediggers of apartheid. Still the cost will be great for proletarian revolution to triumph against a murderous police-state regime with its awesome military machine. But the revolution in South Africa will be a profound liberating blow for the whole continent of sub-Saharan Africa, where world socialist revolution is the only alternative to continued mass starvation under conditions of imperialist-enforced backwardness and oppression.

The *Bulletin* article includes a couple of beautiful quotes from Trotsky, used in the standard Healyite manner. That is, they counterpose to the Spartacists' views citations from Trotsky which are in no way counterposed to the Spartacists' views. Thus Trotsky says:

> "The revolutionary party must put before every white worker the following alternative: either with British imperialism and with the white bourgeoisie of South Africa or with the black workers and peasants against the white feudalists and slave owners and their agents in the ranks of the working class."

This squares nicely with our insistence on the need to seek to win over whites to the side of the oppressed, and not at all with Healy's vicarious nationalist line which simply dismisses as "racist" the idea of any place for whites in South Africa.

Another wonderful Trotsky quote in the *Bulletin* restates the theory of permanent revolution, that the proletariat must assume the leadership of the national struggle. Or, as we put it, we do not see that the democratic struggle against apartheid can triumph short of the overthrow of the capitalist ruling class by the proletariat leading all the oppressed. This is not at all the perspective of the nationalist leaders of the South African struggle, even the best and most courageous of them. Since the rise of the black unions, the weight of the working class is acknowledged, but not programmatically; the proletariat is seen as a vehicle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism and not as the basis for reconstructing South Africa as a workers state.

Nationalism is the ideology appropriate to a petty-bourgeois stratum

Newsline

Healyite hatchetman Mike Banda, born Michael Van Der Poorten, scion of the Ceylonese ruling class.

which looks forward to its emergence as a new black ruling elite to oppress its "own" black workers in a capitalist state on the "African socialist" model. If this schema could be carried out, it would mean a new exploitative regime resting on an ever-narrowing ethnic base: first go after the whites, then the Indians, the coloureds, finally ushering in fratricidal conflict along tribal-linguistic lines. For Healy, since the Spartacists are not black nationalists they must therefore be white-lovers. Well, we are neither nationalists nor white-lovers, but Healy, oddly enough, is *both*. For while he is quite capable in the present polemic of hailing the Spartacists by assuming a black nationalist posture, in South Africa those who are influenced by Healy espouse the same colorblind line we are already familiar with from Healyites elsewhere: hooray for the working class and not one word about the fact that certain South African workers (whites) benefit from the superexploitation of others and therefore back the apartheid state which deprives these latter of the most elementary democratic and national rights.

Healy's sole purpose in quoting Trotsky on South Africa is, simply, to totally confuse the reader: counterpose to one another two things which say the same thing and hopefully the reader will figure that Healy must be smarter than the poor reader, and will take his word for it. Those who can think their way through the muddle and come out the other side Healy doesn't want anyway.

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In fact, anybody who doesn't see bloody dangers in South Africa just isn't living in this world, and mainly willfully. The Healyites have no response to our urgent warning to South African militants, and think none is needed. Once again they have precisely the attitude that all the reformists have: the people united will never be defeated. But modern history abounds with piles of corpses of militants whose leaders "united" them under the hegemony of the class enemies of their liberation. And if the Spartacists are not enthused at the military prospects for "People's War," whatever the WL means by that exactly, against the apartheid state, then this proves, according to the *Bulletin*, that we "oppose the arming of the black masses" and positively enjoyed the slaughter of the defenseless blacks at Uitenhage. "People's War" indeed—this from people who at Columbia are for Jesse Jackson and Bishop Tutu. But so long as you're sufficiently far away from London's Clapham Common, they urge you to fight to the last man.

Classless Demagogues

The Healyites are intellectual thugs for hire, and not all that intellectual. They always have a simple answer for everything, but it's isolated from reality, and not accidentally. It's a bad thing to merchandize a counterfeit world, to know and to ignore, the essence of cynicism. The Healyites know that "Trotskyism" doesn't mean spreading the filthy lie that Trotsky surrounded himself with FBI/GPU agents in Mexico, they just don't care. They know that "political revolution" doesn't proceed from the embrace of capitalist-restorationist Solidarność, but they will never let that stand in the way of achieving oneness with the anti-Soviet Labour statesmen. They believe, to use a famous phrase attributed to Stalin, that paper will take anything that's written on it, and that nobody ever remembers anything, only they do have a little problem just now in the British coal fields.

And what about "fascism"? Well, we could say that for some of the regimes the Healyites support, fascism's big problem is that it's an enemy of Allah. That would be the snotty response, but we want to be serious. The Healyites have done their best to be an organization for hire. They've found their niche as kept creatures of various gangs of oil-rich nationalist murderers, whose slaughter of communist workers they extol. Thus they are classless demagogues, all-purpose mock extremists whose radicalism has nothing in common with socialist struggle. Of course Hitler was a radical too. As opposed to the old-time German conservatives, who merely wanted the Kaiser back, Hitler wanted a "New Order." And he was a nationalist: he wanted to do away with all communists, Jews, the Pope—indeed anything trans-national.

Make no mistake about it, there is a real fascist potential here. What is Healyism? It's mindless extremism even in pursuit of the most trivial aims and an unbounded admiration for power in the hands of Third World strongmen. It's hailing as "fascists" the revolutionary Marxists because we did our earnest, modest best to aid the miners' struggle while Healy was going all out to stab the union in the back. It's a social base that presently consists of lumpenized youth along with a thin layer of TV and cinema personalities leading a gilded existence and whose view of social reality comes through a camera lens. It's an organizational "method" of lies, gangsterism and anti-knowledge. Indeed the Healyites have the potential to become just about anything. Winston Churchill is said to have remarked once regarding a prominent fellow MP, "Oh, that's the chap who gives degeneracy a bad name." Add to degeneracy wild vituperation devoid of any class basis or connection to social reality and you have... Gerry Healy and his Workers League. ■

Vietnam...

(continued from page 16)

Indochina... and hiding its humiliating demise. Over and over the message was the incredible lie that the Vietnamese are supposedly *worse off* for defeating the U.S. After 45 years of constant war, defeating the Japanese, French and then American armies; after 14 million tons of explosives, 400,000 tons of napalm and 11 million gallons of Agent Orange were dropped on the country, defoliating half of Vietnam's forest land, who can believe that the people of Vietnam yearn for the return of Hitler-loving Marshal Ky or the Catholic dictator Diem's haughty Dragon Lady?

A former Marine platoon leader William Boyles, Jr., who recently revisited Vietnam after ten years, has written about the only thing we have seen in the welter of material on Indochina that told the truth, in an article reprinted in the *Navy Times* (6 May):

> "Peace is better than war, and for that reason alone the people of Vietnam are better off than they were when we were there. In the barren wastelands of free-fire zones crops are being planted and children go to school. People no longer live in caves and tunnels, their babies tucked away on shelves in the clay, to avoid bombs. Millions of refugees have returned to their villages. The air-raid siren no longer screams its call to shelters and anti-aircraft batteries."

Vietnam today is certainly desperately poor, but if vast portions of the country are still wasteland, whose crime is that? Suffering under an imperialist trade embargo, facing Chinese guns, beset by CIA mercenaries in Kampuchea, *the war is not over for Vietnam*. And the colorful tenth anniversary celebrations in Ho Chi Minh City which have so enraged Washington testify to the determination of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to defend the revolution millions died for.

In all the media memorabilia, most nauseating have been the "where are they now?" stories of bloodthirsty South Vietnamese generals and politicians. Marshal Ky, weaseling out of charges that he runs an extortion/murder ring of former ARVN officers, Madame Nhu, now living in a villa in Rome with her memories of "barbecuing" Buddhist monks. ABC even portrayed former Saigon police chief Colonel Nguyen Ngoc Loan, made infamous for his televised murder of a handcuffed Viet Cong suspect, as "one of the heroes of the war"! We look forward to the day when a workers government in America will ship these murderers back to Vietnam to face revolutionary justice at the hands of their victims' kin.

Appearing on ABC's "Nightline" April 29, Henry Kissinger vented his pent-up rage: "I think there's something demeaning about having the three networks cover a victory parade over the United States in the city of the country where the victory was achieved.... What we saw is a defeat which we inflicted upon ourselves." Appearing on the same program was Kissinger's fellow Nobel Peace Prize winner and Vietnamese Communist Party leader Le Duc Tho, who thanked the American people for their "support and contributions to our present victory." *Our* thanks, and the thanks of millions of the oppressed throughout the world, go to the heroic Vietnamese for the first-ever military defeat they handed to American imperialism.

To explain their ignominious rout in Indochina, the American imperialists echo Hitler's "stab in the back" legend from World War I. "We won virtually every engagement," said Reagan at his White House luncheon. "The Tet offensive was distorted back here in the reporting." In the New Right's mythology, the army was "betrayed" by "fifth columnists" at home who destroyed the "national will." Reagan has lamented that "none of the rules of warfare could apply with regard to lending comfort and aid to the enemy" (*New York Times*, 5 April 1984). In other words, anti-Vietnam War protesters should have been jailed for treason.

But the American army's will to fight was broken on the battlefield, by the 1968 Tet Offensive which proved the ability of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars to attack in every area of South Vietnam, including penetrating into the U.S. embassy itself.

Ted Koppel interviews Le Duc Tho (far right) and Henry Kissinger (below left); victorious Communist infuriates imperialist loser.

Soon there was intense opposition to the war from *within* the army. By 1971 the desertion rate was over 7 percent, court-martials over 3 percent; "fraggings" of officers became common, troops refused to go into battle. The army was fracturing along race and class lines. What was lacking were the Bolshevik cadre in the armed forces who could give revolutionary purpose to this deep hatred of the government and its officer corps, the mass murderers of My Lai.

In the U.S., Muhammad Ali's famous remark, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger," captured the feelings of minority poor who did not want to serve as cannon fodder for Uncle Sam in Vietnam. Building upon the '60s civil rights movement, hundreds of thousands took to the streets to oppose the war. Reformists such as the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party tried to shackle antiwar youth to the liberal capitalist politicians. Their call to "bring our boys home" meant that it was not an anti-imperialist but a social-patriotic "peace" movement that was built. And as soon as *their* "boys" came home following the 1973 Paris Accords, they simply abandoned the Vietnamese, who fought on for two more years before finally defeating the Saigon puppet government. It was not Fifth Avenue peace crawls but the Vietnamese peasants and workers who "stopped the war"—by winning it on the battlefields in Indochina.

And now the Reaganites want to strike back. Not only against the Vietnamese, but "going to the source"—namely the "source of all evil in the modern world," the Soviet Union. They're pushing everywhere—Nicaragua, Cambodia, now they're upping aid to the Afghan rebels as well—trying to push the Russians into a vulnerable position. That's what all the provocations are about: KAL 007, ramming Soviet subs, the U.S. major who got himself shot in East Germany. Two U.S. diplomats do something impermissible and get thrown out of Poland, and Washington "retaliates" by kicking out four Poles. It's called escalation. Reagan's line is that the Russians don't have the right to shoot down an intruder plane inside their own territory or a spy caught red-handed, because it isn't their country; it belongs to the imperialists, and he intends to get it back. He is trying to break their will, their morale.

The phrase, "Reagan's war drive," has become sort of a cliché. Most people don't believe it, because they can't imagine someone crazy enough to blow up the world. The Reaganites themselves don't even believe it, although they're pushing it to the hilt. But the way they're going they will get into it with the Soviet Union, one way or another. The gang now in power in Washington thinks the U.S. isn't seriously at risk with Moscow, even in the case of nuclear war. First they played with the idea of "protracted nuclear war," now it's their Star Wars scheme. They have repeatedly said they want to replay the Cuban missile crisis. And the Soviets feed into it, depreciating their own nuclear credibility with all the talk of "détente" and trying to be reasonable.

There are some pretty crazy fascist types in power in this country—Reagan, Kirkpatrick, Koch for instance—who are usually subjected to the constraints of bourgeois democracy. But not always: if Congress votes down aid to the Nicaraguan "contras," the administration simply declares a "national emergency" to get what it wants, no matter how absurd the pretext. Reagan simply believes the U.S. was on the wrong side in World War II, and he wants to take up where Hitler left off. Unfortunately, Reagan and his cohorts are not prone to study the history of what happened to Hitler when he took on the Soviet Union. But it took a week for the new "improved" U.S. Army to "secure" tiny Grenada. While Reagan dreams of a *Blitzkrieg* in Nicaragua, the Marines and 82nd Airborne will run into a people in arms who are prepared to die to defend their revolution. And the Pentagon's heavily black and Latin troops are hardly a reliable force to fight another colonial war. Nicaragua could become Reagan's Vietnam.

From Angola to Afghanistan, from Warsaw to Managua, the Vietnamese victory stayed the bloody hand of Washington. Today, everyone from Richard Nixon to New Leftovers from the peace crawls of the 1960s and '70s proclaims "No More Vietnams." This is the lament of bourgeois defeatism. As proletarian communists, we say "Vietnam Was a Victory—2, 3, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" Reagan & Co. cannot be appeased, and a wounded imperialist beast on the loose is even more dangerous. Like the Nazis, the anti-Soviet fanatics in the White House bunker want all or nothing. They must be brought down, through victorious class struggle, before they do to the world what Hitler would have done if he'd had the bomb. ■

Telegram

30 April 1985

President Truong Chinh
Hanoi
Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Spartacist League hails victory of Vietnamese Revolution on 10th anniversary of liberation of Saigon. For class-conscious American workers, blacks, youth, Vietnam was historic victory. Two, three, many defeats for US imperialism!

Spartacist League/U.S.

KAL 007...

(continued from page 7)

device." They noted that the plane, with some *30* intelligence specialists on board, has "real-time" offensive detection capabilities, having been used in the Vietnam War to transmit warnings to U.S. pilots who were being tracked by hostile radar, and it can also jam radar and other electronic systems (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 19 September 1983). Admiral B.R. Inman, former deputy director of the CIA and then head of the NSA which runs the spy planes, admitted that "the RC-135 on patrol that night, code named 'Cobra Ball,' could track other aircraft in its vicinity for defensive purposes" (*New York Times*, 1 September 1984).

Lie No. 8: Sayle says repeatedly that the only evidence for the "conspiracy" theory is Soviet radar data. Ironically he relies on the very same data, in a very selective manner, to prove his "accident" theory. His problem, as Pearson demonstrated, is that the Soviet data reveal that KAL 007 deviated *twice* from a straight line, first near the Komandorskiye Islands off Kamchatka and then more sharply over Sakhalin island, where the plane carried out an evasive maneuver.

Der Spiegel photos

From Japanese military radar at Wakkanai (left) to U.S.' mammoth Cobra Dane phased array radar in Aleutians (above), imperialists were "locked on" to KAL 007 all the way.

This of course implies conscious intervention by the pilot. So Sayle sets out to discredit this part of the Soviet data, even though the deviation over Sakhalin, at least, has long been accepted by such authoritative sources as *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (see the maps in that magazine's 12 and 19 September 1983 issues; Pearson analyzes these in an upcoming reply). *And it was corroborated by Japanese radar data from Wakkanai*, which according to Duncan Campbell was published "on the day of the shootdown, in the evening edition of the Tokyo newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*"—that is, before the Soviets had said a word about the incident.

Lie No. 9: Attempting to explain away the two deviations on the Russian radar track, Sayle engages in some crude sleight-of-hand, while denouncing virtually everyone but himself as "technologically illiterate." "Those who remember their high school geometry," he snottily explains, would know there is something called the "slant effect" in radar. (Radar registers the direct distance or "slant range" to the target, which is roughly the same as the ground distance when the target is far away, but differs more and more as the target approaches overhead.) Because of "slant effect," an "unwary operator" can thus think the target is "describing a curve," he explains, and so allegedly that would account for the two curves.

Let's suppose for the sake of argument that the Russians don't study geometry and that there was such an unwary operator who missed something every air traffic controller would be familiar with. In that case, when the plane was directly overhead, causing maximum distortion, *the radius of the curve he would see could not have been any longer than the altitude of the plane*—i.e., six or seven miles at most. Looking at the Soviet data, and at Sayle's own map, we find: the radius of the curve over Sakhalin is well over 50 miles; the radius of the curve near the Komandorskiye Islands is over 25 miles and its center is *well over 100 miles away* from the islands! As the British say, that's a bit of a sticky wicket, eh, old chap? (So much for your geometry, Sayle. We challenge you to an integral calculus duel—the loser gets to do the next penetration over Sakhalin.)

Incidentally, Sayle would also have us believe there is only one radar on Sakhalin, at the Korsakov airfield. But what about the Dolinsk-Sokol airfield some 50 miles north of that—from which Soviet fighters were sent—or the Aleksandrovsk airfield even further north on Sakhalin? Indeed, *Jane's Defence Weekly* (9 March) tells us there are *20* Soviet airfields on Sakhalin!

So Sayle's self-proclaimed "simple" explanation runs into a series of snags, and to solve them he sucks ridiculous assumptions out of his thumb. For instance, why didn't the crew notice they were off course at Bethel, the last Alaskan checkpoint, where they were 12 miles north of the track and there was a working VOR beacon to check their position? Sayle has no answer for this, so he invents the scenario that "Captain Chun would have descended the curved staircase" to "make himself known to [right-wing Georgia Congressman Larry] McDonald before the Congressman had settled down to sleep through the long night flight ahead"! And what about NABIE, NEEVA and NIPPI checkpoints—did Captain Chun step out again, perhaps to talk to the passenger listed (according to the 24 September 1984 *Der Spiegel*) as "KONG, King, Mr."? Or was he down in the hold talking to some of the *27* "crew members" whose names have never been released? If anyone is living in fantasyland, it's Murray Sayle.

KAL 007 Was on U.S. Spy Mission

When Soviet air marshal Kirsanov presented his evidence about the coordination of the U.S. "ferret" spy satellite with KAL 007, *Workers Vanguard* verified it using publicly available sources. We proved that indeed there was such a ferret (possibly even two) in orbit at the time, launched piggyback on a Big Bird photo-reconnaisance satellite on 20 June 1983. Now Dallin says that "the link to the reconnaissance satellite ...is intriguing" but asserts that "no cogent explanation has been given concerning the unique information on Soviet air defenses which a 747 flying at 35,000 feet could tease out."

Actually, we provided an explanation over a year ago (see "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984). The particular interest of U.S. intelligence at that time was a new Soviet phased array radar at Abalakova (near Krasnoyarsk) in central Siberia. Washington was so worried that they also launched *two* expensive "close-look" satellites (probably KH-8s), just before and after the Big Bird, to get a better picture. By deliberately penetrating Soviet airspace, KAL 007 would trigger an alert in the Soviet Far East and force the Russians to turn on their primary radars, giving the U.S. an electronic look-see. It would be a risky operation, but a civilian airliner might pull it off—and if it didn't, the U.S. could scream bloody murder. When former CIA agent Ralph McGehee publicly concluded that the flight of KAL 007 "was a deliberate intelligence mission," he explained its purpose along these same lines:

> "The National Security Agency has a primary purpose to chart the radar defense mechanisms of the Soviet Union: to duplicate, confuse, that sort of thing. President Reagan has authorized $18 billion over the next two or three years to build up the countering mechanisms for such Soviet radar. Now, it's almost inevitable that the pressure is tremendous—you can't go into an $18 billion weapons development program and not know what the opposition has done, so you have to find out. This massive pressure has, over the years, generated many similar incidents."
>
> —Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, 16 October 1983

Many of the same elements were present in the 20 April 1978 KAL overflight. On 16 March 1978 a Big Bird was launched by the U.S., almost certainly carrying a ferret satellite. During this period the U.S. was ranting that the Soviets were secretly trying to "upgrade" their surface-to-air missile systems (including radar) to perform anti-ballistic-missile (ABM) functions against U.S. strategic missiles. In the same month the Big Bird was launched, the intelligence boys started crying about the sudden deployment of a new SA-10 surface-to-air missile system. One of the SA-10 sites was Moscow, and another was revealed by "U.S. reconnaissance satellites" as being "on ships ...in a yard near Murmansk" (*Aviation Week*, 23 October 1978). Curiously, the course of the 1978 KAL penetration was south over the Murmansk region, heading for Moscow—strikingly resembling the course of a missile from the U.S. Was "tickling" the newly deployed radars at Murmansk and Moscow one of the missions of that flight?

Today the Reagan White House is still screaming about the Abalakova radar, claiming it's a "Soviet violation" of the ABM treaty. It's not about Soviet violations at all, but the U.S. looking for an excuse to commit some violations of their own, because Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme requires busting even the minimal restraints of all those arms control agreements. Reagan & Co. want a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union, and all those provocative probes of Soviet defenses are preparations for just that. KAL 007 was a milestone in the imperialist drive toward World War III, and on this there is a strategic consensus in the American ruling class.

One of the striking things about the 007 affair politically is how completely the liberals, rad-libs and reformist pseudo-socialists went along with Reagan. The Democrats didn't say "boo" about it at the time, voting for a unanimous Congressional condemnation of the Soviets; a year later Mondale was silent on the issue despite the *Nation*'s revelations during the election campaign (and Pearson's call for a Congressional investigation), which would have severely damaged Reagan's credibility. Even fake "left" papers like the *Guardian* who regularly tail after the liberal Democrats echoed the "Soviet criminals" theme, because they don't want to challenge the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive.

As we wrote in our October 1983 pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation":

> "The Spartacist League press told the truth about KAL 007 because we are not blinded by the class ideology of this country's rulers—and because we are not muzzled by fear of confronting 'the Russian question'....
>
> "As Trotskyists we unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack because it embodies gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin and his heirs ...and today vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution."

More than once such provocations have been used as the rallying cry for war. The orchestrated indignation over the 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania* by German torpedos was instrumental in preparing the U.S. population for entry into World War I. It took more than half a century for the definitive evidence to surface that this British passenger liner was indeed carrying American munitions to Britain, just as the Germans claimed all along. But without the blinders of anti-Sovietism, it has been clear from the beginning over the KAL 007 affair that "Reagan's Story Stinks." Piece by piece, the outlines of the U.S. spy operation fall into place.

In exposing the giant KAL 007 propaganda hoax perpetrated by the Reagan gang, we are fighting for workers revolution to bring down the cynical war criminals who don't flinch at sending 260-plus innocent people to their graves and are just as ready to do the same to all of humanity in their crazed anti-Soviet nuclear war drive. ■

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Reagan Bombs Black Babies...

(continued from page 16)

recently, these cowardly tactics have been used against ultraright and fascistic opponents of the government. In Washington state last December, an FBI helicopter dropped an "illumination flare" on the hideout of Robert Matthews, leader of the neo-Nazi "Order," and cremated him. In 1983 the feds tracked down Gordon Kahl, a fugitive leader of the ultrarightist survivalist "Posse Comitatus" in an Arkansas bunker; he too was burned to a crisp.

Monday's roaring Reaganite atrocity occurred simultaneously with revelations that the CIA was behind a car-bombing this March in Beirut which took the lives of 80 people. It was all in order to get one Shi'ite mullah. Of course the hired hit squad was labeled an "anti-terrorism unit," and naturally unnamed "senior administration officials" deny U.S. responsibility on the grounds that the CIA had subcontracted out the job! The same psychopathic murderers who sacrificed 200-plus passengers of KAL 007 in a Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union are gearing up for war and practicing on their "own" population. They can't cream Nicaragua for now, maybe next week. Maybe it's next year for the Russians. But in the meantime they sure can blow a section of black Philly to smithereens.

Valerio/Philadelphia Inquirer

West Philadelphia, May 13: Free-fire zone for racist SWAT-team killers.

That the immediate targets of this Nazi-like terror are hardly nature's noblemen is beside the point. Presumably, MOVE was obnoxious to their neighbors and pretty weird altogether. But this is still supposed to be a bourgeois democracy and in theory the state does not have a license to incinerate citizens for being obnoxious. To our knowledge the only person the MOVE sect ever really hurt was the cop killed when notorious racist Philadelphia mayor Rizzo ordered 600 police to storm MOVE headquarters in 1978. For defending themselves against the cops, nine members of this black commune still languish in prison.

Certainly the Philadelphia operation emanated from higher quarters than the mayor's office. Black Democrat Wilson Goode is taking "full responsibility" for the bomb the police dropped on his city. Somewhere down the road Goode's line that he preferred "to have dirt and some smell than to have blood" changed to taking out MOVE "by any means necessary." Where is the hand of Edwin Meese, now head of the Justice Department in Washington and a member of the National Security Council with special responsibility for "terrorism," in this affair?

As the cops are increasingly paramilitarized, the "war games" have extended to the black ghettos of this racist country, and the deranged killer cops get to practice urban counterinsurgency. The West Philly inferno is a hideously magnified version of the eviction of infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in the Bronx, who was shot to death by a New York City "emergency service" squad because she was behind on her rent. Reagan has brought Bitburg home to terrorize black America. The sick, calculating Hitler-lovers in Washington have embarked on a program of turning those they consider to be "hard cases" into charred meat.

In bombing black Philadelphia, Reagan's people are taking a page out of the book of their racist allies in apartheid South Africa. They want to provoke black unrest...in order to smash it with massive, intimidating overkill, like Philly, like PATCO. Yet the oppression has become so severe and so pervasive and so mean that in desperation some sectors somewhere are going to try to fight. And that fight will be directed not only against Republicans in the White House but also their Democratic Party flunkeys like Goode in city halls across the country. For black people in America today, faced with a flaming counterrevolutionary like Reagan, forging a multiracial revolutionary leadership, linking the besieged ghettos to the social power of labor, is a matter of survival. ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 3)

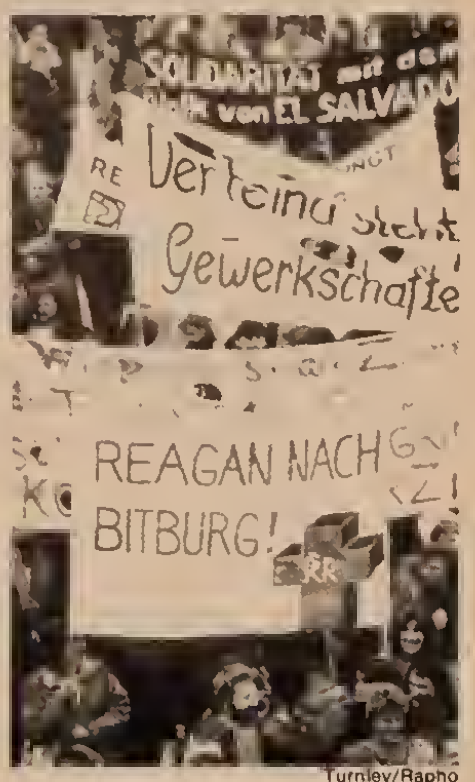
real appetites of the American rulers. These visits deeply outraged many layers of American society. An appeal in the Sunday, May 5 *New York Times* was signed by everybody from the AFL-CIO and American Legion through virtually every ethnic group in America—the NAACP, the United Hellenic-American Congress, the Ukrainian National Association, the Sons of Italy, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the Catholic War Veterans, Jewish organizations—and even an officer of the 82nd Airborne Division and Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority. Reagan's been wounded by his open embrace of the Nazi SS, and that's a good thing. But the lessons of World War II still need to be absorbed.

World War II: Fighting Fascism Then and Today

It was not easy for Trotskyists in World War II to *oppose* supporting the supposedly "democratic" imperialist powers. World War II was a very popular war in the U.S., and it was easy for the American rulers to hide their ambitions for world domination behind the pretext of putting a stop to "German" atrocities. But to have fought (as the Stalinists did) for the victory of the imperialist Allies would mean taking responsibility for what that victory brought: from the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the carnage of the Korean War, the carpetbombing of Vietnam, and now the drive to a new, third imperialist world war. The international Trotskyist movement fought for workers revolution in all the imperialist countries and for defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state in its life-and-death battle against the Nazi invasion.

A model of anti-fascist struggle in World War II was the work of the French Trotskyists, who in 1943-44 together with German soldiers and sailors stationed at Brest in Brittany built revolutionary cells in the German navy and submarine fleet. They called for internationalist fraternization, struggle against their own ruling class and a common struggle to defeat fascism, the hideous form of capitalist rule in its death agony, and for defense of the Soviet Union.

In America, the Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party were sent to prison for their opposition to the imperialists' war. The SWP uniquely defended the Japanese Americans, whom Roosevelt sent to America's own concentration camps; the Trotskyists fought for black rights against "Jim Crow" segregation policies, pointing out that the American rulers feared to arm blacks, the most oppressed sector of American society and of the working class; and they exposed the capitalist Allies' vicious refusal to admit Jews fleeing from Hitler's death camps.



Turnley/Rapho

Bonn: 10,000 denounce imperialist summit, Reagan's salute to Nazis.

Hitler's coming to power in Germany was, as Trotsky noted in 1933, the greatest defeat of the working class in history. It's up to the working class to end the fascist threat and the horrors of imperialist war, by smashing the capitalist system through worldwide proletarian revolution. ■

We reprint below from the 12 May 1945 issue of *The Militant* an inspiring account of the celebration of the international workers holiday, May Day, at the Nazi death camp Buchenwald shortly after its liberation by Allied troops. Among the prisoners were a number of Trotskyist militants who at this same time published the "Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald" (see excerpt in "Quote of the Week" on page 2). Many of them had been captured while undertaking clandestine internationalist organizing among the German soldiers and sailors. Marcel Beaufrère, one of the authors of the Declaration, led the French Trotskyist cell in Brittany which published the underground paper *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier) which was distributed in particular at the huge German naval base at Brest. The full text of this Declaration is printed in *Spartacist* No. 26, Winter 1978-79.

THE MILITANT —12 May 1945

How Workers Celebrated May Day at Buchenwald

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men...have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism'...

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the *Internationale*. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language.

"Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres."

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Reagan Bombs Black Babies

Bitburg Hits Philly

MAY 14—"They've dropped a bomb on babies!" exclaimed a black man standing behind police barricades watching the cops' fiery siege of a West Philadelphia black neighborhood May 13. Thousands lined the block for hours staring in disbelief as the raging fire engulfed 60 of the densely packed row houses and the fire department stood by under orders to do nothing. It was 5:27 p.m. when the police helicopter dropped what appears to be a satchel charge (with plastic explosive) on the roof of a house occupied by members of a black commune. "Drop a bomb on a residential area? It's like Vietnam," one horrified resident said. Other witnesses compared it to the U.S. invasion of the tiny Caribbean black island of Grenada. The bodies of three adults and two children have so far been found in the rubble. The only known survivors of the assault are a nine-year-old boy now hospitalized with second-degree burns over most of his body, and a woman, believed to have been arrested. As the little boy ran out of the blazing house, furious neighbors screamed, "Murderers! Assassins! Arsonists!" at the cops.

"Explaining" why police decided to firebomb a house where at least 12 adults and 15 children were believed to be inside, Philadelphia's black Democratic mayor Goode said ominously, "When you engage with a very radical group, you are not engaging in child's play." The bombing followed a 12-hour siege in which the SWAT squad pumped *7,000* rounds of ammunition into the house. Even though high-pressure water cannon had been trained on the house for five solid hours, the police refused to let fire fighters put out the blaze for over an hour, supposedly for fear of "sniper fire." In other words, they *wanted* the neighborhood to burn. Ronald Reagan, just back from saluting Nazi graves at Bitburg, and his top cop Edwin Meese want to send a message to black America and "radicals" of every stripe. "Anti-terrorism" means massive government terror against anyone who is out of step in Reagan's America.

New York Post

Entire blocks of West Philadelphia black neighborhood obliterated by racist cop firebombing.

It was one of the most hideous examples of massive overreaction by the state we've ever seen. Neighbors in the neat working-class black area had complained of filthy conditions at the commune of the MOVE group. There were dogs and cats and rats and loudspeakers blasting late into the night. And in response to that minor social problem, the police moved in to "evict" MOVE by setting off a firestorm turning the area of 62nd Street and Osage Avenue into a mini-Dresden. Now 300 people are homeless, left with only the shirts on their backs. Vietnam-style "overkill" has been brought home with a vengeance. And the brutal, conscious racism of the bombing is surpassed only by the cowardice of the cops who burn entire city blocks in order to avoid a little shoot-out with some hard cases better left alone.

This particular technique of capitalist state terror, firebombing, has become the police standard operating procedure. The cops' new slogan is "Burn, baby, burn." Already back in 1974, when Meese was California governor Reagan's special aide for police intelligence, the shadowy "Symbionese Liberation Army" was incinerated by a mammoth police mobilization of Los Angeles city, county and federal cops. When it was over, only parts of the teeth remained to identify the dead. More

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Media Lies, Confetti Parade Can't Undo Revolutionary Victory

Spectre of Vietnam Haunts U.S. Rulers

The people who run this country, the capitalist ruling class in all its factions—Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, doves and hawks alike—are engaged in a giant effort to exorcise the ghosts of their stinging defeat in Indochina ten years ago. Not just Viet vets but the entire U.S. bourgeoisie has been suffering from "post-traumatic stress syndrome," with recurrent nightmares about getting bogged down in rice paddies, lost in jungles with no light at the end of the tunnel. And so, desperately trying to rid themselves of this Vietnam syndrome, they try to pretend it wasn't so.

Ronald Reagan recently told a White House luncheon on the "lessons of Vietnam": "the truth of the matter is, we did have victory.... We didn't lose that war" (*Washington Post*, 19 April). So why all the hellyaching a decade later? Secretary of State Shultz complains that after Vietnam "the United States retreated into introspection, self-doubt and hesitancy." The gang currently in power in Washington is gung-ho to pursue the anti-Soviet war drive full blast. But they have some problems with the American people, who still don't trust their government. "Our goals in Central America are like those we had in Vietnam," Shultz declares. Yes, that's exactly what people are afraid of.

In a barrage of newspaper coverage and television specials on the tenth anniversary of the "fall of Saigon," the American bourgeoisie is trying to banish the bitter taste of defeat. In order to rehabilitate the military, they staged a flag-waving orgy of "new patriotism," a confetti parade in New York City May 7. With racist NYC mayor Koch at their head, 25,000 Vietnam veterans marched over the Brooklyn Bridge and down Broadway, "coming home" ten years late. Meanwhile, headlines in the *Washington Post* ("Fighting Back, Army Recovered From Wounds of War") and the *New York Times* ("Military After Vietnam: Stronger Force Emerges") spoke for a bourgeoisie that would like to resurrect an "American century" that lies buried in the Mekong.

Tiziano Terzani

Liberation of Saigon, April 1975: Vietnamese guerrilla in front of National Assembly.

Day after day TV screens have been filled with Pentagon war criminals, Special Forces killers and Vietnamese *gusanos*, all with the intent of glorifying imperialism's decades of slaughter in

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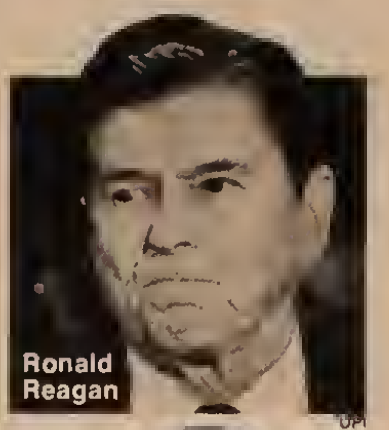
WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 380 — 31 May 1985

Reagan, Cops, Black Mayor—They're the Terrorists

Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!


Ronald Reagan
UPI

Edwin Meese
AP

Gregore Sambor
DiMarco/Time

Wilson Goode
Katz/Outline

UPI

The bombing of black America—signature of the Reagan years.

"Attention, MOVE. This is America." With this ultimatum, delivered over a cop bullhorn at 5:40 a.m. on May 13, there began the hideous siege and mass murder by firebombing of a black neighborhood in West Philadelphia. At least four black children, seven black men and women burned alive and entire city blocks destroyed in a deliberate firestorm. For the alleged "crime" of being a social nuisance, and without a fig leaf of legality hiding the state's racist terror, MOVE members were incinerated, hundreds were left homeless and without possessions. Watch your ass or *you could be next!*—this was the message to the black people of America, and not just the black people. Black Democrat Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode vowed, "I would do it again." But this wasn't simply the act of Goode, his city manager, retired two-star general Leo Brooks, and the notoriously racist Philadelphia police department. The bloody tracks of Ronald Reagan's "anti-terrorist" war on blacks, labor and the left are all over West Philadelphia. The grisly Philly firebombing is the symbol of Reagan's America.

"Reagan Bombs Black Babies," we headlined last issue, as the cops turned the neat Osage Avenue neighborhood of black homeowners into a raging inferno. Now as the details of the sinister operation emerge, it is utterly clear that this heinous crime was approved right at the top. Philadelphia police met with the FBI and reviewed strategy and tactics two days before the operation against MOVE began. Daryl "Choke Hold" Gates, chief of the notoriously racist Los Angeles Police Department, hailed the Philadelphia firestorm on the national TV show, "Face the Nation," May 19, saying Mayor Goode was on his short "heroes list." And U.S. attorney general Edwin Meese, speaking before the "California Peace Officers' Association" in San Francisco May 16, praised Wilson Goode's actions as "a good example" to emulate! Meese's praise wasn't for "any particulars" in the case, a Justice Department spokesman later claimed. Oh, no?

From Reagan's top cop this was no surprise. The people who salute SS graves in Germany brought Bitburg back to Philly with a bang. This was no "firefight," it was a *firestorm*: Dresden in America. What ever happened to the old American saying that "a man's home is his castle"? This was a *deliberate* firebombing—mass murder pure and simple. There was fighting in row houses in Arnhem, the Netherlands, in 1944, shown in the movie *A Bridge Too Far*. But the German SS corps commander never ordered his flame-throwers to incinerate entire blocks. In fact, when he encountered a makeshift hospital in one local villa, he spared it. But not the Philadelphia Police Department—they're too chicken. In the "Free World," U.S.A., they bomb women and children, as long as they're black. Just like in Vietnam, they had to destroy the neighborhood in order to "save" it.

This was a willful racist massacre of people with no name (they called themselves "Africa") who had committed no crime. And the American ruling class gets off on it. "Tragedies will occur," smirked Meese (*New York*

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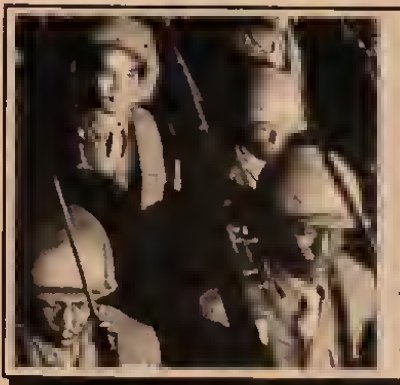
Interracial Sex Ban Jolted in South Africa

SEE PAGE FOUR



Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military

SEE PAGE SIX

Marcyism: Global Class Collaboration

23 April 1985

WV

To the editors:

I enjoyed the good-humored sparring with the *Internationalist Worker* in the 19 April *WV* ["Nicaragua: Will the Real State Please Stand Up"]. Two points are not clear to me, however. You refer to "their ultra-objectivist 'global class war' schema." What does this mean? And what are the earmarks of "Global Class War terminology"?

Best,
David Justice
Longmeadow, MA

WV replies: The tiny Revolutionary Communist League-(Internationalist) [RCL-(I)] defines itself as adherents of the "original" Sam Marcy, who emerged as an oppositionist within the then-revolutionary Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the late 1940s/early '50s calling his political current the "Global Class War Tendency." The common denominator to Marcyism, which shapes its character as Stalinism of the second mobilization, is loss of confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the working class, in the historical context of the onset of the Cold War.

According to the "GCW" schema the class struggle is summed up by the division of the world into two camps, Soviet and imperialist. Despite its left-sounding label, this Cold War impressionism serves as a "theoretical" justification for tailing Kremlin policies. Marcy notoriously supported Khrushchev's suppression of the Hungarian workers in 1956, against the uprising which was a prototype of the Trotskyists' call for proletarian political revolution to throw off the sellout Stalinist bureaucracy. After he left the SWP, Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP) supported Mao's Red Guards in China, hailed North Korean megalomaniac Kim Il Sung, and backed Cuban and Soviet intervention not only in Angola, where they were vital to stopping a CIA-backed South African invasion, but also in Ethiopia where they bolster the bloody nationalist Derg against Eritrean and Somali minorities seeking national self-determination.

The Stalinists' political program is *global class collaboration*, dreaming of a return to the World War II "grand anti-fascist alliance" with "democratic" U.S. imperialism. Marcy understood this logic from the beginning: his first act as an oppositionist in the SWP was to call for electoral support to the CP-backed "Progressive Party" candidacy of FDR's former vice president, Henry Wallace, in 1948. Today through their myriad front groups—YAWF, PAM, APC, etc.—the Marcyite WWP exists to organize demos for the liberal Democrats. The RCL-(I) has sought to hold on to the leftist veneer of vintage Marcyism. Thus where Workers World was gung-ho for Jesse Jackson's "movement," the more-Marcyite-than-Marcy RCL-(I) offered to support this black Democrat's Rainbow Coalition if only it was big enough.

In the last several years the lines of the "global class war" have repeatedly been drawn in the streets of Washington, D.C. as the Marcyite WWP has gooned for the Teddy Kennedys to keep El Salvador protests free of any taint of communism. And on 27 November 1982, when the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped KKK racist terrorists from marching near the Capitol, Marcy & Co. set up a line of goons to keep black youths penned up miles away listening to black Democrat Walter Fauntroy at McPherson Square. Though later chagrined at being left out of the action, the RCL-(I) Marcyites of the second mobilization were on the wrong side of that line.

After their 1982 attempt to fuse/enter the WWP was spurned, Marcy's unwanted stepchildren threw all leftist pretense to the wind, seeking affiliation with Ernest Mandel's social-democratized dis-United Secretariat. But since Marcyism is a homegrown American version of Pabloism, the anti-Trotskyist revisionism historically embodied in the USec, it's really no accident that in Cold War II the RCL-(I) ends up wooing Solidarność-loving Mandelites. For more on these ultra-Marcyites, see "Trotskyism vs. 'True' Marcyism," in *Young Spartacus* No. 114, December 1983/January 1984. ■

Limitations of Bourgeois Legality

17 May 1985

Dear Editor,

While the article of page 2 of *Workers Vanguard* No. 378 [3 May 1985] on Marxists versus FBI Repression explains what the Spartacist League is not, it is not clear on what the SL is. Marxist working-class organization or Marxist propaganda group can cover a wide range of programs from that of the peaceful and legal ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party to 1917 Bolshevism. Furthermore, while the article raises the question of using legality under a capitalist government, it does not explain the limitations of that legality. In this context, it is important to note what Lenin had to say in regard to bourgeois legality. Writing in 1910 concerning a German Social Democratic Congress, Lenin said,

> "The leader of the revisionists, Frank, strongly insisted, like all the Badenites, that although the Minister, von Bodman, had originally denied 'parity of rights' of the Social-Democrats with the other, bourgeois parties he had subsequently retracted this 'affront.' Bebel in his report made the following reply on this point: 'If the minister of a modern state...declares that he does not recognize parity of rights of the Social-Democrats, then he is quite right from his own point of view.' Frank interrupted Bebel with the cry 'outrageous!'"

Lenin went on to add, "Why was Frank so indignant? Because he is thoroughly imbued with faith in bourgeois 'legality,' in bourgeois 'parity of rights,' without understanding the historical *limits* of this legality, without understanding that all this legality *must* inevitably be cast to the four winds when the fundamental and cardinal question of the preservation of bourgeois property is affected." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 16, pages 305 and 306.)

Of course in 1910 the Bolsheviks and the then-revolutionary German Social Democrats fought hard to obtain legality and utilized all the legality they could get. At that time in Europe it was easy to understand that governments, constitutions and legal systems could come and go, what was stable was the class rule of the propertied classes which set up governments, constitutions and legal systems to help them rule. That is where the Marxist concept of the armed uprising originated, not in the sense of a small group of conspirators taking power but in the sense of the overwhelming majority of the population led by the workers taking power by force from the small minority which would surrender power no other way.

While Marxists can renounce putschism and terrorism by individuals and small groups, they cannot renounce armed insurrection under any and all circumstances. The armed insurrection is not an agitational slogan today given the relative forces of the revolutionaries and the government and further given the fact that the government has not yet grossly violated the democratic rights of the workers in the manner in which they violated the rights of the Black Panther Party. Therefore, widespread illusions exist as to the government's willingness to preserve the democratic rights of the workers and oppressed minorities. However, circumstances change and the slogans of a revolutionary party change accordingly.

In conclusion, while Marxists can sometimes win in the courtroom and could conceivably win at the ballot box, unless they can also win in the streets, they will still lose.

Revolutionary greetings,
Smith
Washington, D.C. area

WV Photo

New York City, 30 November 1984—Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee spokesmen announce victory in suit against FBI's sinister Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

Nicaragua and the Lessons of Spain

TROTSKY

LENIN

Writing about the Spanish Civil War, Trotsky set forth the following conditions for the victory of the masses against the armed forces of their exploiters, conditions which retain their urgent relevance in Nicaragua today:

The conditions for victory of the masses in a civil war against the army of exploiters are very simple in their essence.

1. The fighters of a revolutionary army must be clearly aware of the fact that they are fighting for their full social liberation and not for the reestablishment of the old ("democratic") forms of exploitation.

2. The workers and peasants in the rear of the revolutionary army as well as in the rear of the enemy must know and understand the same thing.

3. The propaganda on their own front as well as on the enemy front and in both rears must be completely permeated with the spirit of social revolution. The slogan "First victory, then reforms," is the slogan of all oppressors and exploiters from the Biblical kings down to Stalin.

4. Politics are determined by those classes and strata that participate in the struggle. The revolutionary masses must have a state apparatus that directly and immediately expresses their will. Only the soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies can act as such an apparatus.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning" (December 1937)

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Sabra and Shatila Again

Shi'ites Massacre Palestinians

AP

Shatila holocaust: Palestinian woman weeps for dead in streets of refugee camp.

In September 1982 a new name for genocidal atrocity entered the world's political vocabulary—Sabra/Shatila. In these sprawling refugee camps in West Beirut hundreds, maybe thousands, of defenseless Palestinians—mainly women, children and old men—were slaughtered by Lebanese Phalange terrorists and the "South Lebanon Army," trained, equipped and directed by the Israeli high command. Now once again Palestinians in Sabra/Shatila are being massacred, only this time by the supposedly anti-Zionist and "anti-imperialist" Muslim Shi'ite Amal.

"It's a horrific tragedy," exclaimed a Palestinian spokesman. The Shi'ite forces are "pulverizing the camps, house by house, with heavy artillery and tank cannon. Dozens of bodies are lying in the streets. They won't let the Red Cross in." Lebanese police estimate that more than 250 Palestinians have been killed and over a thousand wounded, but nobody really knows. The Red Cross says the body count will rise when the rubble is cleared. The wounded and injured are dying for lack of medical attention, especially since the Gaza Hospital in Shatila was smashed by artillery the first day of the Shi'ite attack. Bodies are hanging from the ceiling of the morgue in the American University Hospital because there is no other place to put them all.

A *New York Times* headline runs, "Shiites and P.L.O. Continue Battles," as if both sides were more or less equal and eager to do battle. What in fact is happening is a one-sided massacre. The greatly superior Amal forces, joined by the largely Shi'ite Sixth Brigade of the Lebanese Army, have surrounded the Shatila, Sabra and Burj al Brajneh camps with tanks, antiaircraft guns, mortars and recoilless rifles mounted on jeeps. The Palestinians are trying to defend themselves mainly with rifles and grenade launchers. Tank shells from the Sixth Brigade smash buildings where the Palestinian defenders are holding out. Amal forces then level the area with bulldozers as the camps are progressively overrun.

Behind the Sabra/Shatila massacres—first by the Israeli Zionists and their local agents, now by the Shi'ites—stands U.S. imperialism, abetted by the treachery of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) nationalist leadership. Remember it was Reagan's Marines who in August 1982 disarmed the Palestinian commandos in West Beirut and took them into exile. And the PLO agreed to this, hoping to gain in exchange Washington's favor. No sooner had the Palestinian commandos been removed from Beirut than their families left behind were slaughtered by order of the most bloodthirsty Zionist war criminal of all, Ariel Sharon.

Now Shi'ite Amal leader Nabih Berri is determined to finish Sharon's work. Contending that the PLO is "rebuilding its forces in Lebanon, he declared, "Frankly speaking, we will not allow it" (*New York Times*, 22 May). Arafat claims that Berri has a secret agreement with Israel, and this is certainly possible.

The present massacre of Palestinians by the Shi'ite Amal should come as no surprise to anyone familar with the squalid communalist feuding of Lebanese politics and not blinded by the self-serving myths of Reaganite anti-Communism or Third Worldist nationalism. The Shi'ite population of southern Lebanon initially *welcomed* the Israeli invasion in 1982. And in the years previous Amal's main targets were PLO commandos and Lebanese leftists. This, of course, did not prevent the occupying Israeli army from subjecting the Shi'ite Arabs in southern Lebanon to the same reign of terror imposed on the West Bank Palestinians.

Nor did it prevent vicarious Third World nationalist cheerleaders on the left from hailing the Shi'ites and their Druze allies as great "anti-imperialist" fighters when they clashed with the U.S.-backed Phalange regime in late 1983/early 1984. Joining this pro-Shi'ite chorus was the so-called External Tendency (ET), a coterie of embittered and cynical renegades who quit the international Spartacist tendency. The ETs went so far as to claim that the bombing of the Marine headquarters at the Beirut airport in October 1983, presumably by Shi'ite fanatics, was the greatest blow to American imperialism since the 1968 Tet Offensive in Vietnam.

The Tet Offensive was the turning point in the Vietnam War, a world-historic defeat for U.S. imperialism. The victorious Vietnamese Revolution opened the road for revolutionary and national liberation struggles from southern Africa to Central America. The Shi'ite ascendency in Lebanon opened the road only to another massacre of Palestinians in Sabra/Shatila. As we wrote when the Shi'ite Amal was about to take over West Beirut last year:

> "The myriad ethnic/religious/communal groups in Lebanon...have every one of them been in treacherous, murderous alliance with and against every other one. Let Lebanon be Lebanon and this is what you get."
>
> —"Reagan's Lebanon Mess," *WV* No. 348, 17 February 1984

Lebanon is a hellish microcosm of the nationalist/sectarian slaughterhouse that is the Near East today, balkanized and dominated by Western imperialism. The struggle for the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East and for the survival and national emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily bring down the rotten medieval structure of Lebanon, sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Ba'athist bonapartists in Syria and shatter the Zionist state. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat with its Arab-Hebrew vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can find fulfillment only in a Socialist Federation of the Near East. ■

Homeless Should Seize Trump City!

New York
25 May 1985

Dear Editor:

"Homeless Should Seize Trump City!" was the modest demand raised in your article on the desperate housing squeeze in NYC [see "New York City: You Can't Live Here," *WV* No. 373, 22 February]. It looks like some homeless people agree. On Saturday, May 4, some 400 people, including homeless from some city shelters, rallied outside the Condo King's posh $200 million Trump Towers building on Fifth Avenue and decided to "rush Trump." Chanting "House the Needy, Not the Greedy" and "Dump Trump," they surged into Trump Towers. When some 50 protesters had got in, Trump's rent-a-cops proceeded to close down the complex, throwing out tourists and rich shoppers in the process. After an hour-long sit-in, the occupiers emerged to be greeted by the rest of the demonstration, ebullient in mood having succeeded in closing Trump. A spirited picket was continued for several hours.

Called by a coalition of tenants associations and groups to aid the homeless, the rally demanded "Stop Displacement!" "Affordable Housing!" and "House the Homeless Now!" Seth Robins, of Met Council (one of the largest tenant unions in the country) said the militant demonstrators had chosen Trump Towers (the "Xanadu of conspicuous consumption," as the *New York Times* once described it) to "shut down the primary symbol of city and big real estate collusion."

O'Neill/NY Times

Donald Trump in his Mondo Condo empire.

Comradely,
Maire Hayes

Fan Letter from Cornell

Dear Comrades,

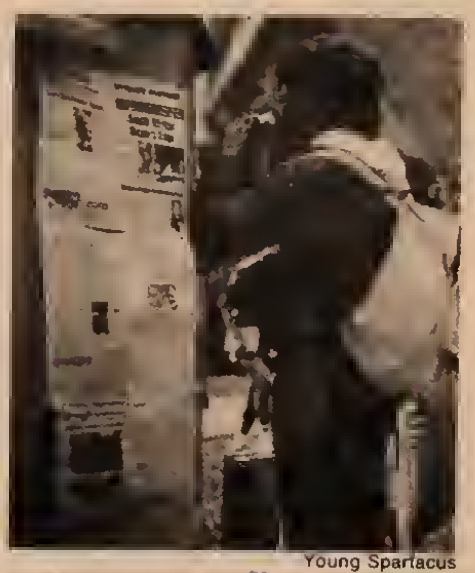
Picked up my first ever *Workers Vanguard* today at the bust-in on Cornell campus, and I fell in love.

Here's my check for 24 issues. Keep up the good spirited communism.

Any chance of getting a copy of the Alexander Cockburn imitation piece? ["Defend the Soundrel! *Village Voice*'s Cockburn Up a Creek," *WV* No. 346, 20 January 1984.] I'd sure appreciate a copy.

Thanks for the effort.

J.E.M.
Ithaca, New York


Young Spartacus

"Karl Marx shanty" at Cornell anti-apartheid sit-in.

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NEW YORK CITY

Smash the Whole Apartheid Slave System!

Interracial Sex Ban Jolted in South Africa

On April 15 the racist South African apartheid regime announced that it will repeal the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act which make interracial sex and marriage "crimes." These laws, like all the barbaric institutions of apartheid slavery, are concentrated and codified expressions of the chauvinism and racial oppression endemic to the decaying imperialist order. South African racism is unique, for not only does the color line determine who is on top and who is on the bottom—here *an entire people* oppresses and benefits from the exploitation of another. To consolidate the oppression of a people or prepare their extermination, strict separation must be enforced; ties of blood and deep emotion must be cut to delineate what Hitler called the *Herrenvolk* ("master race"). But the inevitability of interracial sex and marriage bonds within a common species is a fundamental challenge to every "master race" dogma, and a profound assertion that all races are equal and indissolubly mixed.

Peters/Black Star

Cape Town couple Sylvia Vollenhoven and Bob Sedon, with their son Ryan. Interracial sex and marriage challenge precepts of apartheid.

Therefore, it is out of considerations of elementary human decency that we as Marxists hail the repeal of vile measures which seek to regiment and suppress the most deeply felt human emotions. Of course, we fully recognize that this legislative measure does not touch the fundamental question of power in white supremacist South Africa. Nor will it mean that the estimated thousands of mixed couples who have been living in the shadows are now suddenly free of the discrimination, humiliation and racist violence which is inseparable from apartheid. In a recent interview with a handsome interracial couple the *New York Times* (30 April) quotes Sylvia Vollenhoven: "We're not going to go straight out and hold hands in the Wimpy Bar in [Cape Town Afrikaner suburb] Bellville.... [As a mixed couple] you tend to chart a very safe route through life." But it is a good thing when you get the cops out of the bedroom, and in racist South Africa interracial sex and marriage are particularly explosive because they contradict the basic precepts of apartheid.

The repeal of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts is a calculated political move by the Pretoria regime of President P.W. Botha. His policy has been to make certain cosmetic reforms in the institutions of apartheid which leave intact the white supremacist power structure based on the superexploitation of black labor. Take for example the May 25 announcement that the prohibition of multiracial political parties is to be dropped. How much does such a "reform" mean in a country where the black majority is completely disenfranchised, where "coloureds" (mixed race) and Indians may "vote" only for completely powerless, segregated "parliaments," and where even the leadership of the peaceful, multiracial anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF) is on trial for treason?

The South African laws forbidding interracial sex and marriage are reviled around the world and by repealing them Botha gives the Reagan administration a sop to justify Washington's pro-apartheid "constructive engagement." At the same time Botha seeks to give credibility to his widely discredited coloured and Indian parliaments. The repeal affects primarily whites and coloureds, as apartheid's brutal and all-sided segregation of blacks minimizes their social interaction with whites. As with his puppet parliaments, Botha's announced repeal of these laws is a continuation of the age-old colonial strategy of divide and conquer. But while not changing the basic fact of white domination and black enslavement upon which apartheid is based, the repeal of these laws challenges its very rationale.

The Color Bar in America

When American reporters quote Winnie Mandela's rhetorical question, "In what other society do people need to legislate against their own urges?" (*New York Times*, 16 April), they show their short historical memory by implying this is uniquely South African. Not only do the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts deserve comparison to the Nazis' 1935 Nuremberg laws, which forbade marriage and sex between Jews and "Aryans"; there is a comparison which is closer, and closer to home: the anti-miscegenation laws of the United States. In 1962, Lerone Bennett, Jr., noted in *Before the Mayflower* that "twenty-two states still forbid interracial marriages." In addition to barring marriages between whites and blacks, California and most of the Western states banned marriages between whites and Asians. The formal elimination of these laws was completed by the Supreme Court only as a result of the civil rights movement, in 1967.

Indeed the tradition regarding "miscegenation" in much of South Africa's history was not as harsh as that of the antebellum American South. In the South African slave society of the 18th century, and even until the middle of this century in the Cape province, the lighter the complexions of those of mixed race and the greater their wealth, the more freely they were allowed to "pass" into white society without too many questions being asked. In the American South the "one drop" rule was widely applied, condemning those with just a "touch of the tarbrush" to servitude.

Already in the American colonial period, Bennett reports that "sensing a deterioration of slavery if the barriers between masters and slaves were dissolved in the equalitarian crucible of sexual intimacy, they [racial purists] sought to stop racial crossing by statute." The first such law, passed in Maryland in 1664, was "aimed at white women who had resisted every effort to inoculate them with the virus of racial pride." This was no accident—there is a deep link between the oppression of women, of classes and of races. White men's sexual access to black women is essentially taken for granted in racist America. But the crime of crimes, the act that sets off the hysterical fury of the Ku Klux Klan and lynch mobs in the South, is the sexual liaison of a white woman and a black man. This crossing of color and class lines (especially in a slaveholding society) above all violates the white woman's subordinate role in patriarchal society as the passive, "pure" bearer of heirs. The central function of the monogamous family, and woman's role within it, is to be literally a transmission belt for the inheritance of private property to the next generation.

Between 1949 and 1971 there were over 17,000 prosecutions under Section 16, the race clause, of the Immorality Act [apartheid South Africa's law making interracial sex a crime]. Subsequent prosecutions would bring the total to over 20,000....

Police officers hiding in the boots [trunks] of cars, in the ceilings of homes, perching up trees—all in the cause of obtaining photographic or other evidence of sex between two people of different colour—became part of the curious heritage of [South Africa].

The practice of police—feeling the warmth of the bed, searching for hairs on the bed linen, confiscating stained sheets, subjecting their suspects to examinations by the District Surgeon—were common knowledge. By the early '70s the tally of 34 morals cases a week in the Johannesburg magistrate's court was regarded as "normal."... [The results of the Immorality Act] have included a string of suicides, countless couples driven into exile, separation of parents from children, forgery, non-support of children.

Most known suicides have been white men—many of them middle aged plattelanders [rural white Afrikaners] threatened with charges under the Act. One of the seven men accused in Excelsior, the Free State town which won notoriety in 1970 as a result of the Immorality Act, committed suicide....

At least one young white woman had her seven-month-old baby removed because it was not white and had the infant used in court to condemn her and her lover because of the dark skin it had inherited. And the very presence of the Immorality Act has left hundreds of black and coloured women bearing children of their white lovers—and quite unable to claim maintenance because they would have to reveal a "criminal" conception.

—*Argus* (Cape Town, South Africa), 16 April 1985

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Eli Weinberg

South Africa blacks burn pass book, mark of slavery.

The "honor" of white women so assiduously defended by the lynchers is based on the embodiment of private property in slaves defined by the color line.

Capitalist America is a deeply racist society in which gains for black people are all too reversible. The anti-miscegenation laws were already repealed once before, during Reconstruction, the period of democratic gains for blacks won by the Civil War. In the era of Jim Crow reaction which followed, those laws were reinstated, often in harsher form. Indeed, the courts in America are still punishing interracial sex: in Georgia in 1982 Kathy Blackburn, a working-class white woman, had her white son taken away by the court after she had a baby daughter with a black man. It was a chilling punishment for a white woman stepping over the color line. The judge editorialized out of court. "How would you like to have a female relative living with a black man and having a child? I personally am opposed to it" (*New York Times*, 18 February 1982).

The Nightmare of the "Volk"

A crucial strand in the web of racism which envelops South Africa originates in the embattled history of the Afrikaners, the majority of the South African whites. In the 19th century their Boer ancestors hacked out a piece of Africa for themselves against the more numerous indigenous tribes. In terms of social development, Bibles and guns barely divided one cattle-herding people from the other. After being militarily crushed by British imperialism's war to seize the gold fields at the turn of the century, the Boers were economically driven to the cities. Here they competed with blacks for laboring jobs, while at the same time possessing the white skin privilege of the right to vote.

These were the conditions in which the fascistic Afrikaner nationalist movement grew. Coming to power in 1948, the Afrikaner nationalists took charge of a system of segregation whose foundations had been laid block-by-block under the auspices of British imperialism over the preceding decades. The Afrikaners moved quickly to tighten the existing system to totalitarian intensity. Reflected in the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts was a new harshness toward those of mixed race, the coloureds, who are largely descended from unions between white colonials and their Indonesian slaves and indigenous Khoi servants. The previous 1927 Immorality Act which had prohibited intercourse between white and African was amended to prohibit it between whites and *all* non-whites. The entire population was racially classified. "Questionable cases" were summoned before official panels to have pencils stuck in their hair (to distinguish a frizz from a curl), the widths of their noses measured, and so on. South Africa's white English "liberals" of the United Party stripe, more pragmatic racists, differed only in affirming that whites had enough "race pride" not to require laws to keep them from "miscegenating."

But, like racists everywhere, the Afrikaner nationalists' war for "purity" was a war against themselves and their own history. In the U.S. slave South, it was said, "there is not an old plantation in which the grandchildren of the owner are not whipped in the field by the overseers" (*Before the Mayflower*). In South Africa, history has really taken revenge. One ardent supporter of passing the Immorality Act, a minister of the sternly Calvinist Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church (which provided scriptural sanction for the Act) turned out to be one of the first to be prosecuted! He is widely remembered in a couplet: "Beneath those dark and somber britches/Dwelt some dark, uncontrollable itches." Thousands of subsequent prosecutions left a trail of destruction among god-fearing Afrikaner nationalists. A turning point finally came in the rural Afrikaans town of Excelsior, when several leading citizens were implicated and one committed suicide. After that the rate of prosecutions fell off significantly.

Along with all the racist violence and degradation of apartheid, South Africa is by and large a miserably provincial place, lorded over by an Afrikaner version of the Moral Majority: no movies on Sundays; no lying closer than 18 inches to each other by the pool if you're in the misnamed Orange Free State province; the book *Black Beauty* once banned because of its title. In short the concentration of cultural, sexual and racial repression could hardly be more volatile.

No wonder interracial sex has been an essential theme among white South African writers. André Brink seems fixated on the subject. Alan Paton uses it to show hypocritical racist ideologues with their pants down. J.M. Coetzee lays bare with his grim intensity the relationship of an Afrikaner farm woman with a black foreman. James McClure's hardened detectives trace multiple threads of sexual and interracial antagonism and entanglement in their investigations. Breyten Breytenbach, the best living writer in Afrikaans, first turned against the *volk* in a major way by marrying a Vietnamese woman and emigrating, perforce, to Paris. He was later convicted of returning incognito to South Africa to launch an underground white support group for the struggle to smash apartheid.

W.W. Norton

Nazis parade woman through the streets for "crime" of sex with a Jew.

The very existence of the coloureds is a constant reminder to the South African racists of the lie of "white supremacy." An Afrikaans scholar, Dr. Hans Hecse, himself descended from a mixed family, is being sued left and right for libel by outraged Afrikaners for a book in which he shows that many leading Afrikaner families, including the Bothas and Treurnichts, are of mixed descent. Several Bothas sit in the South African apartheid regime's cabinet and Andries Treurnicht is head of the Conservative Party, an ultraright split-off from the ruling Nationalists which decries Botha's repeal of the Immorality Act as a sellout of the white man.

Botha now speaks for a Cape-based tendency in Afrikaner nationalism which sees the coloureds as "brown Afrikaners" who must be brought into the fold so they can stand on the white side of the line against the vast majority of 22 million blacks. Today this seems a vain dream, as is shown by the coloureds' massive rejection of Botha's puppet parliament. Further, this repeal of the racial sex bar poses some awkward anomalies for apartheid: In a society where residential areas are segregated by law, where will the legalized mixed couples live? How will children be educated? Treurnicht's ultraright supporters have a point when they ask: How can one allow people of different races to sleep together and have children, how can one integrate more public facilities, without eventually recognizing equal political rights for all in a non-racial South Africa? This is but one expression of the crisis into which Afrikaner nationalism, and white rule generally, have been thrown by the fundamental challenge of rising black power centered in the millions-strong black working class.

For a Multiracial Working-Class Vanguard Party!

The liberal reformists who support the African National Congress simply dismiss the repeal of the ban on interracial sex and marriage, saying the South African government must show itself "willing" to make basic changes. Dr. Nthato Motlana, a black leader in the township of Soweto, said outright: "We are not interested in the repeal of these laws" (*Sowetan*, 16 April). *We* recognize the lifting of the bar as a democratic gain to be defended and extended like all others; at the same time we have no illusions that the apartheid state can be pressured into making fundamental changes in its society, which necessarily rests on the enforced segregation of blacks as a superexploited working class.

"In radical black terms," said Sylvia Vollenhoven in an interview last year, "it's a sellout to marry a white because it makes the society look normal." In fact, it exposes the insanity of apartheid. Her decision to marry a white Englishman "was a crisis of conscience between what I hold as a political ideology and my personal life.... I'm still highly suspect," she said (*New York Times*, 12 September 1984). Antagonism to interracial marriages among blacks is in part an expression of the long accumulated and understandable bitterness of blacks toward what Lerone Bennett, Jr. called "the one-way prerogatives of the white male." Much of what interracial sex there is is exacted by the white *baas* from his black female servants, or takes place between white men and black women in whorehouses on the edge of the bantustans and neighboring black statelets. (A similar pattern exists in the American South.)

As Marxists and revolutionary integrationists we fight for a socialist society in which "race mixing" is the free expression of genuine and all-sided social equality among all peoples. Hostility to interracial sex and marriage politically generalized by black nationalists represents acquiescence in the racist status quo and/or a program for race war.

South Africa is rumbling down the tracks to civil war with the whites armed to the teeth and determined not to give up anything and defiant blacks determined not to submit any more to the *sjambok* (whip) of apartheid slavery. Insofar as this confrontation takes place solely along race lines it will be a bloody disaster for the oppressed. But the Achilles' heel of apartheid is its absolute dependence on black labor and in South Africa, with its six-million-strong proletariat, the class principle can prevail. Hundreds of thousands of black workers are coming together with a coloured proletariat, Indians and even some courageous whites like martyred union organizer Neil Aggett, in a burgeoning union movement. This development lays the basis for the construction of a multiracial proletarian vanguard party based on the understanding that those who labor must rule.

Cabell/Savannah Morning News

Kathy Blackburn with daughter. Georgia courts snatched white son (In photo behind).

As proletarian internationalists we fight against all forms of national oppression. Every people has a right to exist but no people has the right to oppress another. If the oppressed are to achieve genuine emancipation in South Africa, a black-centered workers government must struggle to place in its service the technical, scientific and administrative skills of the white population. As for the eventual assimilation of the whites into the far greater black population in a post-apartheid socialist South Africa, that is a possible development which we would in no way oppose. ■

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BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE JIM CROW MILITARY

Part One of this article, going up through World War I, appeared in WV *No. 378, 3 May 1985.*

PART TWO OF TWO

In the movie *A Soldier's Story*, black soldiers at a segregated army base in Louisiana in 1944 are looking forward to a combat assignment: "I hope we get to fight soon, sir. Next they'll have us picking this year's cotton crop," one soldier says. When the order finally comes to ship out, the men pour out of the barracks to celebrate, setting off fireworks and shouting, "Look out, Hitler!" But although many blacks deeply resented their exclusion from combat, a policy that lasted late into the war, there was little black enthusiasm for this "war for democracy" abroad when they were brutally deprived of basic democratic rights at home.

As U.S. entry into World War II approached, American blacks still bitterly remembered the experience of WWI, when the promise of "democracy" for blacks was quickly forgotten after the war in a tide of anti-black riots and racist Klan terror. This time around, blacks refused to put off their grievances "for the duration." Rooseveltian propaganda claiming that the U.S.' intention was to smash the racism of the Nazi "master race" and restore "freedom" to German-occupied Europe rang hollow for blacks who were living under Jim Crow segregation. Nor were they inspired by the cause of British and French colonialism, the enslavers of black Africa. Even anti-Communist liberal historian Wilson Record noted:

> "Negroes in the United States were frequently quite apathetic about the issues involved in the European conflict. While they obviously opposed the race superiority doctrines of the Nazi régime and feared their extension, they could not embrace France or Britain as exponents of racial equality. Remembering the experiences of Negroes during and after World War I, they displayed a justifiable skepticism toward another great crusade for the democratic ideal."
>
> —*The Negro and the Communist Party* (1951)

William Hastie, the first black to be appointed a federal judge, and an adviser to Secretary of War Stimson on black troops (a post he quit in disgust in January 1943), described the mood of black America in late 1941: "One hears with increasing frequency from colored soldiers the sentiment that since they had been called to fight they might just as well do their fighting here and now" (quoted in Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces* [1969]). The same militant mood was reflected in a June 1942 rally of 25,000 blacks at Madison Square Garden called by the March on Washington Movement. The crowd loudly cheered a satirical play in which a black youth appearing before his draft board says:

> "Go on! Put me in the army. I ain't no conscientious objector. But I'm starting the fight for democracy beginning at Grand Central Station and right straight on through to Georgia."

This new militancy was buoyed by the rise of the CIO, incorporating blacks for the first time into an integrated and powerful working-class movement. As American imperialism began a rapid war buildup in 1940, black people eagerly awaited the opportunity to work in war industry, and to participate in government-financed training programs set up to overcome the shortage of skilled workers. But in the armed forces as well as in industry blacks were systematically excluded, or assigned to menial roles and rigidly segregated. In the Navy, blacks could enlist only in the all-black messmen's branch. The Marines and Air Corps excluded blacks entirely. In the Army blacks were only allowed to fill the few vacancies in the four regular all-black regiments which had been created after the Civil War. In the fall of 1940, President Roosevelt explicitly defended Jim Crow in the military:

> "The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proven satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to the morale and detrimental to the preparation for national defense."

Steinheimer/Life

93rd Infantry, on parade at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, summer of 1943—America's first all-black combat division, formed during World War I.

Added to the fact that Jim Crow was now the official policy of the federal government were countless other insults. Thus because of pressure from the Army and Navy, blacks couldn't contribute blood to the Red Cross program because it was not considered the same as "white" blood. This was doubly insulting because the pioneer researcher in blood preservation was Dr. Charles R. Drew, a black, who was also medical director of the Red Cross program. Drew resigned from the Red Cross over its refusal to accept blood from black people.

Moderate black leaders had trouble selling this imperialist war to American blacks, and could only do so by promising some benefits *now*. Thus arose the "Double V Campaign" ("victory for democracy abroad and at home"), organized by Rooseveltian trade unionist A. Philip Randolph, who on New Year's Day 1941 proposed an "anti-Jim Crow, pro-jobs" march on Washington that July. Randolph soon capitulated to White House pressure, canceling the march in exchange for FDR's sop, a Fair Employment Practices Committee, which did not mention the armed forces, merely promised to end discrimination in industry and had no teeth for enforcement (see "The March on Washington That Wasn't" *WV* No. 336, 12 August 1983).

The successful CIO organizing strikes of the late '30s coupled with the virtual full employment brought on by the war created the basis for a broad radicalization of labor and blacks. This was reflected in the growth of both the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But between the Stalinist CP and the Trotskyist SWP there was the dividing line between reform and revolution, which came sharply to the fore over their attitudes toward the March on Washington Movement (MOWM). Prior to Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union on 21 June 1941, the CP denounced the MOWM as a social-patriotic maneuver to build black support for imperialist war. After June 21, the Stalinists flipflopped, becoming rabid social-patriots and denouncing the MOWM for sabotaging the "war effort." Randolph and his supporters were now said to be "aiding the Axis camp" by creating "confusion and dangerous moods in the rank and file of the Negro people" (article by black CP leader James Ford in the July 1943 *Communist*, cited in Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party* [1957]).

In contrast, the SWP, whose leaders were jailed under FDR for their courageous opposition to the imperialist war, supported the March on Washington while disagreeing with Randolph's pro-war stance: "essentially it is an *action* against the system of Jim Crowism that segregates and discriminates against Negroes wherever they go" (*Militant*, 21 June 1941, reproduced in *Fighting Racism in World War II* [1980], a collection of articles from the SWP press documenting the Trotskyists'

Culver

Harlem, 1942: March on Washington Movement rally. Signs read, "No Color Line on Assembly Line," and "Abolish the Poll Tax."

consistent support for black struggle during 1939-45). Thus the SWP hacked the numerous blacks who refused the draft in World War II. The most famous case was that of Winfred Lynn, brother of noted civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn, who refused to report for induction in 1942 on the grounds that a 1940 draft law forbade racial discrimination.

Soldiers, Seamen Defy Racism

Throughout the war, black soldiers repeatedly clashed with Jim Crow in the military. Even before the U.S. entered the hostilities, black anger burst to the surface when 15 black sailors aboard the cruiser USS *Philadelphia* stationed at Long Beach, California took the risky step of writing a protest letter to the Pittsburgh *Courier*, a leading black newspaper. The letter documented the racism of the Navy brass: black sailors were restricted to duty as mess attendants, were given lower pay than whites and denied promotion, and if they talked back they were thrown in the brig on bread and water. The 15 sailors ended their letter with a bitter warning which must have made the Navy Department shudder:

> "We, the mess attendants of the *Philadelphia*, are not merely stating these facts because of our own plight. In doing so, we sincerely hope to discourage any other colored boys from joining the Navy and make the same mistake we did.
> "All they would become is seagoing bell hops, chambermaids and dishwashers.
> "We take it upon ourselves to write this letter, regardless of any action the Naval authorities may take or whatever the consequences may be.
> "We only know that it could not possibly surpass the mental cruelty inflicted upon us on this ship."

The Navy immediately arrested all the signers and threw two of them, Shannon Goodwin and Byron Johnson, into prison for a court-martial. Meanwhile a defense movement sprang up, supported by the NAACP, the SWP-supported Workers Relief & WPA Union, and predominantly black labor organizations such as the Building Service Employees. Significantly, solidarity letters from several other ships were sent to FDR and the Secretary of the Navy, corroborating charges of discrimination. But the government stood by its racist policy. And black protest against Jim Crow in the armed forces steadily mounted:

• In August 1941, black draftee Ned Turman witnessed white military police severely beat another black soldier on a bus returning to Fort Bragg, North Carolina. When Turman demanded medical attention for the victim, an MP sergeant coldly refused. The enraged private pulled out a revolver, vowing to "break up you MPs beating us colored soldiers!" When his gun was empty, Turman was shot dead. There followed a night of terror as all 5,000 blacks at Fort Bragg were rounded up and driven out of the camp by MPs armed with sawed-off shotguns. The SWP honored Turman's courageous act of anti-racist defiance:

> "He did not have a hero's burial, but he joined the long list of fighters for Negro freedom and equality who were not afraid to risk everything, even their lives, in the struggle against oppression."
>
> —*Militant*, 23 August 1941, reprinted in *Fighting Racism in World War II*

Can anyone imagine today's "peaceful, legal" ultrareformist SWP hailing this courageous act?

• That same month, the all-black 94th Battalion, assigned for maneuvers to Camp Robinson in Arkansas (not far from where *A Soldier's Story* was filmed), was marching along the highway when several carloads of white state troopers pulled up and ordered the "niggers" off the road. The troopers shoved the black soldiers into a water-filled ditch; when two white lieutenants protested, they too were roughed up. Some of the black soldiers returned to base and requested ammunition for their guns for protection. Fearing for their lives, 60 black soldiers went AWOL; most eventually turned up at their home base of Fort Custer, Michigan.

• In July 1944, a huge explosion at the Port Chicago ammunition depot in California killed 327 men, mostly black seamen, and wounded hundreds more. The remaining black sailors naturally were reluctant to continue loading ammo without adequate safety measures. The Navy responded by convicting 50 for "mutiny" after a kangaroo court "trial" with only *45 minutes* deliberation. The "mutineers" got long prison terms and dishonorable discharges.

• In March 1945, 101 officers of the 477th Bomber Group at Freeman Field, Indiana refused to sign a statement agreeing to be segregated from their own officers club, which many had previously defiantly entered to challenge segregationist policies. They were arrested, but protests forced a dismissal of the charges.

Also in March 1945, a hundred or so black Women's Army Corps (WAC) members staged a sit-down strike at a hospital at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, complaining that they were restricted to kitchen chores while only white WACs were assigned technical duties. All but four were pressured into returning to work, and the four were court-martialed, sentenced to one year hard labor and drummed out of the army with dishonorable discharges. At this point the Communist Party, whose *Daily Worker* would soon be hailing the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, declared (via black CP leader Benjamin Davis, Jr.):

> "The U.S. general staff has on many occasions... proved that they deserve the full confidence of the Negro people.... We cannot temporarily stop the war until all questions of discrimination are ironed out."
>
> —quoted in Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party*

1948: Black vets return to fight the war at home: "Fox-Hole to Slum... We Want Apartments."

Black Soldiers and the Civil Rights Movement

As in previous wars, the American ruling class was at first reluctant to use black soldiers in combat. The bourgeoisie's fears were obvious: as an SWP resolution stated, "no Negro trained to handle a gun would peacefully go back to the old life of discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement and insult, after training in an army where he was treated as an equal with white soldiers" (*Fourth International*, June 1943). But the pressure of manpower requirements, together with protests from black organizations, eventually forced a reversal of policy. In 1942 the Army Air Corps, Marines, Navy and Coast Guard opened their ranks to blacks, and in late 1944 black units began to get combat assignments, notably the 92nd Infantry Division in Italy and the 93rd Division in the Pacific.

All-black flying units were also formed, notably the 99th Pursuit Squadron and the 332nd Fighter Group which participated in campaigns in Italy, France, Germany and the Balkans, earning the Distinguished Unit Citation (Alan M. Osur, *Blacks in the Army Air Forces During World War II* [1977]). The desperate Battle of the Bulge in the winter of 1944-45 caused a severe shortage of infantry replacements and a breakdown of strict segregation, as General Eisenhower reluctantly accepted black volunteers to replace losses in white companies. By August 1945 over one million blacks had served in the armed forces, representing 9 percent of all draftees.

The experience of World War II opened the floodgates of black demands for equality, first of all in the military. President Truman finally issued the order for desegregation of the armed forces in 1948, but the process was not completed until 1954. When Texas Senator and future U.S. president Lyndon Johnson questioned the desegregation move in 1949, Truman's secretary of defense replied that "the practice of segregation is damaging to our country's reputation," and "its practice reduces the efficiency of our military strength." This view was reinforced by an incident during the Korean War, in July 1950, when the all-black 24th Infantry Regiment fled in the face of attack. According to Joseph Goulden's *Korea—The Untold Story of the War* (1982), the prevalent view in the unit was: "Why should we get our asses shot off fighting for a bunch of people who don't give a damn about us as human beings?" Goulden concludes that the experience "pointed up the absurdity of a segregated army and hastened the integration of black troops into units where they were treated the same as other soldiers."

The hundreds of thousands of black soldiers who went through World War II and the Korean War left the service determined to break down Jim Crow barriers. Many who later played a prominent role in the civil rights movement were also inspired by the independence struggles in black Africa. A striking example was Robert F.

Journal and Guide

CITIZENS FIRE BACK AT KLAN

The Crusader

Robert F. Williams organized black self-defense against KKK.

Williams, who left the newly integrated Marine Corps in 1955, "When I got out of the Marine Corps, I knew I wanted to go home and join the NAACP. In the Marines I had got a taste of discrimination and had some run-ins that got me into the guardhouse," Williams later wrote in his book *Negroes with Guns* (1962). Leading the local NAACP in Monroe, North Carolina during the integration struggles of the late '50s, Williams played a key role by championing black armed self-defense against Klan and police terror.

A liberating social revolution next door in Cuba also had a great effect on black struggle in the U.S. (Williams took refuge in Havana in 1961 in the face of a massive police manhunt), as did the determined fight of the Vietnamese against American imperialism. Muhammad Ali struck a popular chord when he remarked, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." And many returning black Viet vets, like Geronimo Pratt, were attracted to the Black Panther Party in the hopes of achieving black liberation through revolutionary struggle at home. But the Panthers were caught in the nationalist trap, with nothing to offer but heroic gestures and breakfast programs while the cops and feds imprisoned and murdered any Panther leader they couldn't buy off.

The Vietnamese Revolution dealt a

continued on page 8

THE MILITANT

The Trotskyists refused to dump struggle for black rights during imperialist war.

Lynn Case First Legal Test Of Army Jim Crow

Winfred Lynn

Negro Soldiers Killed In Jersey, Arkansas, Texas

Army Jim Crow Responsible for New Wave Of Violence That Takes Lives of 4 Negroes

New NAACP Pamphlet

Mutiny?

Unions Must Come To Defense Of Negro People

An Editorial

Black Soldiers...

(continued from page 7)

historic defeat to U.S. imperialism, consummated by the fall (liberation) of Saigon in 1975. But it was the 1968 Tet Offensive that broke the morale of the American army, at the same time that Northern ghettos were burning over eop terror. In response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, there were numerous black protests in the U.S. armed forces. And a couple of months later, 150 black GIs at Fort Hood, Texas refused to leave base for "riot control" duty against antiwar protesters at the Democratic Party convention in Chicago. Pretty soon black soldiers from Germany to Vietnam were giving the "black power" salute.

Perhaps the most spectacular black protests in the armed forces during the Vietnam War came in October-November 1972. Pent-up frustration over racist attacks exploded aboard the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* as it headed for North Vietnam from the Philippines: 21 black sailors charged with "rioting" were flown to the brig at San Diego. And a few days later over 300 sailors, mostly blacks, staged a sitdown on the USS *Constellation* while on a training exercise off the coast of California, protesting racist treatment and defending six black sailors who had been singled out for discriminatory discharge. When the carrier arrived in port, 122 black sailors and eight white seamen staged a sitdown on the docks, raising clenched fists and refusing to reboard ship.

From colonial times up through the end of formal Jim Crow segregation, the capitalist rulers of America had recourse to black troops only in case of dire necessity. The spectre of "Negroes with guns" stalked not only antebellum slaveholders, but also those who relied on wage slavery to produce their profits. Yet by the 1960s, black soldiers—who suffered a disproportionate number of casualties in Vietnam—had become the Pentagon's front-line cannon fodder (see "Blacks Hated the Vietnam War," *WV* No. 372, 8 February). This was hardly a deliberate choice by the U.S. imperialists, who know well that a heavily minority army cannot be relied upon for their Third World adventures. Even the 1983 Grenada invasion, which was supposed to be a "walkover," led Marine Corps corporal Alfred Griffin to courageously refuse to fight against his black brothers.

Guardian

Sailors from USS Constellation protest Navy racism during Vietnam War (above). GIs commemorate Martin Luther King's birthday in Long Binh, Vietnam, 1971 (left).

The autobiographical novel *Black Boy* by Richard Wright was such a scathing indictment of racist America that it was banned from military bases during World War II. In his book, Wright describes how his aging grandfather "sat his days out in his room where his Civil War rifle stood loaded in a corner, where his blue uniform of the Union Army lay neatly folded." Wright continues:

> "It was from Granny's conversations, year after year, that the meager details of Grandpa's life came to me. When the Civil War broke out, he ran off from his master and groped his way through the Confederate lines to the North. He darkly boasted of having killed "mo'n mah fair share of them damn rebels" while enroute to enlist in the Union Army. Militantly resentful of slavery, he joined the Union Army to kill southern whites; he waded in icy streams; slept in mud; suffered, fought ...Mustered out, he returned to the South and, during elections, guarded ballot boxes with his army rifle so that Negroes could vote. But when the Negro had been driven from political power, his spirit had been crushed. He was convinced that the war had not really ended, that it would start again."

WV Photo

April 1984: In Union Army uniform, Spartacist Richard Bradley tears down the flag of slavery from San Francisco Civic Center.

In the Civil War, black people in arms broke the chains of chattel slavery. But the promise of social equality remains unfulfilled. Richard Wright's grandfather was right: it's time to finish the Civil War, to complete it with proletarian revolution, led by a multiracial vanguard, that goes all the way. ■

Pilots...

(continued from page 12)

striking Machinists at Continental and more recently on the Transport Workers Union strike at Pan Am. The union bureaucrats don't want any acts of workers' unity against the bosses to disrupt their cozy "unity" with the capitalists' representatives in Congress and the White House.

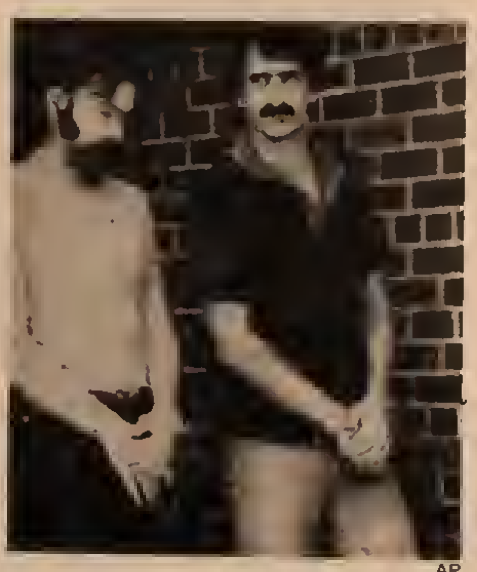
The Pilots Association, like PATCO before the 1981 strike, is one of the most conservative unions in the U.S., whose membership is a part of the labor aristocracy and recruited almost exclusively from the military. The ALPA leadership seemed to think Reagan's anti-labor offensive wouldn't affect their membership if they acted "responsibly." Leaders of the Pilots Association unit at United tried to maintain particularly cozy relations with the bosses, signing a big concessions agreement in the same year Reagan was busting PATCO; they even made Ferris, an amateur pilot, an "honorary" ALPA member. In the current negotiations they offered to accept two-tier pay as long as new-hires could eateh up in eight years.

As the strike got underway, Ferris sent dismissal threats to every United pilot. Every flight crew on layover when the strike began was made incommunicado; not even their families could reach them. The pilots union has been busted at Continental, and United is treating pilots like prisoners of war. ALPA members are quickly learning from Ferris' hardball tactics that nobody, from black babies bombed in Philadelphia to $100,000-a-year pilots, can escape Reagan's war on minorities and working people.

ALPA members say they want to "stop the Ferris wheel." The key to doing that is making sure those planes stay grounded. For other United employees, honoring the pilots' picket lines is a matter of self-defense. The Association of Flight Attendants has "urged its members to honor the picket lines" but many are filtering through anyway. In contrast, the International Association of Machinists, run by William Winpisinger of the Democratic Socialists of America, gave its members "permission" to honor the picket lines—a cowardly abdication of their responsibilities which opens the door to scabbing.

To its credit, ALPA refused to crawl back to work on Ferris' terms. The union wants a guarantee of no reprisals against flight attendants and others who honored the picket lines. This includes some 570 newly trained pilots whom Ferris intended to use as scabs: when they were brought into Chicago, all but four refused to cross ALPA's lines! Meanwhile, however, United is already putting some 200 planes in the air each day (against its normal service of 1,500)—and it won't stop there! Mass picket lines are urgently necessary to win this strike!

Victory to the ALPA Strike! Ground United Airlines—Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross! Break with the Democrats and Republicans—Build a Workers Party! ■



AP

PATCO union leaders jailed, 1981. Unchain labor!

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For United Left/Union Action to Smash Counterrevolutionary Terrorists!

Viet Fascists Rampage in Australia, U.S.

SYDNEY, Australia—The reactionary mobilisation against the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution was orchestrated internationally by Reaganite U.S. imperialism, and the fake Labor government of Prime Minister Bob Hawke was in this up to its neck. For two weeks mobs of hundreds of ultrarightist Vietnamese unleashed a bloody campaign of terror in the streets of major Australian cities, targetting representatives of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) and sections of the Australian labour movement who had opposed their own imperialist government and its U.S. godfather during that long, dirty war. While trade-union leaders played footsie with Hawke and tried to look the other way when their own members' blood was spilled, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand fought to mobilise the unions to smash these fascist *gusanos* ("worms" in Spanish, a popular term for the despised Cuban counterrevolutionaries).

On April 30 the Sydney cops allowed over 200 of these right-wing scum screaming "Kill the Communists!" to smash up a church hall in Glebe, terrorising the audience and wrecking a film on the life of Ho Chi Minh sponsored by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. Emboldened by success, this same rightist rabble trashed the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) hall May 3 in a murderous assault on a Vietnam Moratorium reunion sponsored by the Communist Party. This attack with bricks, knives and other deadly weapons left one retired waterside worker badly injured. One *gusano* rag openly boasted that every person who "exterminates a communist" is a hero. In Melbourne on May 4, one thousand rightist scum attacked a similar meeting—and three nights later the fascists unsuccessfully sought to break up a Vietnam forum of the SL/ANZ.

Saigon 1968: Top cop of imperialist puppet regime murders Viet Cong "suspect." Now these butchers try to transplant their anti-communist terror into the U.S. and Australia.

On May 10 the outraged Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach charged the Hawke government with encouraging the violence. On March 4 a Vietnamese attaché was assaulted outside Parliament House in broad daylight, but no arrests were made. Minutes before the rightist terrorists struck at the WWF hall, the Commonwealth police deployed to protect Vietnamese embassy personnel, as well as the local cops, simply disappeared. Meanwhile, 22 students from Vietnam attending university in Canberra were the targets of a concerted terror and intimidation campaign. The whole thing stank of government provocation.

Hawke is using crazed Vietnamese mercenaries to intimidate leftists and impose the dominance of the virulently anti-communist, pro-CIA wing of the labour movement. And the "lefts," with a few exceptions, were prepared to eat it rather than break with Hawke. When the fascist scum knifed a wharfie [longshoreman], they were assaulting not only one of Australia's most powerful unions, but one which played an honourable role against the imperialist war in Vietnam. The Australian bourgeoisie sent its troops to Vietnam and supplied homegrown torturers for the CIA's mass murder Phoenix program. But maritime workers refused to handle military goods destined for the imperialists, using their organised muscle in solidarity with *our* side: the North Vietnamese forces and the NLF.

Criminally, the bureaucrats did not respond to these murderous provocations by the Viet "worms." Only the Spartacist League sought to mobilise militant, united left and labour action to smash the fascist scum, appealing for a trade union-centred defence guard to protect left meetings on Vietnam. On May 7 the SL successfully held its meeting in Melbourne. The cops sought to open up the forum to the rightists, then later tried to force participants to split into twos and threes and walk a quarter-mile gauntlet through a mob of 200-300 Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries to waiting buses. It was a dangerous situation, but the SL had a disciplined defence guard, and the safety and integrity of the meeting was maintained.

Following the Melbourne meeting, over 100 unionists signed a statement endorsing a trade union-based mobilisation to defend the SL meeting planned for Sydney on May 10. The signers included Victoria Labor Party president George Crawford; Kurdish and Turkish leftists volunteered for the guard. In particular, the SL got a favourable response from seamen, longshoremen, painters and dockers, and shipyard workers. The bureaucrats responded with a wall of hostility, sabotage and intimidation of unionists who had endorsed. A meeting of the New South Wales (NSW) Labor Council on May 9 refused to even discuss the SL proposal or even mention the attack on the Waterside Workers' hall. Reluctantly and with great bitterness, the Spartacist League decided to cancel its Sydney forum saluting the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Vietnam. The SL then issued a leaflet to maritime workers blasting the bureaucrats' gutless treachery.

Desperate to cover up their own treachery, a spokesman from the Combined Unions Against Racism, which is nominally supported by the left trade-union bureaucrats, went on government radio to slander the Spartacist League. Meredith Burgmann lied when she asserted that the SL had called its meetings after the *gusano* violence began, as a "political stunt." The deadly slander was a declaration of "open season" on the Spartacists, and a conscious attempt to blame the fascist violence on those who sought to stop the counterrevolutionary terrorists. But Burgmann's line of appeasing the fascists didn't wash on the waterfront.

The Age

Fascistic terror campaign by frenzied Viet contras against Melbourne Spartacist meeting May 7 honoring Vietnamese Revolution.

Seamen, longshoremen and other maritime workers had had enough of these imported fascist thugs; the refusal to defend the Spartacist meeting and avenge the trashing of the wharfie hall did not go down well. The waterfront unions announced they would hold their own meeting on Vietnam. The issue of the WWF *Branch News* that announced the meeting said that the unions, in considering the May 3 attack on the WWF hall, "including the poorly coordinated efforts of the N.S.W./Federal police to ensure the security," had decided "for the unions themselves to arrange another function to which the Vietnamese embassy has been invited to send a representative and at which security would be ensured."

On May 17, under a banner reading "Solidarity with Vietnam," over 250 mainly maritime unionists assembled at the WWF hall. Members and trade-union supporters of the Spartacist League attended in solidarity with this stand against the fascists. SRV counsellor Nguyen Ngoc Sinh and union officials addressed the audience. Workers came determined to teach the rightist terrorists a lesson—and were very well prepared. Faced with the iron fist of the working class—and undoubtedly warned off by the government—the fascist punks didn't show. Too bad, because a clash with this strategic core of union power would likely have led to a sharp defeat for these counterrevolutionary thugs and Hawke as well. But as an SL leaflet of May 18 asserted:

> "The turnout of hundreds of workers ready and willing for a fight vindicates our program for disciplined workers' action, against suicidal reliance on the cops, or appeals to a government which is emphatically on the other side."

Deeply chauvinist Australia is off limits to the masses of workers and oppressed in Asia, and to political refugees from right-wing butchers such as the Indonesian dictatorship. But reactionary regimes from Canberra to Washington welcome the Hitler-loving Marshal Kys, the bourgeois collaborators with French and particularly American imperialism and its Australian junior partners, the large landowners, drug traffickers and war profiteers. The fascist scum demonstrating in the streets of Australia and the U.S. are not immigrants seeking economic betterment, or even "boat people," but the officer corps run out by the Vietnamese Revolution because they were vicious warlords and U.S. puppets. Indeed, the decent, hard-working Asian population has a life-or-death interest in stopping these counterrevolutionaries—if not crushed hard and fast, they could easily trigger murderous "yellow peril" racism against all Asians.

The rightist terrorists seem to have the idea that the U.S. and Australia are Saigon and they still have a licence to assault and murder communists on sight. But these fascist puppets are widely reviled; the U.S. government sent lots of soldiers to die to keep these people in power, and among Vietnam veterans and anyone else who saw them at close hand their corruption and utter cowardice are legendary. On May 22 in Oakland a couple hundred of these puppets were demonstrating outside an SWP forum on Vietnam, incredibly chanting: "Get Out of America—Go Home!" A scruffy Vietnam vet passing by screamed, "I lost my leg because you people wouldn't fight." The Viet puppets don't know what country they're in.

No less bloody than their Australian counterparts, Viet worms in the U.S. are responsible for several grisly murders, including that of Edward Cooperman, a California physics professor known for his courageous efforts to use his scientific knowledge to aid in reconstructing war-ravaged Vietnam, as well as the murder of Vietnamese patriot Pham Thi Luu and the critical wounding of her husband Nguyen Van Luy in San Francisco. On April 28 a rightist mob of 200 thugs attacked the offices of the American Socialist Workers Party in San Jose, California, where an educational conference on the Vietnam War had taken place the day before. The cops refused to arrest a single one of the attackers and then escorted one of the thugs into the office to look for "communists from Vietnam" after the SWPers were forced to leave!

We wrote ten years ago, in the wake of the liberation of Saigon, when the American bourgeoisie raised a hue and cry on behalf of the Indochinese war criminals who were fleeing the victorious revolution:

> "From Bangkok to Paris to New York, wherever this fleeing pack of poisonous rats goes, they will become a center of the most dangerous and vicious anti-communist activity. Worse than the gusanos who left Cuba, 'our allies' will be used by the CIA for the dirtiest of tricks against communists, labor and blacks. Socialists and the labor movement must demand: No Asylum for Indochinese War Criminals!"
>
> —*WV* No. 68, 9 May 1975

Australasian Spartacist

Vietnamese government official addresses a well-defended trade-union meeting. Fascists didn't show.

In defending the triumph of social revolution in Indochina, the workers movement internationally must firmly put the imprint of its proletarian boots on the necks of these defeated émigré counterrevolutionaries whenever they raise their bloody heads. ■

Philly Inferno...

(continued from page 1)

Times, 18 May). But it's not just the present gang in Washington. The opening shots of the Reagan years were fired in Greensboro, North Carolina in November 1979, under Democrats Carter and Mondale, when KKK and Nazi killers murdered five leftists, labor and civil rights organizers. The feds and cops were up to their necks in planning and carrying out that massacre, as they were up to their necks in the Birmingham church bombing and the assassination of Freedom Riders during the civil rights movement, not to mention the subsequent orchestrated campaign to physically wipe out the Black Panthers. Today the Greensboro massacre is not forgotten, and the Philly inferno will not be forgotten, next week or next year. The firebombing of West Philadelphia rivals Nazi war crimes. A victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for the Osage Avenue massacre to revolutionary justice, after a fair trial of course. (But then, we recall that at the liberation of Dachau, American GIs executed 122 SS prison guards on the spot, and newly-liberated concentration camp inmates dispatched another 50 with shovels.)

The egotism of this state is incredible. They're into burnouts, against the weirdo "Symbionese Liberation Army" (an operation overseen by Meese) and more recently various neo-Nazi fascist outfits who happened to cross the feds. Anyone who tells the state to go to hell is liable to be blown away, like the Mormon fundamentalist in Utah a few years back who refused to send his kids to public school and was shot down by the state police. "That'll Teach the Singer Children," the *New York Times* (21 January 1979) ironically editorialized about that cold-blooded murder. This state demands blood sacrifice, like some Aztec god. It's enough to turn you into a raving anarchist. (In fact, when Lenin wrote *State and Revolution* at the height of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the staid social democrats did accuse him of anarchism.) But the state rules on behalf of one class, the capitalist class, and more than a century after the Civil War it's capitalist wage slavery that must be smashed to free black America.

Black working people must take the lead to break with the Democrats and fight for a freedom-labor party based on a class-struggle program to place the organized power of the unions firmly behind the just demands of the ghetto masses for liberation. And Philadelphia has a combative labor movement with a proven capacity to fight: transit workers and school employee unions have repeatedly gone on strike in recent years. The unions, particularly those with large black memberships, should have shut down Philly over this racist atrocity. After all, they're high on the government's hit list.

Webb/Amsterdam News

As cops burn down West Philly blocks, horrified residents cry out, "Murderers! Assassins! Arsonists!"

Wilson Goode and the firebombing of West Philadelphia are the ultimate proof that the black Democratic mayors are the front men for Reagan's war on black people. In the 1960s as the ghettos burned with black rage and frustration, black mayors were installed in many of America's big cities to put out the fires. But LBJ's firemen are now Reagan's arsonists. It is left to the communists to give organized expression to the felt outrage of the black people in the face of this bloody cop massacre and to fight for the elementary right of black self-defense against the racist terrorists.

Murder and Lies

In the aftermath of the West Philly massacre, Goode held thrice-daily press conferences, piling lie upon lie in hopes that the enormity of his crime would be buried under an avalanche of hysteria about MOVE. "We cannot permit any terrorist group or any revolutionary group... to hold a whole neighborhood or a whole city hostage," he said. Some "terrorists"! MOVE grew out of a local commune, whose murky politics, variously described as "back-to-nature" and "anarchist," are nothing but an inchoate cry of despair for the future of black people in racist America. They attacked no one, and just sat in their ramshackle commune waiting for the holocaust to hit. They even offered to surrender days earlier, if the mayor would guarantee no arrests. But a surrender wasn't wanted. The rulers just burned them alive... for using a loudspeaker at 3 a.m. and violating the city sanitary code.

Goode said MOVE was an "urban guerrilla group bent on absolute destruction." The "evidence"? The mayor could only cite housing code violations and unpaid utility bills. If you don't pay your rent, they blow you away like Bronx black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. If you don't pay the gas bill, they blow your house away—and the rest of the neighborhood for good measure. The only known survivors are Birdie Africa, 13, hospitalized with second-degree burns, and Ramona Johnson Africa, 30, imprisoned in lieu of $3.2 million bail. The charges? "Conspiracy to riot" (by sitting in her house?) and "disorderly conduct." Drop the charges against Ramona Johnson Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!

In the hours and days after the firebombing, Goode and police commissioner Sambor claimed MOVE had a massive arsenal in the house, including machine guns and semiautomatic weapons. What the press luridly called their "cache" of weapons turned out to be one rifle, two shotguns and three pistols—millions of American homes have as much. Explaining why police held back firefighters as the blaze spread, city manager Brooks said they feared sniper fire from people hiding in the "labyrinth of tunnels" around the house. No tunnels were found in the rubble.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (17 May) published a detailed report showing that:

> "For at least 18 months before the conflagration the chief of the Philadelphia police department's bomb disposal unit was assigned to study photographic blowups of the rooftop of the MOVE house supplied by aerial reconnaisance.... For weeks and possibly months the police department quietly and secretly tested explosive substances, including the one it eventually used, on lumber structures in preparation for the Siege MOVE."

Inquirer photographer William Steinmetz, who hid across the street from the MOVE house next to the police command post, reported that explosives were used soon after the cops first opened fire. "The house's windows were blown out when police set off explosives below ground level near the MOVE compound. The charges also blew the skylight out on the home next door," he said (*Inquirer*, 19 May). But the bourgeois press has buried any mention of this use of explosives, and portrays MOVE as initiating the one-way "firefight."

As the assault began, water cannon poured 1,000 gallons a minute to break up the front of the house and the cops opened up with M-16s, shotguns, heavy carbines and sniper rifles. In a black residential neighborhood they let off *10,000* rounds in the span of 90 minutes. A *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter, Bo Terry, who was present on 62nd Street during the siege, told *WV* the police Stake Out (SWAT) team opened up with machine guns shortly after 6 a.m. Monday morning:

> "They had M-50s and M-60s. On Osage Avenue southside, and also on Pine Street in the rear. They had automatic weapons there. The M-16s and everything, they were on rooftops; they were in basements of homes, on both sides of the street. There was an awful lot of rapid fire coming from that street. 'Cause we were looking right down the street; all we could hear was brrp-brrp-brrp-brrp, it was going like a mile a minute."

The M-50 is a .45 calibre submachine gun and the M-60 (7.62 calibre at 800 rounds/minute) is the general purpose machine gun of the U.S. army. There are additional reports of even heavier calibre weapons being fired from the police command post across Osage Avenue.

From the moment they dropped the bomb, Goode and Sambor have been claiming that MOVE incinerated themselves and the neighborhood, that it wasn't even a bomb at all. Commissioner Sambor repeatedly claimed there was a "23 minute delay between the bombing and the fire," and that MOVE "started or assisted the fire" by spreading gasoline on adjacent rooftops. Yet millions saw on television the helicopter drop a satchel charge, the explosion and immediate fireball. The "entry device," as they say in Reaganspeak, was a bomb composed of two pounds of Tovex TR-2, a high explosive manufactured by Du Pont for use in underground mining. They knew there would be a fire—they didn't care because the babies in that house were black.

The cops wanted to burn MOVE alive and they sat and watched for *90 minutes* while Osage Avenue was in flames. Firemen were ordered to cease the use of water cannon, which were (safely) positioned in the next street. Jerry Africa, a spokesman for MOVE, reported that commune members tried to surrender after the bombing and ensuing fire, but "panicked and ran back into their burning building when police fired shots over their heads" (*Chicago Tribune*, 22 May). As cars melted from the heat blocks away, and the fire spread through 60 homes, Goode waited until every last man, woman and child in the MOVE house was burned alive, most apparently huddled in the basement. LaVerne Africa, the aunt of one of the men who died in the fire, described:

> "The police went to MOVE, MOVE never went out of its house to the police.... Don't you think we're right to defend ourselves?
> "This is mass murder... *burn 11 people to death?*
> "When I think about it, and I try not to think, but when I try to sleep I can't help thinking about the screams that must have come out of that house. Those babies. Can you imagine the pain? *Burn to death?* You know, I'm going to make sure Mayor Goode hears those screams, I'll talk about it till he does. *Burn babies?* For some political ass games? *Kill babies?*"
>
> —*Village Voice*, 28 May

Reagan's "Anti-Terrorism" Means War on Blacks

The eviction operation was "perfect, except for the fire," said Goode. The mayor says that approximately 20 minutes before the cops dropped it, they told him they were going to use a "percussion explosive" to blow a hole in the bunker on the roof. Still, Goode insists he takes "full responsibility" for the bombing; that is, he'd rather be seen as a mass murderer than a chump. What emerges is a picture of a conscious, planned operation designed to make sure that nobody got out of that house alive. Here America's racist rulers take a page from their terrorist murder manuals for the CIA "contras" in Nicaragua, who as guard dogs of the Somoza dictatorship mercilessly bombed their own cities. From the crazed anti-Soviet crusaders in the White House bunker, the message is: *West Philly was perfect.* It was their program for black America. And their black flunkeys in City Hall do the dirty work.

From Goode's diatribes against "urban guerrillas" to Meese's congratulations, what happened on Osage Avenue has all the earmarks of a COINTELPRO-type operation straight out of Washington. Last issue we asked, "Where is the hand of Edwin Meese... in this affair?" Turns out he was pulling the strings. As the *New York Times* (19 May) reported, "Mr. Sambor said he and his aides met on Saturday, May 11, with local agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to review the strategy and tactics to be used. 'The F.B.I. found the plan sound,' Mr. Sambor said." And City Council member Lucien Blackwell commented:

> "I think the mayor sat down with all the responsible parties, the district councilman, the district senator, the district

Kill-crazy L.A. police upstaged by firebombing Philly cops.

31 May 1921: The Day They Bombed Blacks in Tulsa

The grotesque bombing of West Philadelphia and the deliberate firestorm that followed was *not* the first time blacks in an American city were bombed by "their" government. On 31 May 1921 the heart of black Tulsa, Oklahoma was obliterated by police bombs dropped from commandeered private planes. A white mob, out to lynch a 19-year-old black man, Dick Rowland, accused of attacking a white woman, had invaded the segregated black community of Tulsa. According to the *Boston Globe Magazine* (13 March 1983), "Armed blacks, seeking to protect Rowland, also showed up." So police dropped dynamite from the air, killing at least 75, mostly blacks; more than 4,000 black people were thrown into concentration camps, and the black business district, known as "the Negro's Wall Street" was permanently erased.

The racist police bombing of Tulsa came on the heels of massive racist terror against blacks in East St. Louis, Chicago, Washington, Harlem and other cities across the North after World War I, as demobilized white soldiers were set against blacks by the bourgeoisie. John Reed, the radical journalist become Communist, spoke to the Second Congress of the Communist International in Petrograd, July 1920, on the self-defense organized by blacks and the job of the young American Communist Party:

> "In all these fights the Negroes showed for the first time in history that they are armed and splendidly organized and are not at all afraid of the whites....
>
> "The Negroes who returned home from the war have set up associations everywhere for self-defense and to fight against the white supporters of lynch law....
>
> "The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among Negroes. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people."

Beryl Ford

> state representative, the district attorney, FBI agents, the secret service, the managing director, the city solicitor, to make out a plan pursuing this very serious city problem.... I believe a lot of planning went into that decision."
>
> —*Daily Pennsylvanian*, 17 May

The Osage Avenue massacre was no aberration. From the Los Angeles Police Department's "Blue Thunder" attack helicopters and battering-ram tanks to New York's stun-gun "torture precincts," the rulers justify the growing paramilitarization of the cops in the name of "war on terrorism." To regiment the American people for nuclear Armageddon with the Soviet Union, Reagan and Meese have created a "terrorism" scare in order to institute real "state-supported terrorism" at home. This includes sweeping police state measures like the new FBI Security/Terrorism Guidelines which label all opponents of the government outlaws to be shot down in the dead of night; and the "shoot first" National Security Directive 138 which unleashes U.S. military and intelligence forces to carry out unprovoked "strikes" against "terrorist" targets. There are also the police state military "exercises," such as the martial law atmosphere surrounding last year's Democratic National Convention in San Francisco and the "free world" Olympics in Los Angeles.

UPI

1978: Delbert Africa under the jackboot of "Philadelphia Stake-Out" SWAT team, as 55-day siege of MOVE ends with assault by an army of 600 cops.

As for Wilson Goode, one high-schooler remarked, "What kind of mayor would do something that would kill children and burn down the houses of people that voted for him?" LaVerne Africa knows what kind: "You know, he is worse than [former police chief and then mayor Frank] Rizzo? Rizzo hated MOVE and never tried to pretend he didn't.... We knew Rizzo wouldn't dare to bomb MOVE. We didn't know Wilson Goode.... You know, people defend him—because he's black.... Had that been a white mayor they would've been outraged." That's right, Wilson Goode is in there to do what notorious racist Rizzo never could. (His 1978 assault on MOVE where 600 cops moved in, again without any legal pretext of criminal charges, evoked widespread sympathy for the group—nine MOVE members are still in jail for defending themselves against the cops.) Now with hundreds of people burned out of their homes, the mayor is talking in penny-ante terms about money to rebuild, while Pennsylvania Republican governor Thornburgh refuses to declare the fire-ravaged blocks a disaster area. Homes it took a lifetime to pay for have been wiped out—the government should give each displaced family *a million bucks* just for openers!

Before he allowed his own city to be bombed, Mayor Wilson Goode was touted as one of the premier black Democrats of the 1980s. He even rated a meeting with Walter Mondale last year, as a possible vice presidential candidate. From ex-cop "Uncle" Tom Bradley in Los Angeles, to ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry in Washington, D.C., black Democratic mayors preside over the misery and oppression that is the reality of life in black America. The poverty program pork barrels are long gone—today the black mayors campaign for Reagan's program of a sub-minimum wage for teenagers. And where there are strikes to be broken, protests over killer cops to be quashed, or the KKK wants its "right" to do some provocative nightriding in the heart of the black inner cities, it's these black front men for Reagan racism who get the job.

We communists say black Democrat Wilson Goode is as guilty as Republican Ronald Reagan and the racist cops for the murder of eleven blacks, women and children alike. The liberals now apologize for this calculated obliteration of a black neighborhood—to do otherwise requires a break from the whole myth of the "new black power" at the voting booth, organized through the Democratic Party of George Wallace and Jesse Jackson. That is why we are now witnessing the obscene spectacle of the black establishment supporting Goode amid the screams of black babies. Harlem's *Amsterdam News* (25 May) headlined, "MOVE was White Man's Idea," talking of MOVE's "confrontations... with the law" (a hunger strike!); and the *City Sun* (22-28 May) calls Goode "The Man in the Middle."

It's not only cynical Democratic Party vote hustlers like Jesse Jackson who have maintained a deafening silence or rallied to the side of Wilson Goode. The groveling reformists of the Communist Party call for "a federal investigation" into the firebombing—that is, for the criminal Edwin Meese to investigate the crime! Demanding the resignations of police chief Sambor, city manager Brooks, and fire chief Richmond, they let Mayor Wilson "I'd do it again" Goode off the hook. Progressive Labor was one of the few groups not blinded by loyalty to black Democrats. But while calling a protest against Goode's massacre May 18, these stupid sectarians kept it a private affair, refusing a united front offer from the Spartacist League. The SL initiated and led the Labor/Black Mobilization which brought out 5,000 people and stopped the KKK from marching in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982, an anti-racist victory which stands in sharp contrast to the defeats and sellouts which black people have endured in recent years. As in Washington, PL prefers waving flags on the sidelines to leading genuine mass struggle in this country.

The Osage Avenue massacre was supposed to be a message to anybody who gets "out of line" in Reagan's America—blacks will get the Philly treatment, labor will get the PATCO treatment, and everyone, not least the Marxists, will get the "terrorist" treatment. But you can fight the terrorists in City Hall and the White House and win. Black people do have social power: they are concentrated in some of the key sections of the American proletariat, constituting its most militant layer. But to unlock this power means breaking the capitalist two-party stranglehold, fighting for a workers party to mobilize labor and oppressed blacks in revolutionary struggle against this racist, capitalist system. Avenge the Philly inferno—For black freedom through socialist revolution! ■

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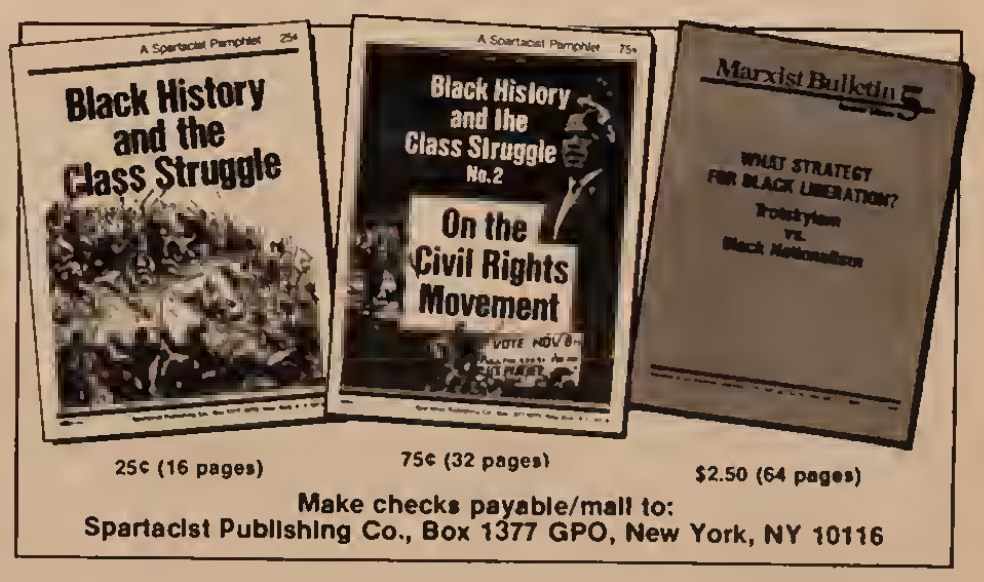
John Brown and Frederick Douglass, fighters for black freedom. Finish the Civil War!—Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution!



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash U.S. War Moves!

DEFEND NICARAGUA!

Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras!

Class-conscious workers and youth: defend the Nicaraguan Revolution! The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, has undertaken a fund-raising campaign for the urgent defense of Nicaragua. Facing Reagan's trade embargo and renewed threats from Washington of direct military intervention, forced to fight the CIA's "contras," thrust into economic chaos aggravated by the continued conciliation of private property (the "mixed economy"), Nicaragua is fighting for its life against massive U.S. attempts to starve it into submission. The Nicaraguan people are in desperate need of *dollars now*.

Reagan's embargo against "Sandino-Communism" may actually push Nicaragua onto the "Cuban road." He pounds the table, demanding an end to the dictatorship of the "Committee of 535" (read: U.S. Congress) while the Democratic Party has gone along with the embargo and is full of new threats after Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow. As Jeane Kirkpatrick—fond of "moderately authoritarian" dictators—and the Moonies' ultraright sect are raising funds for the contra terrorists, the pro-Democratic Party "solidarity" milieu tries to duck the issue. You can take a stand: donate now and generously to the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua. Every penny donated goes to Nicaragua; the SYL has assumed all administrative expenses. We urge *Workers Vanguard* readers to make their checks payable to the Student Committee and mail to: SYL, Box 3118 Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Below we reprint the text of the SYL leaflet announcing the fund drive for Nicaragua:

The U.S. trade embargo against Sandinista Nicaragua is an *act of war*. An invasion may be the next step. The Nicaraguan masses have courageously vowed that if the U.S. does invade, they will fight to the last man, woman and child. Here in the United States we have a special responsibility to take a side in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. And that means with material aid as well as anti-imperialist protests. *Nicaragua needs dollars, now, and you can help.*

The Spartacus Youth League, a socialist organization dedicated to winning youth to the side of the world working class, has initiated a fund drive to aid the urgent defense of Nicaragua. The U.S. rulers, in their insane plunge toward anti-Soviet World War III, want to use students, young workers and ghetto youth for cannon fodder. Today, it's to make Nicaragua "safe" for Somoza-style dictatorship, for the sort of brutal regime which existed before the revolution. At "home" they're using black neighborhoods as target practice for their counterinsurgency techniques—that's the meaning of the Philadelphia bombing. It's no accident, either, that Reagan signed the embargo into law en route to Germany where he saluted Hitler's SS at Bitburg: Nazis have a place in his "free world."

Reagan & Co. want to dictate to the rest of the world what kind of governments, what kind of societies can exist. Desperately impoverished, under the constant threat of U.S. invasion, forced into war with the CIA's contras and now faced with the embargo, the Nicaraguan people have made great sacrifices to defend their revolution. We say: defend, complete, extend the revolution! Crush the contras—those international terrorists who specialize in assassination, sabotage, rape, torture and all the other CIA-style "methods." Now more than ever Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from arms to medicine to spare parts. Your "anti-contra"bution is urgently necessary—give generously!

Smash "Two-Tier" Takeaways!

No More PATCOs—Victory to United Pilots!

Chicago: Pilots picket O'Hare, May 18.

CHICAGO, May 25—Last night United Airlines chairman Richard Ferris ripped up a tentative agreement with the striking Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA). Now Ferris is demanding "super-seniority" for scabs as a condition for signing any contract. UAL's ultimatum was clear: they want to gut the union by firing higher seniority pilots and implementing a vicious two-tier pay system. And if the union-busters get away with it against the elite union at the nation's largest airline, then no one is safe. It's high time labor rolled back the PATCO defeat—and to do it the unions are going to have to stop scabbing on each other and fight together against the bosses. Picket lines mean don't cross!

UAL's two-tier pay proposal is unprecedented in scope: new-hires will make about half the current pay levels and would have to fly for *20 years* to catch up to veteran pilots. Two-tier wage scales are spreading from one industry to another as union leaders cave in to the capitalists' givebacks drive. Even the powerful Teamsters are saddled with it. The bosses use these pay systems to break the unions from within by pitting workers against each other. ALPA spokesman John Leroy told *WV* that the two-tier wage scale would give UAL the incentive to get rid of the higher seniority pilots. And with a corps of lower paid, rookie pilots, you can forget about safety when flying the "friendly skies of United."

Ferris claims this union-busting giveback is necessary because United Airlines is hurting in today's "competitive climate." Those are strange words coming from the second-biggest airline in the world (behind the Soviet Union's Aeroflot), one which made a half-*billion* dollar profit last year and which recently offered to gobble up Pan Am's Pacific routes for a cool $750 million! United Airlines isn't in trouble, and everyone knows it. But the labor movement is, and that's why Ferris thinks he can get away with this rip-off. The capitalists have been pounding labor since 1981, when Reagan smashed the PATCO air controllers strike while the AFL-CIO bureaucrats refused to implement the obvious and necessary act of labor solidarity: shutting down the airports.

In this period the airline companies have reaped enormous concessions; ALPA estimates its own givebacks to United alone have been worth some $360 million. In an industry where the formation of a single industrial union is a crying necessity, the companies have been able to pick off one union at a time, counting on the misleaders of the other unions to enforce a backstabbing scab policy. In the past, ALPA scabbed on

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 381 — 14 June 1985

Black Democrats, Reformists Cover Up Philly Racist Murder

Remember MOVE Martyrs

Philadelphia, May 13 was the signature of the Reagan regime. Eleven black people were burned alive, including four children, when an army of cops cordoned off a house on Osage Avenue in West Philly and bombed it from the air, creating a holocaust that destroyed several blocks. It was mass murder against the black MOVE group—an atrocity carried out with none of the trappings of bourgeois legality. It was calculated racist state terror orchestrated at the highest levels of the U.S. government, and implemented by the city's black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, who grotesquely continues to call his bomb an "entry device"! As Reagan's PATCO union-busting was intended to be a message of intimidation to all unionists, so the Philly holocaust was a warning to all black people, and not just black people: don't get out of line, you could be next!

The MOVE commune, which has hurt nobody and wanted mainly just to be left alone, was the convenient target for a government "counterinsurgency"-style massacre. In the aftermath, the powers that be gambled on the combination of sheer terror and a black mayor to keep the lid on. Thus far it has worked; black Democrats closed ranks with Goode and the reformist left has followed suit in the cover-up, turning their backs on MOVE in their agony.

Meanwhile the city's vendetta against MOVE continues. Now there are only *five* of the MOVE "family" left alive and out of jail. The city has threatened to bury the MOVE martyrs in a public grave, refusing to release

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Smash Reagan's War Moves!

Embattled Nicaragua

It's hard to beat Ronald Reagan when it comes to sheer imperialist arrogance. "You can say we're trying to oust the Sandinistas," he says, baldly proclaiming the United States' intent to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. Unless, he adds, they just give up the revolution and "say uncle." Supporters of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League who recently visited the embattled Central American country report the Nicaraguan masses are responding with a defiant "screw you," scrawled on banners and chanted in demonstrations: "*¡que se rinda tu madre!*"—let your mother cry uncle (see "Nicaragua Eyewitness," page 4). And while Reagan has finally gotten Congress to renew aid to his CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries, as administration spokesmen now talk openly of plans to invade Nicaragua, the Sandinista army is whipping the "contra" mercenaries in battle after battle.

"The U.S. trade embargo against Sandinista Nicaragua is an *act of war*. An invasion may be the next step." So begins the SYL leaflet for its "Defend Nicaragua!" fundraising campaign initiated last month. Last week's news about Pentagon preparations to send in U.S. forces spells it out. According to a two-part article in the *New York Times* (4-5 June), the logistical buildup, communications networks and practice maneuvers by the American military in Central America are now "largely complete" and "adequate to carry out any likely emergency in the region." An invasion of Nicaragua, a highly placed U.S. intelligence official said, would be "like falling off a log." But the starry-eyed spooks may be singing a different tune once they've fallen off their log and begin sinking in the Central American swamp.

Democratic House Speaker O'Neill says bluntly, "I don't think the President of the United States will be happy until American troops are down there." You don't need new "revelations" to reach that conclusion. Just look at what they've already done. Nicaragua's northern neighbor has been turned into the USS *Honduras*, a stationary weapons platform with eight airfields capable of handling C-130 cargo planes, fuel depots full to the brim, and ultra-sophisticated radar stations. Almost a dozen "exercises" in the last three years have familiarized the U.S. Army with every inch of the Honduran-Nicaraguan border areas. And now Green Berets are training the Costa Rican Civil Guard on a ranch that formerly belonged to Nicaraguan dictator Somoza, located less than ten miles from Nicaragua's southern border.

WV Photo

El Viejo, Nicaragua, May 24: Sandinista army unit at demonstration honoring Germán Pomares, martyr of anti-Somoza insurrection.

With Sandinista Nicaragua surrounded by hostile states, it won't be hard to manufacture a provocation to serve as justification for a U.S. invasion. Will it be a Gulf of Fonseca incident, or an alleged border violation by Sandinista troops such as claimed by Costa Rica last week? (Managua has proof that this was staged by ARDE contras, and the CIA's hired death squads are constantly attacking Nicaragua from their Costa Rican and Honduran sanctuaries—but that will of course be ignored when the war drums start rolling.) Already Washington's puppets are rehearsing their lines. A Costa Rican official told the *Times* that if the U.S. invaded, his government would issue a statement "saying something like 'it is unfortunate that the Cuban and Soviet advisers were invited in, and that the Sandinistas provoked it'." Meanwhile, the State Department is preparing to cut off diplomatic relations with Managua.

The deadly danger of U.S. invasion is very real. If this government was prepared to burn down whole city blocks in Philadelphia to "save" the neighborhood from "radicals," what won't they do to Managua? When Pentagon officers claim, "We could seal that place tighter than a drum," they're not kidding: certainly they will keep the press out. With the trade embargo they have secured the complicity of the

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British Fascists Inflame Mobs, 38 Dead

The Soccer Wars

Brussels, May 29: Crushed bodies of Italian soccer fans after eruption of bloody chauvinist frenzy.

Schroeder/Sipa

Der Spiegel

Fascist National Front ran amok in Brussels, adopts KKK's flag of slavery.

LONDON—The bloody carnage of Brussels: 38 dead and 250 injured after British football thugs rampaged at the 29 May European Cup [soccer] final between Liverpool and the Milano Juventus. As grieving relatives of Italian victims flew in to collect their dead, Union Jacks were burned in the streets of Italian cities and some 50 cars with "GB" stickers were smashed up in Paris. A massive bomb was defused by police outside Marks and Spencer [a British department store] in Brussels. The European Football Association immediately banned English clubs from continental Europe for an "indefinite period"; then the International Football Association banned them from playing abroad anywhere, even in Scotland. These bans seeking to pin "collective guilt" on an entire nation serve only to fuel the chauvinist flames and must be opposed.

The fascists were in it up to their filthy necks. Fascist exploitation of the mindless thuggery which appears to be endemic to the "football industry" has become a commonplace in recent years. Recruiting leaflets for the National Front and British National Party and racist trash demanding "Kill the Niggers" were circulating freely before the match, and a banner of the Italian fascist Ordine Nuovo was also present. Two years ago fascists from across Europe converged on West Berlin in an attempt to turn a match with a visiting Turkish team into a pogromist bloodbath of immigrant Turkish workers.

Thatcher seized on the horror of Brussels as an occasion to repeat yet again her vile amalgam of football hooliganism, picket line "violence" and Irish Republicanism. Radio Moscow pointed to a more appropriate amalgam: "no matter how infamous is the tragedy that has taken place in Brussels, it stems directly from the violence applied against striking miners, participants in the CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament], against fighters for civil rights in Ulster, elevated to state policy."

It was the heroic miners whom Thatcher tried to crush in blood who pointed the road out of the disgusting chauvinist barbarism witnessed in Brussels. Instead of electrified fences to separate rival gangs competing in bloodthirsty patriotism, we saw French and English miners shoulder to shoulder singing the *Internationale*. During the strike a letter in the *Miner* (17 January) described a Christmas party in Maerdy Working Men's Club: "Santa turned out to be a member of a 10-person Italian delegation from Milan and Brescia who have raised more than £20,000 for the miners since the beginning of November." Indeed, in Italy now the ability of the fascists to exploit anti-English sentiment with crude "kill the British" rhetoric is significantly undercut by the memory pervasive among Italian workers that the striking miners, too, were British.

Had the miners defeated Thatcher and opened up an intensified working-class offensive against capitalist oppression and unemployment, it would have given the masses of despairing and lumpenised youth something *positive* to look to. But the Labour misleaders who in the aftermath of Brussels mutter about unemployment and underlying social causes were the very same gentlemen who stabbed the miners strike in the back while seeking to scapegoat foreign workers for domestic unemployment with their appeals for racist chauvinist import controls. And when in office themselves, the only thing they do to the unemployment figures is push them up.

Thatcher responded to Brussels by introducing a whole range of measures including yet stronger police powers, identity cards, and a ban on alcohol anywhere in the vicinity of football matches, and heating the drums for her reactionary "law and order" campaign. It will do nothing to quell the massive and aimless disaffection which festers in an epidemic of chronic unemployment, much less to stem the fascist gangs who are the openly terrorist vanguard of Thatcher's own viciously racist anti-communist strikebreaking drive for "Victorian values." But it will have the punitive effect of depriving tens of thousands of working people of one of their few pleasures in life.

Thatcher's crackdown on "football hooliganism" is part and parcel of the massive increase in open police repression consolidated during the miners strike. The gratuitous viciousness witnessed in the cop rampage at Stonehenge against harmless hippies who just wanted to listen to rock music and worship the sun is a sign of the times in Thatcher's sick, sick Britain. It's not hard to guess who will be at the receiving end of the police manhunt for the supposed culprits of Brussels and Liverpool—the largely unemployed and minority youth who rebelled against her in 1981.

The ruling class pigs who wring their hands over "football shame" are hypocritical in the extreme. Writing in 1945, George Orwell commented:

> "I am always amazed when I hear people saying that sport creates good will between nations, and that if only the common peoples of the world could meet one another at football or cricket, they would have no inclination to meet on the battlefield. Even if one didn't know from concrete examples (the 1936 Olympic games, for instance) that international sporting contests create orgies of hatred, one could deduce it from general principles."
>
> —"The Sporting Spirit"

Football [soccer] has been a particular focus of national frenzy. Perhaps the most (in)famous case was the 1969 "football war" between El Salvador and Honduras. Although it exploded over a hotly contested World Cup semifinals match, the nationalist hatred whipped up by the two governments was over markets and land hunger (Eddy Jiménez, *La guerra no fue de fútbol* [Havana, 1974]). The result: 2,000 killed and thousands more wounded.

Add to this Hitler's glorification of Nazism at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, and the 1932 "body line" cricket test series (which nearly led to a breach of diplomatic relations between the "Mother Country" and its faithful dominion Australia). And what about the imperialist boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the hysterical anti-Soviet jingoism whipped up over last summer's games in Los Angeles? Thatcher's virulently chauvinist "Falklands factor" rhetoric, either passively accepted or openly endorsed by the Labour misleaders, goes a long way toward legitimising the fascists who wrap themselves in the Union Jack.

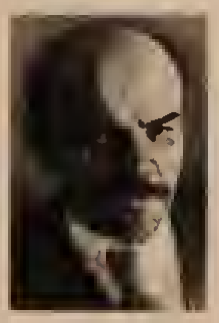
Mass sports were created around the turn of the century as a lightning rod to drain off the energies of working-class youth into harmless pursuits. Karl Liebknecht, founding leader of the German Socialist Youth leagues, noted in 1911 that at the Kaiser's initiative "the tomfoolery of sport is being used among the young in order to produce a mood which will estrange them from the great proletarian struggle" (*Speeches of Karl Liebknecht* [1927]). At about the same time the Boy Scouts appeared, a gentrified middle-class version of the same phenomenon; also the YMCA and the Salvation Army, which the IWW "Wobblies" called the "Starvation Army." The equivalent for lower-class youth was sweaty jockstraps.

The cult and business of spectator sports were a new "opium of the people," to use Karl Marx's phrase, when religion wouldn't do it anymore. Religion fills a need for the oppressed, and for the spectators sports is one of the few opiates for a pretty miserable condition. Sport itself becomes deformed in myriad ways, from grotesque commercialisation to its use as a rallying point for deadly national chauvinism, such as the Brussels massacre.

Run-down post-empire Britain can only continue to breed more of the same crap: racism, chauvinism, barbarism. A couple of sizable trade-union/minority mobilisations to meet fascist provocations on the streets could nip the genocidal menace in the bud. But the only way to do away with the conditions which spawn such filth is to smash capitalism through workers revolution. We need a Leninist vanguard party to lead struggles such as the miners strike, which offered hope to millions, to put an end to capitalism in all its irrational barbarity once and for all. ■

Trotsky on the Trade Unions

TROTSKY



LENIN

In 1940, as the world was being plunged into imperialist war and Roosevelt was moving to militarize labor in this country, Trotsky wrote of the role of trade unions:

Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class.... Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism. In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (August 1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 381 **14 June 1985**

SYL Fund Drive to Defend Nicaragua

Donate Dollars! Down with Contras!

From "Fort Honduras" to the U.S. Army's Southcom HQ in Panama, American military forces are poised for an invasion of Nicaragua. The U.S. trade embargo is an act of war, and the next step, now openly discussed by the Reagan administration, is to send in the troops. The Spartacus Youth League has undertaken a fund drive to raise urgently needed dollars for Nicaragua's defense. As Yankee guns bear down on Sandinista Nicaragua, we appeal to readers of *Workers Vanguard*, to all opponents of imperialism, to give generously to the SYL campaign.

The bipartisan embargo is supposed to starve Nicaragua into submission. Under Washington's heel for the last century, virtually every machine in Nicaragua is American-made. No dollars means no spare parts, no medicine, no production. And economic collapse would prepare the way for invasion. Now Republican "hawks" and Democratic "doves" have joined hands, using Nicaraguan president Ortega's trip to Moscow as their pretext, to vote millions in "humanitarian" aid (including helicopters!) to the CIA's "contra" terrorists. We say: Smash U.S. war moves against Nicaragua!

Militia women celebrate May Day 1981 in Managua. Daily World

This is no charity drive. The Nicaraguan masses have been courageously fighting the escalating campaign of U.S.-sponsored terror ever since the 1979 revolution which overthrew the murderous tyrant Somoza. They vow to fight to the last man, woman and child against a Yankee invasion. We here "in the belly of the beast" must do our part. At this critical juncture it is imperative to take a stand in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. A contribution to the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua is part of the necessary class battle against Reagan reaction at home, against the criminals who salute Hitler's SS at Bitburg and firebomb black babies in Philadelphia.

From the University of California's Berkeley campus to the Norfolk shipyards, students, young workers, blacks and Latinos who know that they will be the cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism have responded enthusiastically to this campaign. Many hundreds of individuals have dug deep into their pockets, throwing in lunch money and carfare, to aid their Nicaraguan brothers and sisters under fire. Auto workers, housewives, nuns working with Salvadoran refugees have chipped in $20 or more apiece. To date the SYL has raised $3,319 and we are redoubling our efforts to raise the hard cash that Nicaragua desperately needs *now*.

The SYL is assuming all administrative costs for the campaign. Every dollar you give will go to Nicaragua. Make your "anti-contra"bution now! Make checks payable to the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua. Mail to: SYL, Box 3118, Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008. ■

Embattled Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

Democrats, and may have pushed the Sandinistas past the turning point on the "Cuban road" to consolidation of a Soviet-aligned workers state—all in order to justify sending in U.S. forces to crush "Sandino-Communism." After the non-denial denials ("the President has no plans," etc.) will the next step be a naval blockade, as Democratic presidential candidate Mondale called for last fall?

But the Pentagon's plans are infused with wishful thinking. It would only take two weeks to gain control of 60 percent of the Nicaraguan population, estimates the director of operations at the U.S. Southern Command in Panama. "The U.S. would come in heavily for a month or so, mostly with air strikes against major facilities," said one American "political-military officer." "Then a new government would be put into place, and it would come with its own army." Sure, just like Grenada was supposed to be a walkover. But it took 20,000 U.S. troops (counting those on the ships and on land) a whole week to overwhelm 700-plus middle-aged Cuban construction workers on that tiny Caribbean island, and the Americans are still there. And don't forget that today's contra cutthroats were yesterday's Somoza Guardsmen. They couldn't even hold off a few thousand Sandinistas then, much less overwhelm a professional army of 50,000 soldiers plus tens of thousands of armed militia men and women who are prepared to defend their revolution to the death. Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega defiantly answered reports from Washington of invasion preparations:

> "It might be best that we have to face a direct intervention by American troops, so that after defeating the intervention, which we are definitely capable of doing, the revolutionary process can be consolidated."
>
> —*New York Times*, 6 June

If anyone had doubts about the ability of the Sandinista army to cream the contras, they have now been dispelled. Daniel Ortega noted that in continuous combat with the CIA's private army over the last weeks "our fighters have been pushing mercenary forces toward their bases in Honduran and Costa Rican territory, naturally at gunpoint." He added, "There is no other way." The intensive fighting began in early March as Sandinista army (EPS) soldiers broke up an offensive of the FDN ("Nicaraguan Democratic Force") contra group, inflicting 100 casualties. On March 22, elite "Irregular Warfare Battalions" (BLI) overran a contra regional command (some 600 troops) at the appropriately named site of La Explosión. And at the beginning of April, EPS soldiers killed over 200 mercenaries in a week-long battle less than 20 miles away from the FDN's main base of Las Vegas, just over the border in Honduras. According to Sandinista army officials, the contras have suffered 1,200 dead and wounded in the last two months.

Simultaneous with the army offensive, Nicaraguan authorities have been relocating rural families out of the war zone. Since the beginning of March more than 40,000 people have been removed, turning whole districts into "free fire zones." While the BLIs (there are now a dozen of these battalions, with 600 members each) are tracking the contras down in the hills, the EPS can now use its heavy guns without fear of civilian casualties. "What they do is just pick out a grid square on the map and saturate it with artillery fire," according to a military expert quoted by the *New York Times* (4 June). "Then they move on to the next grid square. It is an effective tactic." So effective, in fact, that it has sent the contras fleeing from their border camps into the interior of Honduras, whereupon Honduran officials announced that such "armed bands," which have been tolerated so long as they stayed out of sight and had the backing of Washington, would be disarmed.

Under pressure across the board, the contras attempted a publicity coup by striking at the Caribbean coast city of Bluefields on the morning of May 16. In this region, whose inhabitants speak English and native Indian languages rather than Spanish, there has been much discontent with the Sandinistas. But the ARDE contras were quickly overwhelmed by the local civil defense, people's militia and soldiers of the EPS, so quickly that the mercenaries had to abandon scores of dead on the battlefield as they fled for their lives. That day 71 contras were killed in three different battles in the area.

From Washington to Managua, everyone understands that the contras are simply stalking horses for a U.S. invasion, and the Nicaraguan people didn't lose an entire generation—50,000 dead—to get rid of the butcher Somoza only to lie down for Reagan. The Nicaraguans' determined resistance will spark outbursts of protest throughout Latin America *and in the United States as well*, where the Vietnam syndrome is alive and well, despite the Reaganites' "New Patriotism" hoopla. A solid majority of the American people opposes U.S. intervention to overthrow the Sandinistas. And among the working class, memories of Vietnam are so vivid that there could be *labor strikes against the war* from the first day of an invasion of Central America.

This call, for militant class struggle at home against imperialist aggression abroad, has been uniquely raised by the Spartacist League, from Indochina to Central America. We also point out that the U.S. army has an Achilles' heel—the high proportion of black and minority soldiers generally, who went into the military to escape poverty. They're not going to be eager to fight their brothers in Central America on behalf of a government that just bombed black Philadelphia any more than they were in Vietnam. The Nicaraguan Revolution can ignite struggles for workers revolution far beyond the tiny Central American country. But that requires authentic, internationalist communist leadership. The Trotskyists, fighting for a world party of socialist revolution, demand: Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Revolution! ■

Gentile/Picture Group

Crush the contras: crack Sandinista army brigade ferried into action by Soviet-made helicopters.

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Spartacus Youth League
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Defend, Complete, Extend the Revolution!

Nicaragua Eyewitness

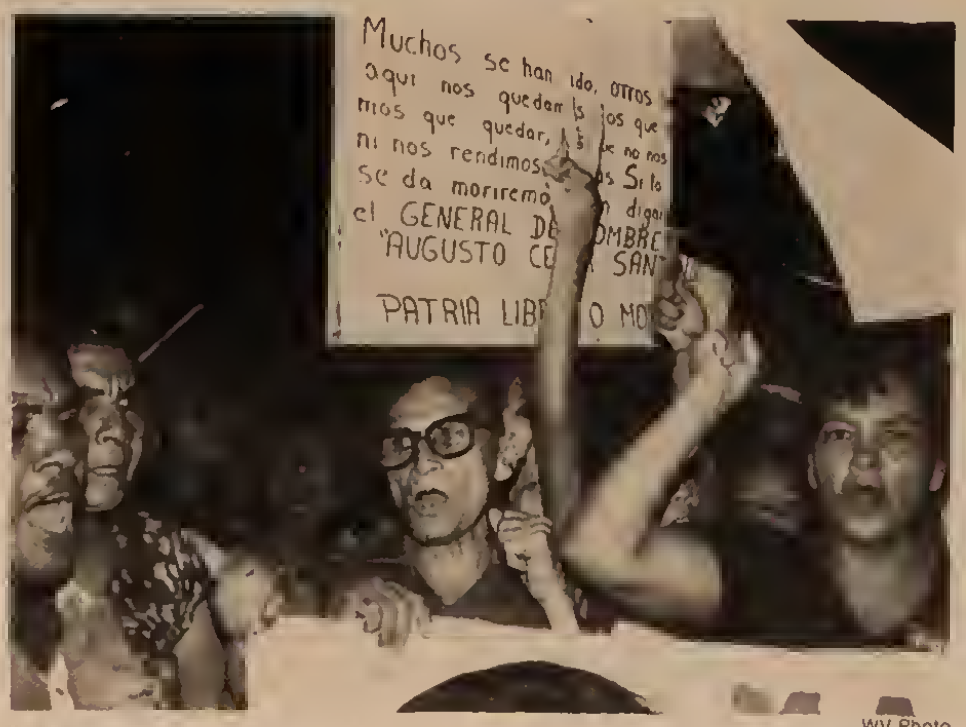
Sandinista leaders have proclaimed 1985 "the year to finish off the contras," and the war effort can be felt throughout the country. Comrades of the international Spartacist tendency who visited Nicaragua both before and after Ronald Reagan imposed a trade embargo May 1 report that Managua itself is quiet: aside from the numerous youths in fatigues (many of them on leave), the most noticeable evidence of the fighting is the large number of war casualties in wheelchairs and on crutches. At the headquarters of the CST (Sandinista Labor Federation) our comrades heard two soldiers discussing the recent fighting. They had been particularly impressed at the bravery of an all-women unit of an infantry reserve brigade which had taken an enemy position alone, in fighting near the Honduran border.

In Matagalpa and Jinotega, in the heart of the mountainous coffee country, everyone from 15 to 50 seems to be carrying a Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifle. Last December there were grisly contra atrocities against coffee pickers in the region. But overall the harvest was a success with 80 percent of the crop picked, much of it by volunteer labor from youth and government employees as well as at least 500 North American *brigadistas*. While one of our comrades was with a tour at a resettlement camp north of Jinotega, there were reports of a firefight with contras nearby. Along the road as the bus returned to town, local militias came out prepared to fight; they cheered with relief when they saw no one was harmed.

The fate of the militias is an index of the development of the revolution. Immediately after the triumph of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in July 1979, all non-FSLN militias were dissolved and guns collected from the population. At first, the Sandinista militias were organized both in workplaces and communities, though frequently the militia men and women trained without arms. The factory militias were largely dissolved, however, following militant union struggles in 1980-81 which led to the arrest of leftist labor and political leaders. In 1983 came a turn: the slogan of the fourth anniversary of the Sandinista triumph was "All Arms to the People." And following the U.S. invasion of Grenada that fall, guns were widely distributed to the locally based Sandinista People's Militias (MPS). This past February 26 a national gathering of the MPS was held in Managua with some 70,000 armed participants.

"War Communism Without the Communism"

In Chile, Nixon prepared the road to the bloody 1973 Pinochet coup with a program of disruption to "make the economy scream." Certainly in Nicaragua, the U.S. imperialists have been doing their best to "destabilize" the economy. The sugar quota was canceled and sales of American wheat were cut off several years ago. Nicaraguan requests for loans from "multinational" development banks are routinely sidetracked or voted down in deference to Washington. And contra sabotage actions have cost the country an estimated $1.1 billion—more than *twice* Nicaragua's annual export earnings. Up to 1983, the economy progressed steadily, even while the rest of the continent went into a downward spiral under the impact of the imperialist banks' credit cutoff. But eventually the combination of pressures from Wall Street and the White House took their toll, and in the last couple years there has been a definite deterioration in the Nicaraguan masses' meager standard of living.



WV Photo

Managua, May 16: Contingent of mothers of fallen Nicaraguan soldiers at Sandinista demonstration vow to fight to the end against imperialist aggression.

On February 8, Daniel Ortega announced a series of emergency measures described in the *Washington Post* (31 March) as "Sandinista Reaganomics." In order to combat the mushrooming black market, subsidies for 22 basic products were eliminated. The cost of beans, rice, milk, eggs, chickens, beef, sugar and cooking oil doubled overnight. Then in early April fuel prices were tripled, leading to a similar increase in the cost of all forms of transport. This austerity program has had a sharp impact on the living standards of the poor and working people. Although the minimum wage was increased 76 percent in March, the increase doesn't nearly match the inflation. In April, with the daily minimum wage at about 150 córdobas (roughly $2), we found that a Pepsi cost 25 córdobas and a watery bean soup at a *comedor popular* (people's dining hall) was 60. This "IMF austerity without the IMF" necessarily discourages the Nicaraguan masses, who now talk of *their children* having a better life.

WV Photo

Empty shelves in Managua supermarket, as U.S. embargo seeks to seal off Nicaragua.

After 1979, for the first time the poor in Nicaragua could occasionally (once or twice a month) afford to eat meat. No more—our comrades reported nowhere seeing cuts of beef on sale for household consumption in the "popular" barrios. Life in the poor neighborhoods will also feel the government's freeze on *all* new investment for social service projects (lighting, housing, sewage). Meanwhile, the Sandinistas have angered the middle class by introducing three new taxes: a capital gains tax, a stiff 15 percent value added (sales) tax and a "presumed earnings" (!) tax for the self-employed. And the scarcity of imported goods affects all classes, so the poor can't buy powdered milk and medicine and the middle class can't get toilet paper or designer jeans. The country is already in a war economy: 40 percent of the national budget goes for defense needs, and more than a third of the gross national product is taken up by the military according to *Envío* (March 1985), published by the Central American Historical Institute.

The impact of the austerity policies on the Nicaraguan masses was brought home by a visit to a working-class district of León, the country's second city. A popular insurrection took León a month before Somoza fell, and the town was ruled under communal "*poder popular*" (people's power) until Sandinista forces showed up and took control. Two young mothers proudly recalled how they took the National Guard bastion, how the people had danced in the streets with tambourines the night the Fortín fell. All in all, things are better today: they can walk all over town without fear, something they could never do under the arbitrary terror of the *Guardia*; they have real homes (one-room cinder-block houses constructed after a hurricane destroyed the barrio); and their children are going to school, learning to read and write. The poverty was still overwhelming, however: supper consisted of a few bits of fresh cheese and *pieces* of tortillas. They spoke of the shortages in government-sponsored stores, the difficulty in obtaining medicine, the general high cost of living. But they weren't complaining.

The response of the Sandinista leadership to the U.S. trade embargo has been to call for more "sacrifices and unity." Even a revolutionary workers and peasants government in Nicaragua would face economic retrenchment in the face of the Yankee economic and military aggression. But in order to maintain the FSLN's "mixed economy" scheme, the poor get sacrifices while the capitalists get subsidies. Part of the program of drastic consumer price increases was to increase the prices paid to the producer. And to "stimulate exports" the government is paying cattle ranchers and cotton growers for part of their production *in dollars*, supposedly to be used for buying spare parts, pesticides and the like. A whole system of "Certificates of Deposit in Dollars" has been set up for the private sector. Moreover, just days before Reagan decreed the American trade embargo, Nicaragua paid $5.4 million to the International Monetary Fund, making it one of the few Third World countries to finish paying off the imperialist bankers' bloodsucking cartel.

Another view of the austerity was gained by Spartacist comrades who visited the FANATEX factory on the outskirts of Managua, which with 1,500 workers is the largest textile plant in Nicaragua. In its May Day message, the FSLN leadership announced the suppression of "payment in kind" to various sectors of the Nicaraguan working class. At FANATEX, employees were sold 15 yards of cloth a month at the cost of production, which could then be resold at far higher market prices bringing in an additional $150 a month—an amount equal to their money wages. According to the FSLN organ *Barricada* (17 May), "Payment in kind, which at one point was a just demand of the workers, ended up stimulating speculation and hoarding, lowered the level of production and was deforming the consciousness of the workers." Doubtless, this practice feeds into the black market, but it is a substantial part of the workers' earnings and a primitive protection against inflation which must be defended until it is replaced by a sliding scale of wages and hours.

In mid-May the FANATEX workers stopped work for two days in defense of their wages paid in kind. The government responded with a barrage of propaganda about "privileged" textile workers, calling the leftist CAUS (Trade Union Action and Unity Federation) union, affiliated with the Communist Party (PCN), "provocateurs" for inciting the workers to "disrupt production." In 1980-81, the workers at this key factory struck several times, leading the Sandinistas to arrest over 100 CAUS/PCN activists and shut the plant for "reorganization" (see "FABRITEX: Strikebreaking Sandinista-Style," *WV* No. 331, 3 June 1983). Even though the government management did its best to weed out "troublemakers" in reopening the plant months later, it continued to be the most advanced contingent of the Nicaraguan proletariat. In 1983 out of a total of 700 workers then working at the factory, 100 had been mobilized in army reserve battalions to fight the contras. Over a third of the workers are women, who receive equal pay for equal work—a concrete gain of the revolution.

Visiting the plant both before and a couple of days after the strike, our comrades found plenty of evidence of socialist consciousness among the workers. Pictures of Lenin and Che Guevara were prominently placed among the scores of automatic looms. In the union hall writings of Lenin were plentiful, notably his "April Theses" in which the Bolshevik leader of the 1917 Russian October Revolution called for the working class to take power. We also found that despite the mobilization of FSLN cadres (CST general secretary, leaders of the Sandinista youth and women's organizations) to explain to the workers the "error" of their ways, even pro-government CST union officials supported the workers' demands. This time the government backed off, maintaining payment in kind until July and setting up a commission to study the question.

The Nicaraguan proletariat today does not have the consciousness of a revolutionary vanguard, and indeed, that is not the role assigned to it by the Sandinista leadership. In fact, the FSLN *comandantes* frequently refer to industrial workers as the "rear guard" of

the struggle, whose job is to just keep on working. A *Farricada* editor told us that the various mass organizations had asked the Sandinistas to call demonstrations against the trade embargo, but the party said no. The one organized protest was a mobilization in the barrios on May 16 by the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS). In Managua's Zone 8, representing the eastern working-class districts, we observed about 1,000 people marching with drums, masks and chants of "How do we defend the revolution? By constructing socialism! How do we construct socialism? By defending the revolution!" A sign carried by a delegation of "Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs" declared:

> "Many have left, others will go. We remain who have to stay here, those of us who will never sell out or give up. If there is an invasion we will die with dignity like the General of Free Men, Augusto César Sandino. Free Fatherland or Death."

The workers and poor of Nicaragua have given ample proof of their will to fight, notably in the *three* national insurrections during 1978-79 which finally brought down the Somoza dictatorship. But they need to expropriate the capitalists and undertake a socialist reorganization of society. This can be seen concretely in the economic crisis which is today sweeping Nicaragua. In explaining the need for the government's program of cutbacks, *Barricada Internacional* (4 April) inadvertently demonstrates the impossibility of a "pro-worker" policy under the capitalist "mixed economy":

> "The national budget which included subsidies to keep down the costs of products and public services, grew disproportionately, leaving huge fiscal deficits each year that were financed by simply increasing the money supply. . . .
> "The bold investments in large-scale social, productive and infrastructure projects put an enormous quantity of money into circulation with no productive basis. . . .
> "The great amount of money in circulation caused an increased demand for goods, which, in turn, generated inflation by increasing pressure on prices of products in ever shorter supply.
> "Consequently, a large 'black market' developed. . . . Another pressure was the growing proportion of the working class who could not afford the increased prices with their salaries and so were turning to this type of commerce as a source of income."

In his "Transitional Program" written in 1938 as the founding document of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky, basing himself on the experience of the October Revolution, raised a series of demands to mobilize the working class for socialist revolution. Among these demands were calls for the formation of factory committees and workers militias, for workers control and the expropriation of the capitalists. Such demands come straight out of Lenin's revolutionary struggle in 1917. On the eve of October, as famine and devastation due to the imperialist war threatened the Russian people, Lenin wrote his pamphlet "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It." Its message is fully applicable to Nicaragua today:

WV Photos

Poster of Lenin at the combative FANATEX textile plant in Managua.

> "In point of fact, the whole question of control boils down to who controls whom, i.e., which class is in control and which is being controlled. In our country, in republican Russia, with the help of the 'authorised bodies' of supposedly revolutionary democracy, it is the landowners and capitalists who are still recognised to be, and still are, the controllers. The inevitable result is the capitalist robbery that arouses universal indignation among the people, and the economic chaos that is being artificially kept up by the capitalists. We must resolutely and irrevocably, not fearing to break with the old, not fearing boldly to build the new, pass to control *over* the landowners and capitalists *by* the workers and peasants. And this is what our Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks fear worse than the plague."

Today in Nicaragua, the Sandinistas also fear any measures which infringe on capitalist property. Yet Reagan's onslaught may force their hand. The internal situation in Nicaragua is objectively closer to that of Soviet Russia in mid-1918, *after* the proletariat had seized state power and was facing a civil war launched by the defeated bourgeoisie and its tsarist White Guards. These "contras" of their day also were backed by the imperialists, who soon invaded in hopes of overthrowing the Soviet regime, and by the remaining capitalists. Thus the Bolsheviks as a measure of self-defense had to go beyond workers control and *expropriate the bourgeoisie*. This gave rise to "war communism" in which everything was indeed subordinated to the task of winning the civil war, and the workers willingly made enormous sacrifices to defend their revolution.

But as we approach Year Six of the Nicaraguan Revolution, 60 percent of the economy is still in the capitalists' hands and the workers are called upon to give up their miserable 15 yards of cloth in order to fill the bosses' bank accounts with Certificates of Deposits in Dollars. Under the blows of U.S. imperialism the Sandinistas' emergency measures amount to trying to erect "war communism" without the communism. The petty-bourgeois FSLN *comandantes* are still trying to walk the tightrope precariously balancing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, internationally and at home. But by imposing a U.S. trade embargo, Ronald Reagan has cut the rope, forcing the Sandinistas to complete the social revolution or fall victim to bloody counterrevolution, as the contradictions of the Nicaraguan Revolution are brought to the flash point.

Franken/Sygma

Big Pine "maneuvers," February 1983: U.S. has turned Honduras into giant staging area for invasion.

At one location in Nicaragua a Spartacist comrade ran into a soldier-construction worker and asked him about the U.S. trade embargo and changes since the revolution. The soldier replied: "Sandinismo is only a word. The bourgeoisie enriches itself while the proletariat gets poorer. We have made *a* revolution, but we have yet to make *the* revolution. Have you heard of the expression 'class struggle'?" Such militants represent the promise of a socialist future for the desperately impoverished and magnificently combative Nicaraguan masses.

For Revolutionary War Throughout Central America!

At the February 26 national mobilization of the Sandinista People's Militias the favorite slogan was "Fascists, thieves, hitch up your pants—here comes the working class with all its battalions!" This slogan must be turned into reality, and that means recognizing that *the heavy battalions of the proletariat are not in Nicaragua*. The front line of defense of Nicaragua runs through San Salvador, where a combative workers movement is re-emerging after several years of clandestine existence; through Mexico, where a powerful, five-million-strong proletariat is groaning under IMF-dictated austerity; it includes the capitals and industrial centers of Latin America, where a Yankee invasion would be met with explosions of popular anger; and especially the class struggle of the American workers.

In the midst of last November's "MIG crisis," as American SR-71 "Black Bird" spy planes were daily causing sonic booms over Managua to sow panic in the population, Luis Carrión, vice minister of the interior and member of the Sandinistas' nine-man directorate, spoke to a meeting of FSLN cadres and asked the question on everyone's lips: "Is it possible for this little Nicaragua to defeat the attack, the war of Yankee imperialism?" His answer: yes, because "what is involved is a war between an imperial army, fighting for a completely unjust cause, far from its country, confronting an entire people. . . . The resistance and the tenacious, heroic and determined struggle of our people will make possible the mobilization of many forces in the world and within the United States itself. We are going to fight basically with our own forces, but we are not going to fight alone" (*Barricada*, 21 November 1984).

"Little Nicaragua" *must* not stand alone against the most powerful imperialist war machine in history. As long as they are forced to fight "basically with our own forces," it will be a grossly unequal contest in which the U.S. can win militarily if it is prepared to pay the price in terms of hundreds and thousands of American dead. It is not just the self-determination of a Central American people that is at stake; it is the fate of a revolution that could spark a conflagration throughout the continent, a revolution that tops U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet hit list. The next target on Reagan's counterrevolutionary itinerary is Havana, and then it's on to Moscow. That is why we have insisted, "Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in Central America." It is the duty of the Soviet leadership, and above all of the American working class, to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution to the hilt as a matter of proletarian internationalism and direct defense of the conquests of October.

Perhaps Daniel Ortega was trying to say something of the sort to Gorbachev during his recent trip to Moscow. He reportedly got a guarantee of continued oil deliveries, crucial because Nicaragua has been cut off even by its Contadora "friend" Mexico under the pressure of U.S. blackmail. But the Kremlin communiqué pointedly limited Soviet assistance to "economic development, and also political and diplomatic support"—that is, *not military support*—for Nicaragua's "efforts to uphold its sovereignty." Likewise, at the time of Reagan's Grenada invasion, Fidel Castro claimed in his 26 October 1983 press conference that Cuba "lack[s] the air and naval means to send direct assistance" to his Sandinista *compañeros* in the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. Such statements at bottom reflect the narrow nationalist consciousness of Stalinist bureaucrats who seek above all else "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. They do not see that failure to come to the aid of a revolution in Uncle Sam's "backyard" only *emboldens* the Yankee beast.

Ortega can't have been surprised by Moscow's reaction, for the Sandinistas wear the same nationalist blinders (though it's their revolution that's at risk). Most importantly, they have given the Salvadoran leftist insurgents the cold shoulder for several years now, ever since Washington began screaming about the Sandinistas "exporting revolution," and started its "contra" mercenary army and its threatening military exercises next door in Honduras. Peruvian liberal author Mario Vargas Llosa in a recent article in the *New York Times Magazine* (28 April) quotes Daniel Ortega saying to him in an interview that:

> "We're willing to stop the movement of military aid, or any other kind of aid, through Nicaragua to El Salvador, and we're willing to accept international verification. In return, we're asking for only one thing: that they don't attack us. . . ."

And last week Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega remarked: "The United States can coexist perfectly well with a revolution like ours" (*New York Times*, 7 June).

In talking with Sandinista officials our comrades regularly brought up the question of El Salvador and the need for a joint struggle against the common enemy—U.S. imperialism and its local puppets. And just as regularly they were given the standard FSLN response, as we heard from an editor at *Barricada*: "The best way for Nicaragua to help Salvadoran leftists is to defend Nicaragua from the Yankees. Anything else

continued on page 14

Spartacist Forum

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

MOVE...

(continued from page 1)

them to their kin. A lien has been placed against the MOVE house on Osage Avenue. Louise James, owner of the home, who lost her son in the massacre, is to be barred from returning to her neighborhood "by seizing her property through condemnation, if necessary" (*New York Times*, 8 June). In an interview with *WV* on May 30, Louise James said: "The mayor bombed my house, murdered, burned to death eleven members of my family, and is now charging me to demolish the remains.... You know, he can rebuild those 61 homes, but he can't reconstruct my son.... There's no architects out here that can manufacture or draw up a blueprint for my babies."

Ramona Africa, the only surviving adult from the inferno, is in prison hospital with bail set at *$3.2 million*. MOVE members, who have been denied visitation rights, fear for her life. MOVE members jailed since 1978 are now under "special custody" and close observation. *Free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!*

The whole thing stinks of COINTELPRO, the FBI program under which Panthers and other black radicals were framed up or assassinated outright. Two days before the bombing, FBI agents met with Philly police chief Gregore Sambor. Now, among those chosen by Goode to constitute a "commission of inquiry" is one Neil J. Welch, a former FBI agent who headed the Philadelphia FBI from 1975 to 1978, then headed the New York office. The job of this "inquiry" will be to formally give the stamp of approval to police-state terror against the government's chosen victims.

The Osage Avenue holocaust was a coordinated state murder plot, an unspeakable crime which should have been met with massive, militant labor-centered protest by all those who defend basic democratic rights, not to mention simple human decency. In this viciously racist country, it is an acid test for all who claim to champion the cause of black liberation. That test has been failed, and spectacularly, by all the assorted reformists who, masquerading as socialists, seek to cuddle up to the black Democrats, like Goode and Jesse Jackson. For Jackson, the Philly inferno presents a chance to push a little "black capitalism": in a press conference he called on the mayor "to ensure that black contractors get a share of the work of rebuilding the 61 homes destroyed in the fire" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 June).

Making the Victims into the Criminals

MOVE is, first of all, a black group, and one which has been the target of a vicious barrage of racist propaganda painting them simultaneously as a "radical political" organization and as wild-eyed violent crazies, a sort of all-black analogue of the "Symbionese Liberation Army." In fact the eclectic MOVE group reflects a long American tradition of attempted non-cooperation with the state on moral/religious/political grounds, a tradition expressed in all kinds of examples, from the occasional Quaker pacifist who refuses to fight in a war to the right-wing nut-case tax resister. MOVE members see themselves as a family, a supportive social unit which seeks to withdraw in despair from the modern evils around them. The Soviet Union's *Pravda* nicely captured the intersection in MOVE of the utopian-commune tradition and the race question:

> "That religious sect was sharply critical of the 'boons' of industrial capitalism and preached man's return to nature. The outcasts of American society, most of them blacks, as often is the case in the United States, were looking for an escape from their real problems in an unreal world."
>
> —quoted in *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 21 May

But most of America's professed defenders of black people want to paint MOVE in very different terms. For the U.S. Communist Party, which is supposed to follow the Moscow line, MOVE is an "anti-social cult group" and "cultists who obviously had become a menace to the community, but whose 'crimes' certainly did not warrant such extreme barbaric measures" (*Daily World*, 24 May). What the CP wants, obviously, are more moderate barbaric measures. Why aren't the American Stalinists toeing the Moscow line? It's simple—the centerpiece of the CP's politics is open support to "black elected officials" and the Democratic Party generally; in other words, they're more responsive to their man in Philly, Mayor Wilson Goode, than to their friends in the Kremlin. So the CP echoes Jesse Jackson's call for a Congressional inquiry (read: whitewash) and has demanded the resignation of everyone responsible for the Osage Avenue holocaust, except the black mayor.

So MOVE—which doesn't believe in killing animals, including roaches and rodents, or washing with soap—was "unpopular with the neighbors." But can anyone really believe that it was the neighbors' complaints that were the cause when 600 Philly cops mounted a massive murderous assault on MOVE in 1978? When MOVE defended their home and a cop got killed, the vindictive state slammed nine MOVE members in jail; they are still there. MOVE wasn't cowed; they continued agitating that their jailed comrades should be freed, including broadcasting from loudspeakers at night.

In the present climate of the Reagan gang's drive toward "strong-state" bonapartist terrorism, insults to authority tend to be met with mind-boggling overkill. So right-wing survivalists start getting incinerated in their bunkers; so in the Brinks robbery dragnet hundreds of cops with massive heavy artillery surround a farmhouse in rural Mississippi to arrest Cynthia Boston (who was 1,000 miles away from the "crime"). The Reagan gang has revved up a massive machinery of state terrorism—to fight "terrorists," of course, and if there aren't any they'll invent some. The motors of the "Blue Thunder" attack helicopter are purring and the cops' bosses are itching to try out all their counterinsurgency hardware on real people. So for the "crime" of sanitary violations and unpaid utility bills, a bomb is dropped on MOVE; when they try to surrender, women and children are driven back into the inferno by a hail of bullets. The cops fire 10,000 rounds; deliberately, the raging flames are not fought until eleven people are incinerated, their corpses burned beyond recognition, and 61 houses are destroyed.

As we said, MOVE is a black group and though they aren't centrally political the fact that they are black makes them a target of a highly political state war which is both an ideological crusade and a campaign of physical extermination. The state's war needs to make the government's most annoying perceived opponents into non-people to whom anything can be done. Then something horrifying is done to them, as an unmistakable message of intimidation to all the oppressed. And racism is integral to the message. Take the 1979 Greensboro, North Carolina massacre when five leftist demonstrators at a rally against the Klan were assassinated in broad daylight in an operation involving the KKK, the Nazis, the cops and feds. Black people all over the country understood the intended message that black lives are cheap, and foremost among those at risk are any "uppity" blacks who resist racist oppression (as well as "reds," the "extremists" who defend black rights). They are intended to understand the same message from the Philly holocaust.

SWP & Co. Squirm for Mayor Goode

When the shock wears off in Philadelphia, massive anger against the mayor could sweep the black population. Some of the reformists who think they're clever, like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), want to make an apology on behalf of Goode, since he isn't going to make one. So the SWP, the Consumer Party and their similars came together in a liberal/reformist lash-up, the "Citizens' Committee for Justice and Humanity," announcing a demonstration in Philadelphia for May 30. By keeping MOVE out of it they were doing the government's work, trying to head off a *real* protest against this grotesque racist atrocity.

The Citizens' Committee hesitated to openly spit on the MOVE martyrs. At the same time, participation by MOVE in the protest would transform a crocodile-tears event into a display of solidarity with those placed beyond the pale by the racist media barrage—and by MOVE's own forthright condemnations of Mayor Goode. At a planning meeting of the Citizens' Committee held two days before the demonstration, this cabal debated how to deal with the MOVE "problem."

Meyers/NY Times

Guilty of Murder: Mayor Goode, Police Chief Sambor.

The reformists want to separate themselves, for the record, from the Osage Avenue massacre. But of course they really do not want to get anywhere near the firing line of the state's vendetta against MOVE. We revolutionists want to serve notice, as massively as we can, that MOVE is not isolated non-persons—"an injury to one is an injury to all!" But the reformists want to straddle the line between MOVE and the murderers of MOVE. So they set their operation up, consciously, as the spokesmen for pro-Goode types shocked by "excessive" force, for the "respectable" blacks whose houses got burned down. They effectively excluded MOVE from being a part of the demonstration by subjecting them to a degrading debate at the planning meeting over whether MOVE was too far out (or too hostile to the mayor?) to speak. MOVE was looking for a way to

Philly Inferno: Solidarize with MOVE, Victims of Racist Murder!

SL Press Release

30 May 1985

The Spartacist League will not attend today's demonstration in Philadelphia, nominally called to protest the 13 May genocide in and firebombing of black West Philadelphia. Our intent and desire to participate in such an action was in order to solidarize with and defend the victims of Reagan/Meese/Sambor/Goode's racist murder: the MOVE organization. MOVE has communicated to us that, for utterly justifiable reasons, it will not attend today's event. And therefore, we will not.

Eleven MOVE members were massacred without even the fig leaf of "legality" by the Philadelphia cops. Even as they mourn their dead, including four dead babies, MOVE can expect no different treatment on the streets of Philadelphia today. We have independent verification of the malice of this state at the highest levels. The Spartacist League General Counsel yesterday contacted the U.S. Justice Department to inform them of our possible presence at today's demonstration and to warn them that they would be held accountable for any violence against the protest. We made clear that we wanted no trouble. We were answered with a bitter and surly retort.

No indication has been given by the organizers of today's protest—the "Philadelphia Committee for Humanity and Justice"—that MOVE will be defended or given the respect their martyrdom demands. We have no interest in lending our forces and good name to a gathering which has effectively cut off the participation of the MOVE victims.

MOVE Victims: "We Are Not Suicidal"

"Indict Mayor Goode for Murder!"

On May 30 Workers Vanguard interviewed Louise James, whose son and brother were among the eleven blacks grotesquely murdered in the Philly inferno; she and her sister LaVerne courageously defied the state's targeting of surviving MOVE supporters.

"LaVerne and I want to make it publicly known that we are under surveillance, that you are not to believe for one minute that LaVerne is desirous of blowing her brains out, that Louise has some kind of suicidal tendencies as far as banging herself. Our loss is certainly heavy on us. We've lost a brother and I've lost a son and we certainly are heavy with the burden of that grief. However, we are not suicidal. So if our bodies are found anywhere, don't you even let anybody to tell you that, well, Louise capitulated to her grief. LaVerne was so devastated that she couldn't deal with it any longer. We are out here to do what we have to do. And we're not looking for investigation, we are looking for indictments! You know, what the man did is known all over the nation. What we're saying is, when are the indictments gonna come? Indict that man [Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode] for murder—and everybody who conspired with him to murder."

demonstrate their outrage and grief, so three MOVE members had found time between funerals to attend the planning meeting—where pig "leftists" toyed with the idea of telling the survivors what they could and couldn't talk about at the rally, if they were permitted to talk at all!

A press release from the Citizens' Committee boasts that "Three of our founders were negotiators between MOVE and the City on May 13th." Do you think they don't know that the "negotiations" were a cynical hoax serving to keep MOVE cooled down while the awesome machinery was being assembled for a one-sided war game with real bullets and bombs? In a similar vein is the Citizens' Committee's seven-point program, distributed as their leaflet at the march, which scandalously *does not mention the word "MOVE"!*

We of the Spartacist League meanwhile were actively looking for a way to demonstrate our solidarity with the victims of racist massacre by the state. First, having got word of a demo in Philly May 18 announced by Progressive Labor, we had offered to build and participate in it, but PL characteristically told us to go to hell and had a little demo entirely of their own. (Now PL's *Challenge* is self-critical of how puny and insignificant their sectarian rally was.)

Then we heard that the May 30 demo was being planned. MOVE said they were going, and so we started to go all out. But what we heard about the planning meeting, from a couple of friends who were there and from MOVE, was worrisome in the extreme. The behavior at the planning meeting—"insensitivity" does not begin to describe it—and the stories we were hearing about the cops' behavior around the city in the aftermath of the inferno suggested no reason for confidence in what the gutless reformists would do if the cops came looking for more MOVE blood on Thursday.

We told MOVE we were committed to turning out 100 Spartacists to stand with them; we tried to bring in other organized forces on short notice (the Malcolm Shabazz mosque in Harlem indicated interest, if MOVE would be there). We served notice on the Justice Department and cops that they would be held responsible for any violence. Witnesses are also a deterrent so we phoned the major bourgeois papers—who heard from us about the demo, not from its purported organizers—and foreign press representatives.

But MOVE decided not to go, and we have every sympathy with their reasons. So we stood down, with a bitter press release: if MOVE's not going, we're not going (see page 6).

The reformists, having evaded the problematic MOVE presence, held their demo, which was about 75 people for most of the time. The bourgeois press did turn up and was pointedly inquisitive about the obvious question: why isn't MOVE here? The SWP et al. were just incoherent with rage when we appeared and gave out our press release. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 May) reported accurately that:

> "The rally attracted a number of groups who earlier in the week had quarreled over the format and over whether MOVE itself should be represented. The Spartacist League, for one, put out a news release from New York City announcing that it would not attend because there was no indication that 'MOVE will be defended or given the respect their martyrdom demands'."

An acutely embarrassed SWPer on the spot, who soon ran away altogether from the argument, tried to take refuge in the claim that the SWP had voted against barring a speaker from MOVE. But you'll wait in vain for an article in the SWP's *Militant* on this; the reformists have a common front, and the line that MOVE should be gagged, though it failed (barely) to be formally adopted, had carried the day: on Thursday, MOVE wasn't there. Somebody who was there, "Shafik Abu-Tabir, who introduced speakers, said organizers wanted it to be made very clear to the city administration and the City of Philadelphia that we are not marching today in support of MOVE... not even implied ties to the MOVE organization'" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 31 May).

WV Photo

Philadelphia City Hall, May 30: Reformist hypocrites refuse to defend MOVE, obscenely parade mock coffins of their dead.

The reformist hypocrites even had the unbelievable effrontery, in their sanitized, effectively anti-MOVE demo, to carry eleven cardboard coffins symbolizing the martyrs. And in the reformists' papers (*Militant*, *Workers World*, *Guardian*, etc.) you can find interviews with MOVE members—see, we'll let them speak, except when it counts. These people are pimping off MOVE's agony in a slimy effort to save Goode's ass.

The various articles appearing in the reformist press since the Philadelphia inferno are careful to stay miles away from the calculated affront they delivered to the MOVE martyrs and bereaved survivors through the Citizens' Committee, but make all the arguments intended to justify this policy obliquely. The 31 May *Militant*'s paean of praise to the Citizens' Committee says of a May 21 meeting:

> "There was little criticism of Mayor Wilson Goode at the meeting, despite his obvious role in the assault. This reflects a common view among most of the city's Blacks that Goode, as the city's first mayor who is Black, should not be the focus of criticism."

Subsequent *Militant* articles display no shame at the way the SWP has politely refrained from criticizing the mayor within the so-called "mass movements." A *Militant* report (7 June) on a meeting of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists says Goode was "met with polite applause" and it was left to a Democrat to attack the bombing; by its own account, the SWP did nothing. In the next issue (14 June), the SWP is ecstatic about the Third National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights; after the chair called for a moment of silence for the MOVE dead, Goode took the floor to make a snivelling statement which the SWP printed without comment.

Meanwhile, *Workers World*/All-People's Congress and the *Guardian* make a big deal out of the powerlessness of Goode. *Workers World* guru Sam Marcy assures his readers that "Mayor Goode was merely informed of the planned assault and was not a participant in the plans" (*Workers World*, 30 May); the *Guardian* (29 May) similarly assures us that "Neither Fire Commissioner William Richmond nor the mayor knew the contents of the explosive, nor did they seriously consider the possibility of fire." Yes, Sam, Goode was just a front man; that's his job. As a MOVE spokesman told us: "The man is a lackey. He's got the mentality of a sharecropper's son.... What he's saying is, I'm a shovel, and I don't care whether you use me to dig up your front yard or dig up your back yard... a tool." It's a division of labor: in every major city in this country, Democratic mayors keep the lid on the working masses, particularly the minorities, while blaming it all on the "anti-people policies of the White House." Many of these politicians are black: Goode can get away with stuff that finished his predecessor, the notorious racist Rizzo. And the reformists enjoy the role they play in pimping for the black Democrats and keeping the black masses tied to suicidal illusions in them.

Solidarity with MOVE, Victims of Racist Murder!

The Osage Avenue holocaust was no aberration. There's a reason why eleven MOVE members are dead in Philly, a reason why a black grandmother in the Bronx was shotgunned dead because she got behind in her rent. It's called regimentation through fear. In protest of the inferno, the historically combative, heavily black labor movement of Philadelphia should have shut the city down tight in a protest strike. But that requires a leadership willing to wage class struggle, including breaking hard with the likes of Wilson Goode.

As for us, we are still on the lookout for a way to massively express outrage at the mass murder perpetrated by Reagan and all his front men. This is what is required of us as the small nucleus of the mass working-class vanguard party which must serve as the tribune of all those oppressed by capitalism.

Our duty to combat the state vendetta against MOVE is part of our unremitting campaign against the government's targeting of troublesome opponents as "terrorists." We wage this campaign in every way we can, from the courts to the streets. One way has been our successful legal challenges to the state's targeting of us as "terrorists," most recently in a suit securing from the FBI a change in their formal set-up "definition" of us as conspiratorial criminals. And in 1982 we initiated and led the united-front Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington on November 27, when over 5,000 overwhelmingly black demonstrators, backed by the organized power of labor, mainly the black unions of course, rendered the federal government incapable of forcing down the throats of black Washington a racist murder provocation in the form of a KKK parade. The reformists were miles away at a "non-confrontationist" diversion, when Spartacists and black unionists led the militant black youth and stopped the fascists in the streets. State terrorism and its fascist shock troops can be fought—and must be! ■

City Bombed Their Home, Murdered Their Babies... Now Bills Victims

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

DEPARTMENT OF LICENSES AND INSPECTIONS
Municipal Services Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

JAMES STANLEY WHITE
Commissioner

HENRY G. HERLING
Deputy Commissioner

RAYMOND M. TATE
Deputy Commissioner

May 23, 1985

Louise James

Philadelphia, Penna. 19104

Re: 6221 Osage Avenue

Dear Ms. James:

The Department of Licenses and Inspections has determined that your property at 6221 Osage Avenue is imminently dangerous within the meaning of Chapter 4-110.1.3 of the Philadelphia Building Code.

You are hereby notified that the Department of Licenses and Inspections will demolish the remaining portions of your property.

A lien will be placed against your property for the costs of demolition.

Sincerely,

JAMES STANLEY WHITE
Commissioner

JSW:j

In an act comparable to Hitler presenting a gas bill to the families of Jewish concentration camp victims, Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode is charging MOVE supporter Louise James for the demolition of her house, which his cops bombed and deliberately burned to the ground May 13. While simultaneously paying $2,500 each in hush money to other Osage Avenue residents whose homes were incinerated in this racist atrocity, the city of Philadelphia is on a vendetta to isolate and destroy the handful of MOVE members and supporters not already dead or in jail. After burning alive her brother, her son and nine others, Goode had the letter, reproduced above, sent to James. Later the city announced she wouldn't be allowed ever return to the site of the house she has owned for 27 years.

U.S. Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Trincomalee!

Down with State Terror Against Tamils in Sri Lanka!

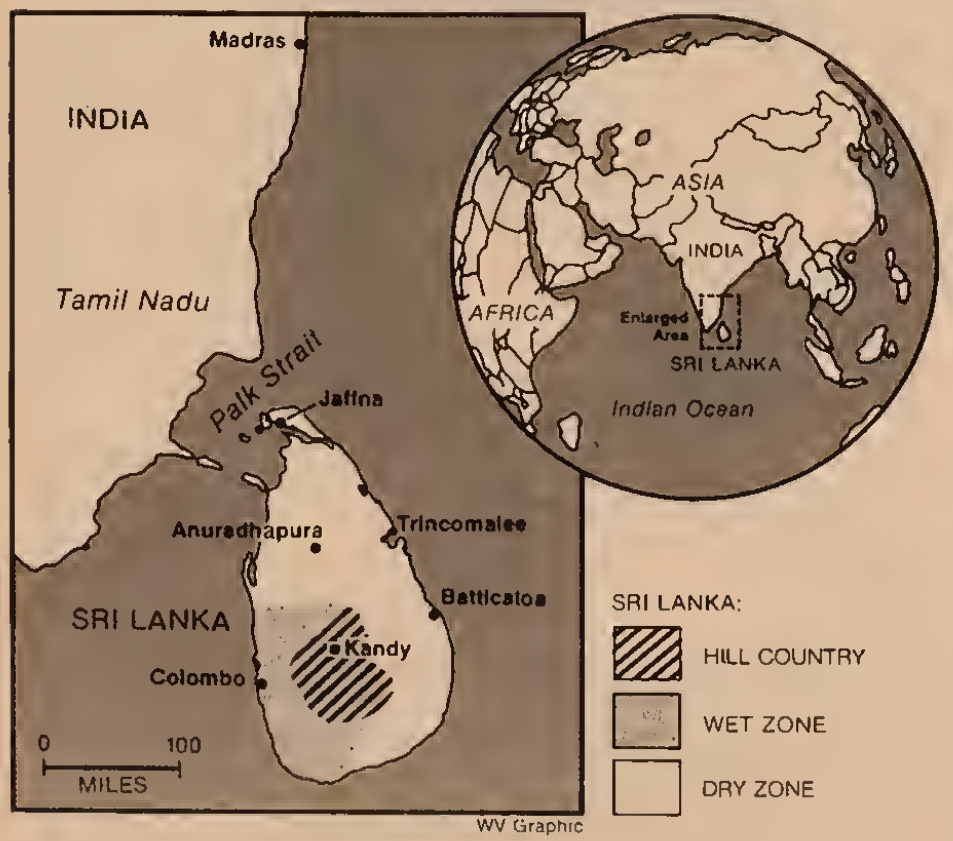
On the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) the Tamil minority is struggling not just for national rights but for survival. Ever since the government-instigated mass pogroms of July 1983 the Tamil people throughout the island have faced escalated bloody repression at the hands of J.R. Jayewardene's Sinhala-chauvinist regime. In mid-May of this year, a new spate of killings erupted which threatens to unleash communal bloodletting of devastating scope and savagery.

In the Tamil north of the island (Jaffna Peninsula), several *years* of brutal military rule by the mainly Sinhalese army of occupation, aimed at crushing the young Tamil separatist guerrillas (popularly called "Tigers"), has only fueled the sentiments for an independent Tamil state of "Eelam." In the face of daily atrocities by the army and police, on May 14 Tamil guerrillas apparently struck back in kind. At Anuradhapura, former capital of the ancient Sinhalese civilization and a revered center of pilgrimage for the Buddhist Sinhalese (the Tamils are mainly Hindus), gunmen in army uniforms reportedly opened fire indiscriminately on crowds at a bus station and holy site, killing scores of men, women and children. The government-controlled press (and the foreign capitalist press, which sees strongman Jayewardene, locally nicknamed "Yankee Dickie," as a potentially important ally in the "free world") attributes the Anuradhapura massacre to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). A joint statement issued in Madras May 17 by the LTTE and three other guerrilla groups categorically denied involvement in this crime and condemned it; the fifth main group, in a separate statement, did the same.

Rajan Deva/AP

[London] Guardian

J.R. ("Yankee Dickie") Jayewardene with U.S. imperialist chief Reagan in 1984 (left). Tamil victims of army rampage in Jaffna, July 1983 (above).



WV Graphic

In the days that followed, Sinhalese communalist gangs and the armed forces slaughtered defenseless Tamils, including 48 passengers on a ferry murdered by "unknown" assailants who arrived on Sri Lankan naval patrol boats. Now Jayewardene, openly boasting of his dictatorial powers, announces "martial-law courts" and plans to arm local communities:

> "The President, who has four more years in office, already has considerable powers of detention under a two-year-old state of emergency, which was extended today.
>
> "He described his authority today as 'practically a dictatorship'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 25 May

The plight of the oppressed Tamil masses confronted with government-spearheaded communalist onslaughts is desperate. It will only be aggravated by the Tamil guerrillas going over to indefensible "retaliatory" anti-Sinhalese communalism. Class-conscious elements of the Tamil liberation fighters must themselves mount a ruthless campaign against the perpetrators of revolting communalist crimes. Only with an internationalist perspective can the Lankan working class, Sinhalese and Tamil, and the multi-national working class of Ceylon's giant neighbor, India, be mobilized to defend the Tamil people by revolutionary struggle against the reactionary capitalist oppressors.

Ceylon politics since 1948 has followed a course of increasing communal polarization through "salami tactics," driving toward the ethnically/religiously "pure" nation. Independence in 1948 took care of the Europeans. Virtually the first act of the United National Party (UNP) regime that came in at independence was to render "stateless" the so-called "Indian Tamils," brought to the island in large numbers to be plantation laborers by the British after 1850. Then sliced off was the "Burgher" community (descendants of intermarriages with the Portuguese, Dutch and British colonists), fully half of whom have emigrated. The condition of the Lankan army today, ill-disciplined thugs rampaging against the populace in the north, has a lot to do with the squeezing out of the Burghers, who were important as senior officers under the British. Later, high-ranking Catholics in the army became suspect and were ousted. The retrograde narrowing of the concept of the nation to exclude the "Ceylon Tamils" has proceeded through the formal enshrinement of the Buddhist religion, the "Sinhala Only" language measures aimed in large measure against Tamils in the civil service and professions, the increasingly brutal military occupation of Jaffna, the July 1983 pogroms in the south intended to destroy Tamil businesses in the rest of the island and to induce massive forced population transfer of Tamils to the north. Now it seems to be the turn of the Muslims as well to find themselves placed outside "the people."

The idea of the ethnically pure nation is supremely irrational racialist nonsense. The Indian subcontinent has been a crossroads of peoples for thousands of years. Notwithstanding the myths that are pushed in Lanka and abroad about the "Aryan" Sinhalese and the "darker-skinned" Tamils, the fact is that the Sinhalese and Tamils can't tell each other apart except for tiny details of their dress and of course their different languages.

"Splitting the Country" by Anti-Tamil Terror

The anti-Tamil pogroms of July 1983, orchestrated by the United National Party government, were a watershed, surpassing the previous outbursts of communalist terror in 1958, 1977 and 1981. The wave of anti-Tamil terror in Colombo (the capital city) and the south was spearheaded by well-organized elements like the government's "trade-union" goons (JSS). The bloodthirsty mobs who burned Tamil homes and businesses (and some Indian-owned factories) and incinerated and hacked to death the fleeing men, women and children were often escorted to their targets by men with voters lists.

The pogroms, aimed at eliminating the important Tamil merchant and business layer, were a decisive step in destroying the economic interpenetration of the island's peoples. Thousands were killed and upwards of 100,000 Tamils were forced to flee as refugees to the north or to India. Another new development was the terrorizing of the overwhelmingly Tamil workforce of the hill country plantations, where the superexploitation of the mainly "stateless" Tamil laborers provides most of Sri Lanka's foreign-exchange revenues; now as many as 200,000 have fled, creating a labor shortage. While seeking to place the burden of "splitting the country" on the Tamil separatist sentiment which has grown strong in response to national oppression and army occupation in Jaffna, Jayewardene's UNP regime and its communalist allies have themselves split the country, ripping the peoples apart and driving to force the Tamils into a "bantustan" in the impoverished Jaffna Peninsula (and perhaps a small enclave around Batticaloa in the southeast). The indiscriminate terror and atrocities are designed to seal this situation.

In early May alone, reported army and Sinhalese communalist atrocities included: 15 civilians killed in Karainagar

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For the Federated Workers Republics of Eelam and Lanka!

Hail Lankan Women Garment Strikers!

All Ceylon Commercial & Industrial Workers' Union

On strike—workers on the picket line at Apparel Exports in Ratmalana. Doubly oppressed women who labor under virtual slave-labor conditions in the starvation-wage textile factories have been a vanguard of militant struggle against union-busting.

In February of 1984, a hard-fought strike began at the Polytex garment factory in Sri Lanka. The strikers were young women, who worked for less than $1 a day under virtual slave-labor conditions in the "Greater Colombo Economic Commission Area" which was set up by the rightist, pro-U.S. Jayewardene regime as a low-wage, non-union haven for foreign corporations. The women workers were confronted with arbitrary dismissals and vicious union-busting. The strike was won after six bitter months. Supporters of the Spartacist tendency in Lanka solidarized with the just struggle of the Polytex militants by campaigning for support and funds at Colombo University, while Spartacist supporters overseas also collected money for the strikers.

In the summer, women workers at Magnum Garments in Ratmalana also struck; in their support the Spartacist tendency again undertook to raise funds. On February 10 of this year, over 100 militants from Magnum attended a meeting where 13,000 rupees (U.S. $520) donated by trade unionists in Australia was presented to the Magnum workers by a spokesman of the Spartacist tendency. His speech is reprinted here (from *Australasian Spartacist* supplement, 3 April 1985). The meeting was also addressed by representatives of the Spartacist League/Lanka, union General Secretary S. Siriwardene and the branch Assistant Secretary, herself a Magnum worker.

In his contribution, union General Secretary Siriwardene, a supporter of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, sought to defend the record of the LSSP, in particular N.M. Perera who served as minister of finance in Mrs. Bandaranaike's coalition governments. When Siriwardene tried to claim that N.M. Perera had never taken any measures against workers, an SL/L supporter in the audience reminded him of N.M.'s attacks on workers' pensions. Siriwardene also sought to blame the LSSP's electoral rout in 1977 on the "backward" workers. In fact the working class deserted the LSSP in droves, not least in its old bastions like Ratmalana, because of its popular-front betrayals.

Now we have received an urgent appeal on behalf of striking women textile workers at Apparel Exports in Ratmalana, which we are pleased to publish, as well as the photograph of the Apparel strikers on the picket line. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the class-struggle defense organization founded by the SL, is collecting money to be transmitted to the union. We urge *WV* readers, who have responded generously to the past campaigns undertaken by the PDC, most recently in support of the British miners' strike, to again express their internationalist solidarity by making this cause their own. Make checks payable to/mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Earmark contributions: "Ratmalana textile strikers."

Appeal from Lanka Union

All Ceylon Commercial & Industrial Workers' Union

Colombo,
Sri Lanka
13th March 1985

The Editor,
"Workers Vanguard"
New York, NY
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

We are pleased to inform you about a further strike our Union has launched in another Garment Manufacturing factory at the Industrial Town in Ratmalana in our country.

The strike commenced on 3.1.85 and still continues. About 500 female workers went out on strike demanding that their present salary be brought up to Rs.30/- [$1.20] per day, permanency of employment, a Festival loan of Rs.300/- and an unpaid bonus of December 1984.

The two months' old strike is being fought very strongly by the workers, facing all odds placed before them. The factory is owned by four Partners headed by a tough employer by the name of R.N. Choksy. The manufactured items of this Factory are sent to all parts of the world under the name of Apparel Exports. We understand that USA and West Germany are two important markets to which the items manufactured by these hard-working girls are sent. Apparel Exports is an Associate Company of Hently Garments under the same ownership.

Although many attempts have been made by the Commissioner of Labour to bring this Employer for a discussion on the matters at issue, the Employer has evaded attending such conferences on flimsy excuses. Although a directive was served on the Employer by the Commissioner of Labour to attend a conference, the representatives who came refused to sit with the Union and the workers for a discussion. As a result the strike drags on. In the meantime, the Employer has served notices of vacation of posts [firing] on all the strikers with a view to throttling the strike and getting the workers back. However, the 600 girls stood strongly against these notices and promptly replied stating that they have not vacated their posts and reminded the Employer that they are on strike.

The Employer tried to canvass the weak persons amongst the strikers and

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Spartacist Speaks to Lanka Garment Workers

"Women Workers Must Be in the Vanguard"

It is a very great honour for me to speak to you today. I would like to explain why this is so, and why the international Spartacist tendency thinks your struggles are very important.

I'm sorry that we could not bring to you this money we have collected when you were still on strike, when you most needed it. I'm sure, however, you will find a good use for it. I have been told that the Magnum management is refusing to pay you bonuses. Perhaps this money can be used to help in these new fights. The Apparel Garment workers are on strike, perhaps it could be used to support their struggle.

The money was collected by our Australian comrades. According to the standards of living in Australia this 13,000 rupees is not a large amount, but it is a gesture of how important they think your struggles are. The capitalists in Australia try to encourage white racist attitudes. But Australia is part of Asia. Our comrades in Australia know that they must build links with the workers of Asia if they wish to get rid of Australian imperialism.

As internationalists we believe that we must support all the true struggles of the workers and oppressed everywhere in the world. We do not say that because a strike is not in our country we will not support it. We do not say that because a strike is not led by our party we will ignore it. Today our American, German and French comrades have been working very hard to support the British miners' strike.

The miners have been on strike for ten months. Now it is one of the coldest winters for 30 years. President J.R.'s [Jayewardene] friend, Mrs. Thatcher is using police violence, scabs, the law courts and starvation to try and beat the miners. The trade-union bureaucrats and the top leaders of the Labour Party have tried to sabotage the strike and have refused to bring out the other powerful forces of the working class on strike with the miners to defend jobs and get rid of Mrs. Thatcher.

Our American comrades have collected thousands of dollars for the miners. The money the miners receive goes into a special bank account to run the strike and support the miners' families. It does not go to the union's general funds for normal administration costs and officials' wages. But the miners do not just need financial support, they also need a programme to win. That is what our British comrades fight for when they demand "All out with the miners."

Yes, we believe in international working-class solidarity. It was British imperialism that was the great master of "divide and rule," of turning one community against another in its empire. Now the Sri Lankan and other capitalist ruling classes use the same tactics. But communalism and racism divide the working class against each other and divert it from the real enemy, capitalism. It is the same capitalists and UNP [Jayewardene's United National Party] government that attacks you which also attacks the Tamil people, denying them their rights. J.R.'s friend, Ronald Reagan, the man who wants to get his imperialist hands on Trincomalee harbour as part of his preparations for

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Lanka Spartacist

Polytex strike leader speaks to fundraising rally at Colombo University organized by Lanka Spartacist supporters, May 1984.

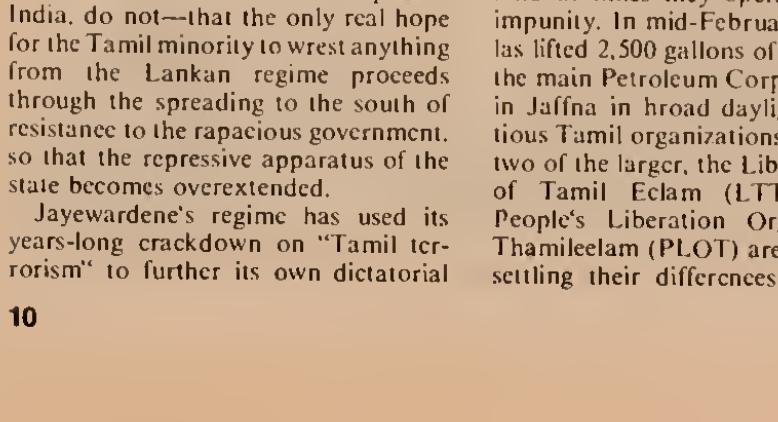
Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 8)

after guerrillas attacked the naval base, 14 bus passengers murdered on Pannai causeway, 15 shot dead indiscriminately at Nainativu, two women on a bus raped in Puttalam, more than 70 killed in an army retaliatory rampage in the Point Pedro area, including 12 schoolchildren, and 50 young Tamils herded into a community center at Udduppiddy and blown up. After the Anuradhapura attack on Sinhalese civilians, fresh army and communalist killings erupted in the Eastern and North Central provinces. In Colombo police sweeps in Tamil areas of Wellawatte and Pettah put at least 150 Tamils in detention. The government is threatening to impose widespread martial law and claims there is a "concerted international Marxist plan" against "democracy." As well, Sinhalese youth have reportedly been arrested in the south of the island.

In Britain, the Tory government, which supplies Jayewardene with patrol boats and "former" SAS (Special Air Service) advisers, is viciously trying to prevent refugees entering Britain, claiming there is "no good reason" for Tamils to flee, in the face of hideous communalist conflagration. On May 30 the Spartacist League/Britain demonstrated in London, demanding: political asylum for Tamil refugees!

The international Spartacist tendency has consistently upheld the Tamils' right of national self-determination—in other words, we recognize their right to separate and form their own state. Before July 1983, however, we argued against the exercise of that right, in favor of united working-class struggle to redress Tamil oppression in the context of the struggle for socialist revolution within the existing unitary island state. But with the events of July 1983 the historic social balance shifted, uprooting hundreds of thousands of Tamils from the south and generating deep bitterness, hostility and mutual fear which will not easily be surmounted.



Tucci/Gamma-Liaison

Train derailed by pro-Eelam guerrillas earlier this year.

The prospects for common class struggle between the Sinhalese working class and the oppressed Tamil minority have for the foreseeable future been disastrously undermined. The massive murderous repression of the Jaffna Tamil people and the escalating outbursts of government-instigated violence against the Tamils elsewhere on the island has brought to the forefront the struggle for Eelam. Therefore our socialist perspective of a struggle for a Ceylon workers state is expressed now in the slogan of federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka. At the same time we recognize—as the Tamil nationalists, who place their hopes on pressure or intervention from capitalist India, do not—that the only real hope for the Tamil minority to wrest anything from the Lankan regime proceeds through the spreading to the south of resistance to the rapacious government, so that the repressive apparatus of the state becomes overextended.

Jayewardene's regime has used its years-long crackdown on "Tamil terrorism" to further its own dictatorial appetites and to seek to deflect the Sinhalese working people from struggle against the brutal "austerity" measures dictated by international finance capital. Sections of the Sinhalese population, such as students and female workers in the garment sweatshops around Colombo, as well as the Tamil plantation workers, have shown willingness to struggle around their demands; what is needed is a revolutionary leadership to lead class struggle among both the Tamils and the Sinhalese against the bloody and cynical government that has it in for everybody.

While championing the right to Eelam, we cannot be enthusiastic about the prospects of an independent Tamil state in Lanka. A new mini-state in the arid, underindustrialized north and east, burdened with hundreds of thousands of immiserated refugees, would usher in no bright future for the Tamil masses, nor even ensure their national survival in the long run. For the federated socialist republics of Lanka and Eelam! For workers revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent! For a soviet federation of South Asia!

Army Out of Tamil Areas!

In the forefront of the 1983 bloodletting were mutinous elements of the Sri Lankan armed forces. These forces were then small (16,500 army, 3,000 navy, 2,600 air force, and 19,500 police) and ill-equipped. By dropping the period of basic training to eight weeks the government hopes to augment its forces by 2,000 every two months. But the Sri Lankan armed forces are universally regarded as among the most ill-trained and ill-disciplined in the world. In the Jaffna Peninsula they spend most of their time holed up in their camps, venturing out only in large formations. Tamil youth are kept as hostages, to be shot "attempting to escape" in the event of attack. The army's characteristic response to taking casualties is the ritualistic retaliatory strike of burning, looting, raping and indiscriminate shooting. But the conduct of the army is not just a matter of poor "discipline"; rather it is part and parcel of the bloody communalist policies of the government.

The regime's wild butchery has not stemmed the growth of the Tamil guerrilla organizations, who are estimated to have 2,000-5,000 "boys" armed in the field. They have demonstrated increasing military effectiveness and pulled off a number of spectacular successes. One group, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), wiped out the police garrison at Chavakachcheri on 20 November 1984, then followed up on January 19 by blasting a military transport train on the main Colombo-Jaffna line (the government admitted 48 killed, the Tamils claim many more). And at times they operate with great impunity. In mid-February, 30 guerrillas lifted 2,500 gallons of gasoline from the main Petroleum Corporation depot in Jaffna in broad daylight. The fractious Tamil organizations, in particular two of the larger, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamileelam (PLOT) are not averse to settling their differences by machine-gunning each other. But under the impact of the government onslaught there have been moves for unity and "coordination." Recently, the LTTE joined with TELO, the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) in an Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF).

Workers Hammer

Spartacist banner at London protest of anti-Tamil pogroms in Sri Lanka, 30 July 1983.

But if the Tamil military organizations have not fared too badly against the army, the government's policies are directed against the whole Tamil population, to terrorize and starve it into submission. On 30 November 1984 the government announced a new series of draconian measures. A coastal prohibited zone around the north coast from Mannar to Mullaitivu extending five miles to sea and 100 yards inland was declared. Immediately this rendered 97,000 fisherfolk homeless and without livelihood. As well, permits are required for all vehicles, including bicycles. The 700,000-odd bicycles in the Northern Province play an integral part in the transportation of goods and people. Now only the permit holder and his immediate family may use a bicycle, and permits are only issued by senior police officers. In Jaffna Peninsula only one police station is still open, in Jaffna itself. Tamils are wisely loath to go near the place—too many have never emerged again! Curfews that disrupt food and fuel supplies and the harvest, travel restrictions, and the destruction of road culverts by the army all add up to a calculated policy of economic spoliation and starvation. The government has a declared policy of "vicarious responsibility" to punish the local population for any "terrorist incidents" in its neighborhood.

Since President J.R. dissolved the "Round Table Conference" negotiations in December, the government has made little or no pretense of seeking a negotiated political settlement. In January the government announced an accelerated plan for Sinhalese colonization into Tamil areas. This colonization has long been a source of grievance for the Tamils. Trincomalee, the strategic naval harbor, was once overwhelmingly Tamil; now it is half Sinhalese; and the much publicized Mahaweli Development Scheme has been used for Sinhala colonization. Now 200,000 Sinhalese are to be settled in the area between Vavuniya and Elephant Pass, south of the Jaffna Peninsula. "Disloyal" (Tamil) people will be displaced by "loyal" (armed Sinhalese) settlers. As this program accelerated in February and March a new wave of some 15,000 Tamils fled as refugees to India. The sinister Minister for National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, calls this "racial integration." Elsewhere in the Eastern Province provocateurs have staged communalist murders in order to whip up strife between the Tamils and the significant Muslim community.

Impoverished Sinhalese are induced to volunteer to settle in the north with promises including grants of 30,000 rupees (more than $1,000), a monthly allowance and 3-5 acres. They are to be the cannon fodder in a bloody "conquest of the land." Despite the government's fondness for the example of the Zionist settlements (and the government's Mossad advisers), these colonies will be no kibbutzes, armed with technological superiority and backed by the might of the Zionist state. Rather they will be the focal point for an uneven, but all-sided, communal bloodletting. And for the Sinhalese peasants who survive, there will be no escape from the exploitation and poverty they may believe they left behind in the south. One result of the UNP's accession to power in 1977 and its policies of "let the capitalist robber barons come" has been a rapid acceleration in capitalist differentiation in the countryside. In the southeast Sinhalese peasants are being thrown off their land to make way for multinational sugar plantations. In the Mahaweli, many settlers have been made landless and destitute. Meanwhile the landlords, UNP politicos and their spiritual apologists, the Buddhist clergy, get fat and rich.

The horrific Sinhala-chauvinist extermination campaign has provoked a backlash from some of the Tamil fighters, many of whom in the past expressed pride that they had never attacked Sinhalese civilians. On 30 November 1984 upwards of 45 Sinhalese were slaughtered at Dollar and Kent farms in the Vanni. These farms had earlier been run as rehabilitation centers for Tamil refugees from the hill country. The army expelled the Tamils, and Sinhalese convicts were sent in. Tamil organizations claim that the settlers acted as paramilitary terror squads. But the coordinated attacks on the farms went beyond self-defense or even retribution against the guilty thugs. Men, women and children were killed indiscriminately. Soon after, on December 2, eleven Sinhalese fisherfolk were killed in the villages of Nayaru and Kokkilai on the northeast coast. Once again it was claimed that Sinhalese thugs had been terrorizing the district, but again the "reprisal" was indiscriminate. Both attacks have been ascribed to, and indeed justified by, the LTTE.

The Tigers are being blamed for the recent massacre at Anuradhapura, though they have denied responsibility. Indeed some Tiger supporters have blamed the Sinhala leftist JVP and many Tamils suspect government agents provocateurs. Given the government's use of "big lie" techniques and the press censorship, caution is dictated. But the shift in the Tigers' tactics toward indefensible communalist retaliation against non-military targets, as indicated by the earlier atrocities at Dollar/Kent and the attacks on Sinhalese fishermen, makes the government's account of the Anuradhapura massacre believable to the Sinhalese masses. Purportedly the Anuradhapura attack was intended as a reprisal for the murder of 70 Tamils in Jaffna (following a guerrilla success that killed an army major and several soldiers), and perhaps as a demonstration of the capacity to take the war to the Sinhalese heartland. But this sort of "reprisal" is indiscriminate communalist murder which can only help fuel the reactionary dynamic favored by the Sinhalese reactionaries. All the Tamil guerrilla organizations are steeped in nationalism, whose ultimate logic is "kill the Sinhalese." Meanwhile the Sinhalese, like the Israeli Zionists, hold the upper hand while seeing themselves as an inherently embattled minority in imminent danger of being swamped by the tens of millions of Tamils of south India. Thus the Tigers' nationalism points in a direction which is not only racist, but deadly dangerous for the Tamil minority in Lanka.

U.S. Out of the Indian Ocean!

Jayewardene's massacres take place in the context of U.S. imperialism's drive for war against the Soviet Union, and help to pave the way for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary plans in

the region. The U.S. imperialists would dearly love to get their hands on strategic Trincomalee harbor in the Indian Ocean, as part of a network of bases stretching from Diego Garcia to Alice Springs and Subic Bay, targeted on the Soviet and Vietnamese workers states. Trincomalee is traditionally a Tamil area; hence, the colonization of Sinhalese and the manipulated communalist violence there are part of Jayewardene's plans to become a favored tool for U.S. imperialism.

Right now perhaps, the United States is being a little coy about its appetite for Trinco so as not to upset Rajiv Gandhi, who they hope might do for India what Sadat did for Egypt and break the alliance with the Soviet Union. But in the meantime the most powerful Voice of America transmitter outside the United States itself is being installed at Chilaw on the northwest coast of Ceylon. From there the VOA will be able to beam its counterrevolutionary message to Soviet Central Asia, East Africa and China. The installation will have the capacity to jam India's defense communications systems. Jayewardene wants to trade anti-Soviet loyalty for aid in crushing the Tamils. Recently, on a visit to kindred spirit Zia in Pakistan he provocatively indicated his support for the Islamic counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan. On the same trip Jayewardene also talked of self-determination for Kashmir, a provocative gesture against India.

A flash point for India/Lanka tensions has been the narrow Palk Strait where the Lankan navy has been shooting at just about anything that moves, killing Indian fishermen and looting their catches. Early in the year, the Indians seized a Sri Lankan naval patrol boat, in a calculated warning.

The UNP regime has been flirting dangerously with ignoring the power realities of the region. India presently does not like the idea of U.S. bases on its doorstep (nor do they like having to deal with the mounting number of refugees, now estimated at over 100,000, from Lanka). Of course, the Gandhi regime does not want to be seen as encouraging a secessionist movement, having enough of its own to contend with in India itself. However the mess in Lanka could snap the tightrope the Congress Party is walking in south India. Congress does not run a single state government in the south, and its main ally the Tamil Nadu governing party threatens to disintegrate if its main leader, a paralyzed ex-film star, should die. To the Indian regime an invasion of Lanka might actually look like less trouble than the situation in Tamil Nadu, home of about 80 million Tamils, if Jayewardene cannot restrain his people from destroying the Tamil people in Lanka.

Jayewardene was just in New Delhi for talks with Rajiv Gandhi along with their respective "security" and "defense" ministers to "consider ways of ending separatist Tamil guerrilla violence and reprisal actions by the security forces.... Meanwhile, the Sikh week of protest to commemorate the first anniversary of the Indian army's assault on the Golden Temple began peacefully at the weekend" (London *Guardian*, 3 June).

Almost without exception the Tamil organizations sow illusions in the Indian bourgeoisie. The main bourgeois parliamentarist group, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), openly pleads for Indian intervention. And in accord with Hindu chauvinism, many Tamil militants in Lanka dismiss the legitimate rights of the Sikhs. When Mrs. Gandhi, the butcher of Amritsar, got her just deserts many of the Tamil groups fell over themselves in lamentation. One group identified Mrs. Gandhi as "One of the closest sympathisers of the oppressed people of Thamileelam" and called her assassination "one of the darkest days in the history of Thamileelam" (*PLOT Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. IV, undated). Likewise another group lamented that Tamils have lost "a mother-figure itself" who was "always a dependable guarantor of their ultimate survival" (*EROS*, January 1985).

From the beginning we have warned against the illusions in the Indian bourgeoisie, pointing to the suppression of the Bangladeshi Mukti Bahini in 1971. By preaching faith in these capitalist allies the Tamil liberation fighters are only preparing the way for their own bloody suppression. Indeed recently some of the organizations have been getting a lesson from these "friends." In India, Lankan Tamil militants have been evicted from their bases on the Thanjavur coast. Activists from the National Liberation Front of Thamileelam (NLFT) were recently arrested in connection with arms seizures in Madras. EPRLF members have been arrested and detained by Indian patrol boats. Gandhi's new Prevention of Terrorism Act is a threat not just against the Sikhs but also against Tamil militants. And in April Indian foreign secretary Romesh Bhandari pointedly condemned all violence, a statement viewed by Tamil groups as a "betrayal." This was not a betrayal but a sign that the Indian bourgeoisie is not the type of "friend" the struggle for Tamil liberation needs.

Jayewardene's Bonapartist Rule

To sustain its anti-Tamil repression and divert the Sinhalese masses from going after their own exploiters, the government and Sinhalese ruling class whip up communalist hysteria, playing on fears of being a beleaguered minority facing a Tamil/Indian threat and on the myths of being the Lord Buddha's "chosen people" and the true "sons of the soil." In the forefront of the racist mobilizations is the Maha Sangha, the governing body of the Buddhist monks. Fascistic elements like former cabinet minister Cyril Mathew and powerful elements within the UNP regime itself egg the J.R. regime on to further excesses. But the regime faces other pressures and constraints, underpinning its increasingly bonapartist and dictatorial nature. No elections will be held until 1989 (if then) and rumors circulate of military coups, especially if the aging Jayewardene were to die. At the same time the Sinhalese masses are not a seamless mass of seething racist reaction. In fact the Sinhalese working class has a long history of militant struggles, at times even led largely by ostensible Trotskyist formations (see "The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon" by Edmund Samarakkody, *Spartacist* No. 22, Winter 1973-74). And in the last year

UPI

University students outside Lankan embassy in New Delhi protest anti-Tamil terror, July 1983.

significant pockets of class-struggle militancy and resistance to the regime have emerged among sections of the Sinhalese.

The economy has been driven into the ground, not solely by the present regime, and is now a real basket case, providing fertile ground for religious fanatics but also opportunities for class struggle against the common enemy. Sri Lanka is the most aid-dependent country in the world, but since July 1983 both aid and investment have dried up. Tourism has dropped off drastically. Remittances from migrant workers in the Middle East, which is the second foreign-exchange earner after tea, face severe cutbacks. U.S. protectionism threatens the garment industry. Defense spending has of course burgeoned. The fish catch is down by 40 percent, largely as a result of the naval prohibited zone in the north. The price of fish (a crucial source of protein for the island's people) tripled in the first two months of this year. One presidential adviser has warned the government of "insurgency conditions" in the south if prices keep going up. When the regime calls on the Sinhalese not to launch new pogromist attacks on Tamils, "not to play into the hands" of the northern "terrorists," this is not just hypocrisy. They are scared

Women and Revolution

Tamil tea pickers. The sweated labor of "stateless," largely female plantation workers provides most of Lanka's foreign-exchange revenues.

that the army and police would get overextended and that the economy would collapse completely.

It is only a boom in world tea prices that has kept the economy staggering along. But that wealth is produced by Tamils! Economically the tea plantation workers have been and remain potentially the most powerful sector of the Lankan working class. The material basis of the parliamentary reformism that infests the dominant working-class organizations in Lanka (and of the various social welfare measures like free education that were won on the island) lies in the superexploitation of the "stateless," disenfranchised and predominantly women Tamil plantation workers.

Abandoned by the reformist left parties and offered little other than that they can go to live in Eelam by the sundry Tamil nationalists, the plantation workers remain a powerful force capable of providing the key to a progressive solution on the island. Last year because of the tea price boom and the pogrom-induced plantation labor shortage, the plantation workers were able to strike successfully for pay increases. Since then other smaller strikes have broken out, often over the harassment of trade-union militants and youth by the police. In Kandy Buddhist leaders have been demanding that the Tamils be replaced with Sinhalese men and women because "estate labourers had now become a terrible headache to the nation." But an unorganized casual rural laborer earns more than a plantation worker, and no Sinhalese peasant wants to work on these virtual slave plantations (which is why the Indians were brought in there in the first place). Terribly oppressed and exploited, the plantation workers are strategically placed and have shown their willingness to struggle.

After tea exports and workers' remittances from abroad, the garment industry is Lanka's biggest exchange earner. In the Free Trade Zone and in other factories scattered around Colombo, foreign investors were promised rich pickings by exploiting a "disciplined" and educated workforce for less than a dollar a day. In the last year the textile workers, predominantly young Sinhalese women, at factories like Polytex, Magnum Garments and most recently Apparel Exports, have fought hard strikes to improve their conditions and pay (see "Hail Lankan Women Garment Strikers!"). The same police who butcher Tamils baton-charge the picket lines of these women workers. The same government that oppresses the Tamils supervises the superexploitation of these young Sinhalese women. The resistance of these women and the struggle of the Tamil plantation workers, if linked through a revolutionary program and party, could be the death knell of capitalism in Lanka.

The Sinhalese working masses have plenty of reasons of their own to rise up against the bonapartist Jayewardene regime which is squeezing them in the interests of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism. The cop assaults on strikers, on students, on women at this year's International Women's Day demonstration in Colombo—this is what the government wants for its "own" people. When the UNP regime introduced an anti-separatist oath for Parliament to oust the Jaffna Tamil parliamentarians (who became the main Opposition in 1977 when the voters massively rejected the Sri Lanka Freedom Party), this was part of a series of sweeping moves against formal bourgeois democracy. Strikebreaking, slashing of social programs, censorship, attacks on students, Jayewardene's arrogation of dictatorial powers, the years of martial law in the north, ruinous attacks on the plantations, communal violence—these are what bloody capitalism has to offer. A revolutionary party must be forged to weld the desperate grievances of the workers and peasants into a united fight against the capitalist regime.

The IMF of international bankers dictates more austerity for Sri Lanka, including the dismantling of the state education system. In late January the Parliament passed a Universities Amendment act, introducing private universities which only the rich can afford and abolishing the democratically elected student councils. Prime Minister Premadasa declared that the government did not want any "mini-general elections" among students. Large student protests erupted with the police resorting to baton-charges and tear gas in Colombo. Opposition party leaders were arrested, a number of universities closed down and total censorship imposed on all reporting of student and university affairs. Still, on February 20 students gathered to hoot and jeer the president as he drove to the state opening of Parliament.

Popular-Frontist Leftists Betray Tamil People

The evolved shameless parliamentary cretins of the Lankan left strive to channel the rumblings of discontent, such as the student protests, into new class-collaborationist schemes, seeking to refurbish their longstanding bloc with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which has traditionally been even more hostile to Tamil rights than the UNP. Founded by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in the early 1950s as a populist-nationalist split from the UNP in alliance with the Buddhist clergy, the SLFP entered the big time in Ceylon politics with its "Sinhala Only" racist campaign on the language question in the mid-1950s. The working-class parties, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) which is often falsely described as "Trotskyist" and the Communist Party (CP), scented future ministerial portfolios in a "united front" SLFP government. The reformists looked to the SLFP to fight the "main enemy," the UNP, which openly represented the summits of the Lankan capitalist class and was the preferred instrument for the interests of British capital. This capitulation became decisive in the mid-1960s when the LSSP and CP openly entered an SLFP

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Sri Lanka...

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government. (The Spartacist tendency in Lanka came out of the LSSP left wing, associated with Edmund Samarakkody, which split away in opposition to the entry into bourgeois governments.) The class-collaborationism of the opportunist left thus led them straight into an unholy alliance with Sinhala-Buddhist racism, turning their backs on an honorable history of support for Tamil minority rights.

The debacle of the popular front in power was decisively demonstrated in the 1977 elections which gave the UNP a huge parliamentary majority. The working masses had expected a vast improvement in their living standards from "their" government, headed by Bandaranaike's widow. But Mrs. B's rule became synonymous with corruption, the economy (not least the nationalized plantations) was a disaster, and when in 1971 thousands of discontented rural Sinhalese youth, led by the New Leftist JVP, rose up, enraged over broken promises and the prospect of unemployment, they were slaughtered in rivers of blood. Mrs. B held on under a draconian years-long "Emergency," paving the way for Jayewardene's massive electoral victory. The masses' increasing disenchantment with the SLFP had led to some token self-criticisms from the CP and a left split from the LSSP to form the Nava (new) Samasamaja Party (NSSP), but the whole spectrum of opportunists remain firmly wedded to their perspective of new alliances with the SLFP.

When posters appeared seeking to whip up a "Russian scare" with claims that the USSR was backing the Tamil struggle in the north, the CP scurried to display its loyalty to the Sinhala state and denounce the Tamil insurgents as "terrorists":

> "Countries like America, Britain and West Germany give aid, support and make homes for northern terrorists. In those countries funds are collected on a large scale for this movement.... However the Soviet Union has not given protection to any Tamil youth. There, funds are not collected for the terrorist movement."
>
> —*Athitha*, 1 December 1984

And the CP pledged that it would "give the necessary support to the government at this time of severe crisis."

The NSSP, which is linked with the misnamed "Militant" tendency of the British Labour Party, seeks to occupy a terrain somewhat to the left of the LSSP and CP and is generally more coy about supporting Mrs. B but remains wedded to class-collaborationist blocs with the SLFP. During the student protests the NSSP scurried about brokering a "joint action group" to include the SLFP, the MEP and the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (SLMP). The MEP is a communalist outfit whose leader has made a name for himself in Parliament by advocating more and better arms for the government troops in the north. And the SLMP, which according to NSSP "theory" is a "working-class formation," is a bourgeois party run by Mrs. Bandaranaike's daughter and son-in-law which champions the "inviolability of the unitary state."

The NSSP sometimes claims to support the Tamils' right to self-determination, but in the time-honored fake-Marxist fashion gives this "self-determination" a content other than recognition of the right of separation. Thus the NSSP supported Jayewardene's meaningless "autonomy" proposals to the "Round Table Conference." And the NSSP's Wickramabahu Karunaratne writes:

> "To talk of separation before taking power is to put the cart before the horse. *Separation or integration entirely depends on what changes take place within the Sinhala nation.*"
>
> —"Letters to a Tamil Samasamajist," emphasis in original

In other words, it's all up to the Sinhalese. For Dr. Karunaratne, Tamil self-determination must be either integration in Lanka or unification with the Tamils of south India. And scandalously, the NSSP has been careful not to say a word against the collection of funds and other resources for the National Defense Fund for the government's communalist war.

Lately there has emerged in Lanka a more leftist current of armchair advocates of "armed struggle." A leading ideologue for these enthusiasts of the "Nicaraguan road" is Dayan Jayatilleka, who to his credit has espoused the right of Tamil self-determination. But beneath this militant veneer lurks the same old popular-frontist tailism which led his forebears to ally with the communalist SLFP. Writing in 1984 Jayatilleka went into raptures over the new SLMP, mimicking the old excuses for tailing the SLFP as a supposedly dynamic mass movement of indeterminate class character:

> "...the SLMP has not yet crystallized into a party which is hegemonized by, or articulates the interests of a single identifiable class.... It is in fact a healthier phenomenon: one with greater potential: a multi-class bloc, a transitional political formation and perhaps an embryonic mass movement."
>
> —*Lanka Guardian*, 15 May 1984

Militant

Radical Sinhalese youth arrested in Mrs. Bandaranaike's bloody repression of 1971 JVP uprising.

Presently leading the pack in Sinhalese chauvinism is the JVP, which had originally emerged as a leftist response to the betrayals of the reformist left. Reflecting its base among radicalized Sinhalese petty-bourgeois youth, the JVP always had a streak of anti-Tamil chauvinism, going on about "Indian expansionism," a code word for seeing the Tamils in Lanka as fifth columnists. But for years the JVP enjoyed strong support among students, controlling the student councils at most campuses (*not* including Jaffna). Since July 1983 the JVP has been a particular target of government witchhunting which seeks to make an amalgam of Tamil "terrorists," the USSR and "extremists" in the south.

The JVP is aggressive in espousing a virulent anti-Tamil line. It vehemently denies any contact with the Tamil liberation fighters and labels their struggle an "imperialist plot." It attacks the UNP government from the right, denouncing it for "secret attempts" to "foist on the country a federal solution." The JVP has pledged not to attack the army and police by word or deed while they are fighting "terrorism." JVP head Wijeweera pledges "sacrifices" for the nation and the JVP slogan is "Defeat Eelam." This year the JVP celebrated May Day with resolutions in its trade-union paper, *Malima*, labeling the Eelam movement as "overflowing with CIA agents who are acting according to US imperialism's regional strategy.... The revolutionary movement of this country rejects the Eelamist ideology and their violent actions." The resolutions attack the UNP for having "dragged the country to the brink of separation" and in effect call for the jailing of Amirthalingam, the most prominent of the respectable Tamil parliamentarians, denouncing J.R. for "the white-washing of Amirthalingam, who maintains relations with organisations that are directing violent acts towards the bifurcation of the country, as well as the continued free reign given to Amirthalingam to act contrary to the sixth amendment" (which illegalized advocacy of Eelam). Thus the JVP, born out of the betrayals of the "old left groups," has now more than matched their capitulation to Sinhala chauvinism.

For Workers Revolution Throughout South Asia!

The situation on the island is on a downhill slide into even greater communal bloodletting. The main left parties in Lanka are steeped in Sinhala-chauvinist class collaboration. The petty-bourgeois Tamil guerrilla organizations are nationalist, pandering to the Indian bourgeoisie and indifferent to the crucial struggles of the plantation workers. A revolutionary workers party opposed to popular-frontist alliances and standing firmly for Tamil self-determination must be built. This is what the Spartacist League/Lanka is fighting for. Among elements of the Tamil activists the SL/Lanka, despite its small size, has won for itself a reputation as the only consistent defenders among the Sinhalese for Tamil national rights. From among the Tamil militants, including the exiles in India, a Bolshevik nucleus must be forged, linked to the construction of a Trotskyist party throughout the subcontinent. In their newspaper (*Lanka Spartacist* No. 8, January-March 1985) our comrades put forward the revolutionary slogans around which such a party must be forged:

- Not nation against nation but working class against capitalist class!
- Not one cent nor a drop of blood for the racist war!
- For the right of Eelam for the Tamil nation!
- Release all political prisoners branded as "terrorists"!
- Defeat the anti-Soviet war drive!
- For a federated socialist republic of Lanka and Eelam!
- Forward to a soviet socialist republic of South Asia! ■

Appeal from Lanka Union...

(continued from page 9)

attempted to break the strike and get the workers back to work, but his attempts failed. One or two scabs who were trying to enter the factory were warned by the striking girls and sent away. However, on false complaints made to the Police by a scab, three Branch Union leaders—the President, Treasurer and the Assistant Secretary of the Branch Union—were taken into custody and remanded on 19.2.85 till 28.2.85, but our Union fought strongly their case in the Magistrate's Court to get them released before the 28th. One such attempt was made on 21.2.85 through the lawyers but failed. The second attempt made on 25.2.85 through the lawyers succeeded and the three girls were bailed out on a very high cash bail order of Rs.2,500/- each (about $100) i.e. Rs.7,500/- for all three girls (about $300). The bail order, we understand, is the highest bail order in the history of such offences. The alleged offence was that of "obstruction and throwing rotten eggs" on scabs, which under normal circumstances is a bailable offence which can be dealt with on the spot by the Police.

You will note how seriously this type of alleged incidents are being treated by the present Government. The girls who were in the Remand Prison and now released are determined to carry on with the struggle against the Employer despite all obstacles by the Employer until they achieve their demands. Our Union hopes that the Minister of Labour of our country will not interfere under the powers vested on him under the Industrial Disputes Act and refer this dispute, too, like the dispute of Magnum Garments Ltd., for settlement by compulsory arbitration, which would mean that the workers will have to call off the strike.

Our Union has given much publicity to the strike amongst the working class in our country. Periodical meetings are being held amongst the workers to ensure that they carry on with the strike.

The question, as usual, is now to sustain the strikers who have not received even their earned wages for December, 1984. Even the little bits of jewelry the workers had have been pawned to meet part of the Bail money—the major part of the Bail money being met by our Union.

Our Union will be very grateful to you if you could canvass the support of the American workers, as done in the past by you, to assist us in the struggle. As indicated by us in our previous correspondence, the class struggle against capitalism by the proletariat continues—whether they are in Sri Lanka or in the United States.

We join the American workers unitedly against oppression.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,
S. Siriwardene,
General Secretary

Lankan Women Workers...

(continued from page 9)

nuclear war with the Soviet Union, uses racism to divide white workers against black workers in the United States. J.R. and the capitalists are trying the same trick here. I ask you not to be fooled.

The great Russian revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky, once said that when they are aroused there will be no better fighters for communism than the women of Asia. I hear people say that women in Sri Lanka are not interested in politics, that they are backward. Yes it is true that women have special problems and burdens. But I cannot accept these excuses. I know that women workers can and must be in the vanguard of the struggle.

British imperialism made super profits from the tea plantations. Now the Sri Lankan capitalists share these profits. But still the plantation workers live and work in terrible conditions. Now the capitalists also want to make fat profits from the workers of the Free Trade Zone and textile industry. They make you a slave until you are a human wreck and then they throw you on the rubbish dump. It is the Tamil women of the plantations and the young women in factories like Magnum who are the real heart of the working class in Sri Lanka. There can be no bright socialist future in Sri Lanka unless you take your place in the forefront of the struggle. Don't listen to those men who tell you that you can and must only follow behind. I know you can be the best fighters and leaders, just like Trotsky said.

As I said we will support your struggles. We have big differences with the comrades of the LSSP [reformist Lanka Samasamaja Party]. I read yesterday that an LSSP leader said capitalism is to blame for all the troubles in society. This is true, but how can you fight capitalism when you join in governments with capitalist parties which oppress workers and even become minister of finance and taxation.

No, if we want to free ourselves from exploitation and oppression, if we want to build a society that is fit for ourselves and our children to live in we cannot do it in alliance with the capitalists. We must sweep capitalism into the rubbish dump. We must build working class unity—in Sri Lanka, in Asia, in the world.

Thank you very much for letting me speak to you. Workers of the world unite! ■

Migra Terror at El Centro Concentration Camp

Asylum for Salvadoran Refugees!

WV Photo

Central American refugees caged by Reagan's migra Gestapo at El Centro.

LOS ANGELES—Seventy-five U.S. Immigration (INS) cops armed with baseball hats rampaged through the El Centro desert concentration camp in the early hours of May 31, the fourth day of a hunger strike by 56 prisoners, mainly Central Americans. A strike leader, Salvadoran José Israel Gómez Murrillo, described how five cops grabbed and handcuffed him: "I was beaten unconscious because I was weak from the strike, and then they dragged me around the yard as an example." Other inmates beat the walls in protest (Los Angeles *Reader*, 7 June). Another Salvadoran protester, José Alberto Ramírez Flores, was badly beaten in the face and received no medical attention for four days.

The hunger strikers, who initially numbered 190 of some 500 camp inmates, were demanding political asylum and protesting desperate conditions. *La migra* has concentrated Salvadoran refugees seeking political asylum into the jammed El Centro holding pen, marked by inadequate food and medical attention, poor sanitation facilities, physical abuse and lack of access to lawyers. Inmates are forced to stand outside in the blistering, 100-plus degree desert sun *14 hours a day* while their air-conditioned barracks are empty and locked. Before the cop assault, the INS had already barred relatives and attorneys from any contact with the protesters. Fifty-three of the strikers (23 of them Salvadorans) have been shipped out to other detention centers as far away as Seattle. Seven who maintained the hunger strike into the fifth day were handcuffed, thrown into *El Lobo* (the isolation chamber), told that they had lost any right to legal representation and threatened with force-feeding. A local minister posted $28,750 bail to free them two days later.

Charged with "orchestrating" a hunger strike whose participants were being held incommunicado, attorney Graciela Zavala of the Imperial Valley Immigration Project, which represents many of the refugees at El Centro, was banned from appearing before any body of the INS as a means to deprive the protesters of legal counsel. As evidence of the government's hard line against these refugees, of all the applications for asylum Zavala has filed with the U.S. State Department, not *one* has ever been granted. The American ruling class is at war against the workers and peasants of Central America—there and here. Los Angeles is home to a *quarter of a million* Salvadorans, yet only 3 percent of those who have requested asylum have been given permission to remain in the U.S. The INS stalks its prey in the terrified population of immigrant workers whose only "crime" is to have fled for their lives from death squad terror and to be forced to work for low subsistence wages.

The raid at El Centro coincided with the week-long INS "Operation Employer" June 3-7, marked by factory and street-corner roundups leading to the detention of 936 undocumented workers in the Los Angeles area. In the largest single roundup of its type in a decade, INS cops targeted Latin workers who congregate at well-known pickup points for casual day labor that proliferate throughout the city and county of Los Angeles. Carlos Holguin of the National Center for Immigrants' Rights said the raids on factories were often launched in collaboration with bosses threatened by union organizing drives (*La Opinión*, 6 June). Plants hit by the current raids ranged from manufacturers of doors to furniture, mattresses and textiles.

The plight of Central American refugees in this country grows increasingly desperate. Nabbed by *la migra*, Mexican workers usually choose "voluntary" deportation and attempt to return over the border immediately or within a short period. But for Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Hondurans, a deportation order is often a death certificate. Previously, an immigrant who applied for asylum when threatened with deportation was released under his own recognizance by posting a $100 bail bond. Under Reagan, the price has been upped to a whopping $2,500—so hundreds and thousands of Latino refugees languish for months in the camps like El Centro in California's Imperial Valley, or Texas' El Paso Detention Center. Incarceration has become such a growth industry in Reagan's America that many "illegals" are sent to the growing number of *private, for-profit* prison operations such as those authorized in Texas and New Mexico (*New York Times*, 11 February)!

Stepped-up repression at the INS camps accompanies the ruling class's hardening attitude against the immigrant population. The capitalists generally seek to *regulate*, not close off, the border so they can maintain a pool of superexploited, desperate workers without rights. But behind all the racist "brown peril" hysteria, Reagan's talk about hordes of "feet people" crossing the Rio Grande, lies a growing concern that the U.S. could become infected by "wetback communism." Just as in World War II, when racist hysteria about a "Jap fifth column" went hand in hand with concentration camps for Japanese Americans, today the "foreign workers steal your jobs" lie is pushed as part of a conscious campaign of poisonous chauvinism to *prepare the population for war*. Meanwhile, the INS is introducing elite SWAT squads at the border; trigger-happy *migra* cops shoot a Mexican child across the Tijuana/San Ysidro border; the panoply of infrared tracking devices, helicopter surveillance units and fascist vigilante patrols multiplies.

While various legal aid groups are now organizing to protest conditions at INS jails, this is part of a much bigger picture. As the government's vindictiveness in going after the church "sanctuary" movement for Central American refugees demonstrates, you can't fight the repression without confronting the imperialist war drive which produces it. While sadistic mass murderers like Marshal Ky and anti-Soviet Polish refugees get the red-carpet treatment from Ronald Reagan, Latin workers fleeing the bloodbath of Reagan's "free world" contras and juntas in Central America are locked up in concentration camps. Asylum for Salvadoran, Guatemalan, Honduran and all refugees of death squad terror! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! ■

Pilots Strike...

(continued from page 16)

PATCO of 1985. Four years ago Reagan needed a little help to smash PATCO, the air controllers. He got it from the AFL-CIO tops, from people like IAM president William Winpisinger, who refused to shut down the airports in solidarity with the controllers. Now once again Winpisinger is herding scabs instead of building picket lines. Hiding behind the no-strike clause in their contract, the cowardly IAM misleaders are "seeking permission" from the federal courts to honor ALPA picket lines. These are the same courts that had PATCO strikers hauled off to prison in chains! This is what passes for "progressive" unionism in the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), of which "Wimpy" Winpisinger is a leading member.

This social-democratic program of chaining labor to the capitalist class—to its government, its Democratic Party, and its company boardrooms—helped pave the way for the union-busting steamroller that threatens to squash ALPA. Back in 1979, another DSA-style "progressive" labor "statesman," former United Auto Workers (UAW) head Doug Fraser, began the flood of "givebacks" trading a billion dollars of his union members' pay for a seat on the Chrysler board of directors. Since then the UAW has continued to fork over billion upon billion to the companies while hundreds of thousands of auto workers are still laid off. Encouraged by these and other concessions in steel, transport, etc., the bosses have decided to go for labor's throat.

Noting that "many companies are taking actions that would have been unthinkable a few years ago," labor reporter William Serrin ran down the litany of union-busting in the last year:

> "... the Phelps Dodge Corporation, the copper company, where nonunion personnel have been hired during the strike; Continental Air Lines, which has hired nonunion pilots in its strike; the Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, a timber products concern that hired a nonunion work force after a strike; the Danly Machine Corporation, a Chicago-area stamping press manufacturer, which used nonunion workers in a strike and wrested concessions from the union; the A.T. Massey Coal Company, which is continuing operations despite a violent mine workers' strike and by New York City hotel operators, who are continuing operations despite a strike by employees."
> —*New York Times*, 4 June

The attack on ALPA by the biggest and richest airline in the country means this union-busting thrust is pointed at the heart of the American labor movement. Locked in a fight for survival, the elite ALPA has been forced to act a little like a union. Strikers' wives have been enlisted for picket lines and other strike duties—a tactic introduced to the American union movement by the old IWW and later popularized by the communist militants who pioneered the CIO industrial unions, but since gone the way of other class-struggle traditions jettisoned by the pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

The pilots are in danger of losing this strike if they continue to take on United alone. Already ALPA chief Henry Duffy is saying that if the union is defeated, "we'd put it under our belt and absorb it," denying that the United strike is a "watershed." And the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) is holding separate back-to-work negotiations with United, and according to the *Chicago Tribune* (5 June), "Sources said the pilots would not deem an early return to work by the attendants as a betrayal"! More than a betrayal, it would be suicide. This defeatism at the top is a threat to all airport workers, who have a vital stake in the United strike.

ALPA strikers and other airline union members are clearly looking for a way to win this strike. At a June 2 strike support rally attended by more than 500 pilots, AFA members, Teamsters, Machinists, transport workers and others, demonstrators bought 73 copies of *Workers Vanguard* with an article calling on the Machinists in particular to honor ALPA picket lines. Spartacist League supporters also distributed hundreds of copies of the *WV* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." The "Hardhall" supplement points to the road struggles like the United pilots strike must take to beat back the union-busters:

> "Solidarity is not sending $500 and a valentine. Solidarity is respecting picket lines, it is secondary boycotts, 'hot-cargoing' struck products. 'But that's illegal,' the bureaucrats whine. So maybe some labor leaders go to jail six months *after* they surround the terminals with thousands of pickets and call a solidarity strike and the battle is *won* ... What counts is power." ■

Nicaragua Eyewitness...

(continued from page 5)

would be 'exporting revolution' and we can't do that." Says who? Says Ronald Reagan. In the past, FSLN spokesmen have occasionally talked about waging revolutionary war throughout Central America, linking up directly with the Salvadoran rebels and Guatemalan guerrillas, *after a U.S. invasion*. But that's too late. In fact, the *refusal* of the Sandinistas to extend the struggle throughout the isthmus is directly responsible for the present situation where the U.S. generals can hope to seal off Nicaragua "tighter than a drum."

There would be no string of contra camps and U.S. bases in the narrow corridor separating Nicaragua from the insurgent zones of El Salvador if in 1979-83 the Sandinistas had kept on going and established a *single front* with the Salvadorans. The FSLN's failure to do so is an expression of their policy of "nonalignment," of coexistence with Yankee imperialism. And this self-defeating nationalism is reciprocated by the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN). The FMLN even required that one of its components, the Central American Workers Party, break its ties with its Honduran comrades as a condition for entering the Front! And FDR leader Guillermo Ungo accepts the U.S.' supposed "right to stop the spread of communism" in Central America (*Baltimore Sun*, 3 May 1983).

WV Photo

no credit

"All Arms to the People" proclaims billboard at July 19th Plaza, cradle of Nicaraguan Revolution. Some 35 percent of the militia are women (left).

More than almost anywhere else on the globe, the need for proletarian *internationalist* revolution would seem self-evident in this region of mini-states, once part of a single Central American Union, which by themselves are condemned to the fate of banana, coffee or sugar republics subject to the dictates and depredations of the imperialist giant to the north. But in talking with leftist opposition groups in Nicaragua, our comrades found none who fundamentally break with the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Sandinistas. At most they dream of themselves in the FSLN's place, administering a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the Cuban model. The People's Action Movement Marxist-Leninist (MAP), an ex-Maoist group which campaigned in the November 1984 elections on a platform calling for the dictatorship of the proletariat, does give more attention to the civil war in El Salvador. But their idea of internationalism is fraternal relations with one or another sector of the Salvadoran FMLN—they want an alliance of nationalist Stalinist parties.

In the Central American "solidarity" movement in the United States, the "Russian question" is the scourge of the popular-front reformists who are one and all seeking to pressure the Democratic Party. Whatever their internal squabbling, the CISPES cesspool, PAM thugs and SWP "peaceful, legal" social democrats can all unite in anti-communist violence and even calling on the capitalist police to keep Spartacist signs calling for defense of the USSR and Cuba out of "their" demonstrations. They, like Reagan, believe that if Central America has anything to do with the Soviet Union, that would justify U.S. intervention. They cannot admit Central America is the front line of the anti-Soviet war drive—to do so would reveal the bankruptcy of their appeals to the imperialist "doves," who when it comes to Russia have only tactical differences with Reagan. *Yet today with U.S. forces poised for invasion the Democrats line up with Reagan, solidly approving the trade embargo (their policy in the first place) and voting for the "contra aid" bills they rejected only yesterday.*

The "Russian question" is inescapable in Nicaragua. For example, Washington threatened to go to war last fall if Soviet MIGs were delivered to the Sandinistas. The Spartacists unconditionally defend the Soviet workers state (despite bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinist rule); for the last several years we have demanded, "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua Needs MIGs!" But the MAP, which vaguely calls the Soviet Union a "revisionist" state, leaving undefined its class character, went through great contortions to write an entire article on the MIG crisis (*Prensa Proletaria*, December 1984) without once mentioning the USSR! As for those who consider our Soviet-defensist slogans a "provocation," what can they say about Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow—which has been used by Democrats and Republicans alike as the pretext for trade sanctions and invasion preparations? In Nicaragua, it is the *bourgeois opposition* who attack *the Sandinistas* for appealing to the Soviet Union.

While the Spartacist comrades were in Nicaragua last month, there was a running polemic between the FSLN's *Barricada* and the pro-Sandinista *Nuevo Diario* on the one hand and the capitalist mouthpiece *La Prensa* over who defeated Nazi fascism in World War II, the Soviet Union or the "democratic" imperialist Allies. On the wall of the FANATEX union hall and the CST union headquarters in Managua we saw giant blowups of the famous photo of a Red Army soldier raising the Soviet flag with hammer and sickle over the Reichstag in Berlin (published in *WV* No. 378, 3 May). This was obviously much more than a historical controversy. The future of Nicaragua was being fought out symbolically over V-E Day. The Soviet Union remains an inspiration for workers revolution, not because of the Stalinist leadership—which dreams only of "détente" even with a crazed counterrevolutionary like Reagan, who proclaims the contras his brothers and salutes Nazi graves—but because of the legacy of the October Revolution.

A final story: in our conversations at *Barricada*, the FSLN *responsable* (organizer) at one point asked us about the Socialist Workers Party. We replied that we had been expelled from the SWP 20 years ago for our Trotskyist politics. To which he responded, "Oh yes, you're the group that sent us money to buy arms." Word of the "Red Avengers of the Spartacus Youth League" has evidently reached Managua. We apologized for the small amount, noting that it was a symbol of the SYL's commitment, fighting "in the belly of the beast," to defend Nicaragua against Yankee imperialism. Having extensively discussed the political differences which separate us, he was able to appreciate this gesture of active solidarity with those who are courageously fighting "our" bloodthirsty imperialist rulers.

FSLN *comandante* Carrión noted last November as U.S. SR-71 spy planes flew overhead that "the threat, the danger of imperialist aggression will always be present, until the United States ceases to be imperialist." As North American revolutionaries it is our special task to resolve *that* problem. As a contribution to the struggle against Yankee imperialism throughout the planet, we call upon *WV* readers to give generously to the SYL's urgent fund appeal to "Defend Nicaragua! Donate Dollars—Down with the Contras!" ■

Hotel Strike...

(continued from page 16)

bosses long ago declared war on the unions in this city (the mid-'70s "Big MAC" fiscal crunch was in large part aimed at squelching NYC municipal labor). Transit workers bitterly remember Koch's strikebreaking in 1980, where he led a vicious media campaign against the strikers, mobilized the "yuppies" (led by his Democratic mayoral rival Carol Bellamy) for jogathons to work, and got the courts to slap the TWU membership with millions of dollars in fines under the anti-strike Taylor Law. Now, riding the national union-busting wave, the bosses here are so emboldened that they're out to scabherd on a mass scale—something that hasn't happened for decades in this once-solid union town. It's high time labor took off the gloves and fought back. With hotels sealed off by solid picket lines, deliveries shut down and mounds of garbage rotting in the summer heat, the hotel owners could quickly be brought to their knees. But to do that the backstabbing's got to stop and some union solidarity has got to be built on the picket lines.

Teamsters International president Jackie Presser issued a commendable call to members to "let the garbage pile up at every hotel that's on strike" (*Daily News*, 5 June). But that's been the exception. Longtime Central Labor Council leader Harry Van Arsdale's taxi union claims to be backing the strike, but many cabbies are doing business-as-usual at the hotels, and Local 3036 officials claim they "cannot order" their members to respect picket lines. But the vilest scabbing has come from the strategic city sanitation union. When *WV* asked hotel union spokesman Henry Sheinkopf whether the sanitation men had been approached for support, he immediately made excuses for them: "Yes, but they're public employees and they have to comply with the Taylor Law."

WV Photo

Hotel strikers stop city sanitation truck.

It's no accident that city union bureaucrats are hiding behind the Taylor Law as an excuse to scab. The enthusiasm and militancy of the hotel strikers is an inspiration for the transit workers who were screwed in 1980, to the hundreds of thousands of municipal workers who still haven't seen their contract, and to the rest of the working class of New York. Such an inspiration could unleash a flood tide of labor action that strikes mortal fear in the hearts of capitalist rulers on a national scale. If determined sanitation men and other city workers successfully bust the bosses' anti-strike laws *now*, it could open the way to a real labor explosion that will blow apart the cycle of givebacks and concessions. And that's exactly what the union bureaucrats are afraid of—*they don't want a showdown* with the city government and Democratic Party scoundrels they support. The politicians are terrified of this strike because it could cripple the functioning of this city as the capital of American capitalism. The hotels are a *necessity* for

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housing the international corporate and government executives immersed in intensive, high-level wheeling and dealing. The French minister of finance or the president of Krupp Steel can't operate out of a motel in New Jersey or Long Island.

Smash the Taylor Law through militant solidarity—no union was built or labor struggle won by adhering to the bosses' laws! To hell with the Democrats—for a workers party to fight for a workers government! What's needed in this strike are class-struggle tactics: stop the scabbing! Teamsters, stop all deliveries! Sanitation men, let the garbage pile up—let the bosses rot in Stink City! Taxi drivers, no pickups! Building maintenance workers, no repairs! Shut down the hotels!

WV Photos

Left: Hotel Trades Council president Vito Pitta prevents strikers from coming to the aid of an arrested picket. Right: June 6 march—Roach Motels for Scabs!

"You Gotta Kick Scabs in the Ass!"

Shortly before the midnight May 31 strike deadline, about 60 unionists sat down in the posh lobby of the Waldorf-Astoria. Soon hundreds of strikers poured out: bellhops, bartenders, maids, clerks and others massed outside, chanting, shaking their fists and marching around the giant hotel. At one point the militant crowd surged into the Waldorf's garage area, startling upper-crust guests, until the cops swarmed in and drove them out. The scene was similar at other hotels. At the posh Plaza hotel facing Central Park, workers surged around the building with picket signs while shocked guests in tuxedos and ball gowns looked on. All in all, 45 hotels were struck on the first day, while another two hotels locked out the workers. On June 4 the union struck nine more hotels.

On the morning of the first day the cops had their hands full. At the Plaza, a delivery truck driver decided to beat a hasty retreat when cars pulled up aggressively behind and alongside him, honking their horns; at the Waldorf, hundreds of pickets swarmed around, and at least a couple of scabs were roughed up; at the Regency, a garbage truck was driven off before it could pick up anything. It was a small taste of class war, and our side won more than a few. "You gotta kick 'em in the ass," one West Indian woman said of the scabs.

The same militancy emerged at a mass meeting of over 5,000 strikers on June 6. "Give Back What? They Must Be Crazy!" proclaimed a sign carried by one striker. "Welcome to New York—Now Go Home," said another directed at hotel guests. Outside the Helmsley Palace hotel the strikers hung a noose with the sign, "Scabs Sign in Here." After a brief speech by union leader Vito Pitta—strikers grumbled when he tried to praise Koch—the crowd spilled out of the Felt Forum. Shouting, whistling, chanting, they marched for a couple of hours all over midtown, past the major hotels. It was an impressive display of militancy, but it also blew off a lot of steam while doing nothing to bolster the picket lines and union solidarity necessary to win this battle.

What triggered the strike was the bosses' attempt to ram through a laundry list of takeaways, including the merging of job titles, the removal of some supervisors from the union, a two-tier wage system, and wage deductions to pay for benefits. On top of this the bosses offered an insulting 4.5 percent wage increase in the first year of a five-year contract and fixed raises of $14.50 in successive years—in an industry where workers on average take home a little over $200 a week. The union's own wage demand of 24 percent over four years was less than minimal. New York hotel owners are pleading poverty and the need to stay "competitive," but that's a transparent lie. As Pitta put it at a press conference June 5:

> "It's not economic—they could afford to pay the increases. So you tell me, is it an economic strike here? Or is it an attempt...to weaken the union, to intimidate us, so that they can intimidate the unions throughout the country."

This is a struggle for survival, and (so far) class solidarity has transcended race and sex lines. The hotel unions are over 50 percent women and largely Hispanic, with many blacks. The brutal violence of Koch's cops is nothing new to these strikers—they and their families have firsthand experience with the racist NYPD thugs-in-blue who have carried out grisly executions and torturing of the Michael Stewarts, Eleanor Bumpurs and dozens of others. The hated immigration police carry out intimidating raids and deportations against the many "illegal aliens" in the union. The bosses have attempted to play the race card, as many of the scabs are black youth, who face 50 percent unemployment. But the picket lines have been remarkably free of race-baiting, and the women strikers—many of them single mothers with children, barely surviving on subsistence pay—have emerged as real militants.

Within the rigidly class-collaborationist framework of American business unionism, the Hotel Workers and Restaurant Workers International and its organizing director Vincent Sirabella have been relatively aggressive. The union has led some bitter, lengthy strikes of late, at Yale University and in Las Vegas, using flashy techniques which distinguish it from the usual flabby style of the AFL-CIO. This alone was enough to earn the hatred of the capitalist state. The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations has recently been dogging the union for alleged "mob" influence, urging that "top officers" be removed. (Vito Pitta is one of those under indictment by a federal grand jury.) The bourgeois state always finds it convenient to have the more aggressive labor leaders facing prison, as happened to Teamster chief Jimmy Hoffa in the '60s. Government hands off the unions—labor must clean its own house!

Despite its greater willingness to throw up picket lines, the hotel union leadership is tightly tied to the political representatives of the capitalists, the Democrats and Republicans, often supporting downright reactionaries like Koch. In last year's four-month restaurant strike in San Francisco, the leadership of hotel workers Local 2 deliberately conciliated the bosses, hoping to avoid a militant struggle that would embarrass Mayor Feinstein, Mondale and the Democrats in an election year. Restaurants were struck selectively, the union did not demand that other unions respect its picket lines. The strike withered in isolation, overwhelmed by scabs and cops. In the end, the workers were saddled with a two-tier wage system, the elimination of seniority in selecting work stations, and the continued employment of scabs.

Relying on racist strikebreakers like Koch or hoping to wage a war of attrition fought in isolation from other unions could prove equally fatal in this strike. Yet the hotel union officials have already demonstrated their desire to cool out militancy. From day one Pitta complacently accepted scabbing as an accomplished fact, bragging that the scabs would not be able to make the beds, cook meals or run the telephones. On the contrary, these are largely unskilled jobs in which replacements can be (and are being) trained in a few days at most. After a number of scabs had been taught a lesson, Pitta warned 500 union delegates and picket captains at a June 1 meeting in the union hall against "a few bad apples," instructing the ranks to "cooperate with the police." Earlier that day Pitta showed what he meant when he intervened against his own members on the picket line who were trying to prevent the cops from arresting a union member. "Don't do this!" he lectured the crowd. "This is just what they want! Stay calm!" (see photo). And the cops made off with the striker.

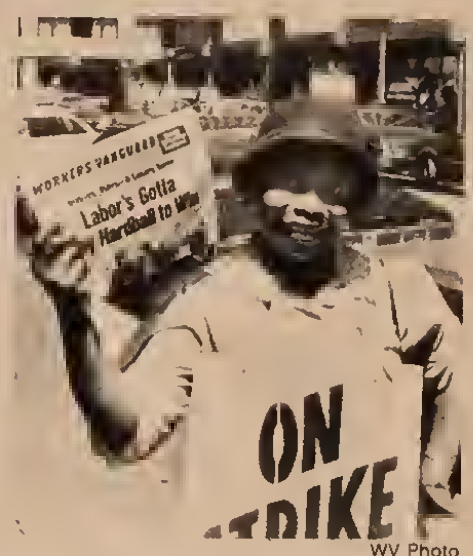
New York City is teetering on the edge in this election year. Even clerks at the vital Stock Exchange are threatening to walk out on Tuesday. What's necessary to *win* the NYC hotel strike is a fighting union leadership that can unleash the workers' militancy and organize it for some serious class struggle. The entire city labor movement must be mobilized to reverse the bosses' racist anti-union offensive. But that means a full-scale confrontation with labor-hater Koch, phony "friend of labor" Cuomo and the rest of the Democratic Party—and a sharp repudiation *in action* of the labor fakers' backstabbing, kowtowing to anti-strike laws and reliance on the capitalist state that have crippled the unions for so long.

Robert Redford and Kate Jackson refused to cross a picket line, so a dinner-dance of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts had to be transferred to Lincoln Center. The head of the uniformed firefighters warns that guests at struck hotels could be taking their lives in their hands by staying at unsafe facilities. But Victor Gotbaum, head of AFSCME's District Council 37 waltzed across a picket line into Le Cirque Restaurant in the struck Mayfair Regent Hotel. Tennis with Felix Rohatyn, anyone? It only takes a little class war to show the labor traitors in their true colors—bright yellow. Smash the scabbing with mass picketing—union solidarity with the hotel strikers! Smash the strikebreaking Taylor Law! Picket lines mean don't cross! Victory to the New York hotel strike! ■

Subscribe!

The New York hotel workers strike is shaping up into a battle for all NYC labor, and *Workers Vanguard* has been there on the picket lines since the first night. The militant mood of the unionists who see strikebreakers as the cockroaches they are was captured in the hand-painted banner recalling the popular "Roach Motel" jingle known to every New Yorker: "Scabs—They check in but they don't check out!" We were on the same wavelength—strikers snaking through the streets of midtown, repeatedly tying up traffic, welcomed our supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win."

One *WV* salesman, seeing a scab peering at the strikers from the roof of the St. Moritz, exclaimed, "dump!" A picket captain liked what he heard and grabbed a handful of her supplements to hand out. In the first week of the strike, 1,500 "Hardball" supplements have been distributed at the picket lines; 430 copies of our last issue of *WV* sold, as well as 64 copies of the Spanish-language edition of *Spartacist* (the hotel unions are heavily Hispanic). Hotel strikers: subscribe to the newspaper that fights on the side of the working people!



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Labor: Honor the Picket Lines!

Victory to NYC Hotel Strikers–Stop the Scabs!

JUNE 9—When the 25,000-member Hotel and Motel Trades Council struck New York City's major hotels June 1, the streets of Manhattan echoed with the sounds of class war. On the Friday night of the walkout, hundreds of strike militants swarmed around the posh Waldorf-Astoria and other high-class hotels, shouting "No contract, No work!" and teaching scabs a much-needed lesson. By daylight they were still there, slowing traffic, stopping scab deliveries and trying to prevent the scab garbage pickups. Repeatedly on the following days hundreds, sometimes thousands, of strikers snaked through the streets of midtown, disrupting traffic, chanting and shaking their fists at every hotel entrance. On June 6, over 5,000 strikers surged out of a mass meeting at the Felt Forum, Madison Square Garden, chanting "We're gonna win!" as they took off up Eighth Avenue toward the hotel strikers. "This is our first strike in 46 years so we might be a little rusty," said Vito Pitta, the president of the nine-union coalition. But many of the strikers got the right idea right away: "Scabs check in but they don't check out!" read a hand-scrawled banner carried on the mass march.

But spontaneous militancy is not enough. The hotel chains, their appetites whetted by the anti-labor atmosphere of the Reagan years, have hired and brought in thousands of scabs to break the union. And behind the hotel bosses stand racist swine Mayor Koch and the Democratic Party. After a cheap gesture of refusing to cross a picket line, the mayor—whom the hotel union leadership has consistently backed—got down to the real business of strikebreaking. Koch ordered city sanitation men to pick up the hotel garbage which private Teamster haulers refused to handle; he vowed to provide "as many cops as necessary" to protect scab deliveries (*New York Post*, 5 June). Over *4,000* policemen have been assigned to "special duty" as strikebreakers. Throughout the week the NYPD arrested dozens of strikers and kept the hotel entrances clear of pickets, but when a couple of scabs slashed two strikers with a razor or knife outside the Sheraton Centre in midweek, they had no trouble "escaping" through an army of cops.

The bankers and Democratic Party

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WV Photo

June 6: Five thousand hotel strikers take over midtown Manhattan streets chanting "No Contract, No Work!"

Ground UAL! Bust the Union-Busters!

Pilots Strike: Key Fight for Labor

IAM's Winpisinger Scabherds for Bosses, Again

CHICAGO, June 7—Even the professional blind men of the AFL-CIO can see that United Airlines (UAL) chief Richard Ferris is engaged in a "pure and simple effort to bust the union." So what do they do? Capitulate, or try to. But that has only encouraged the companies, who smell blood. Militant labor solidarity is needed, *now*, to bust this union-buster!

Five thousand members of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) walked out May 16 to oppose an insidious "two-tier" wage system demanded by Ferris to slash new-hires' wages almost in half. The ALPA sellouts worked out a tentative contract settlement two weeks ago that not only *accepted* a two-tier agreement but gave the bosses' arbitrators the power to extend it beyond five years. Yet Ferris wasn't satisfied by this belly-crawling appeasement—he wants the whole cake: elimination of the pre-strike seniority list; "super-seniority" for scabs; and denial of jobs to some 570 pilot trainees, all but four of whom shocked UAL officials by refusing to cross ALPA picket lines.

Now the pilots are on strike fighting for the survival of their union as Ferris aims to "rebuild" United with a new workforce of scab pilots, and every day the company is putting more jets in the air. The labor movement must bring Ferris to his knees! The key to winning this strike is to *stop the scabbing*. At Chicago's O'Hare Airport, UAL's base of operations, *thousands* of members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) are crossing picket lines to service the scab planes. *Mass picket lines, bolstered by contingents from other unions* throughout the Chicago area, are urgently needed to shut down United Airlines.

Ferris wants to make ALPA the

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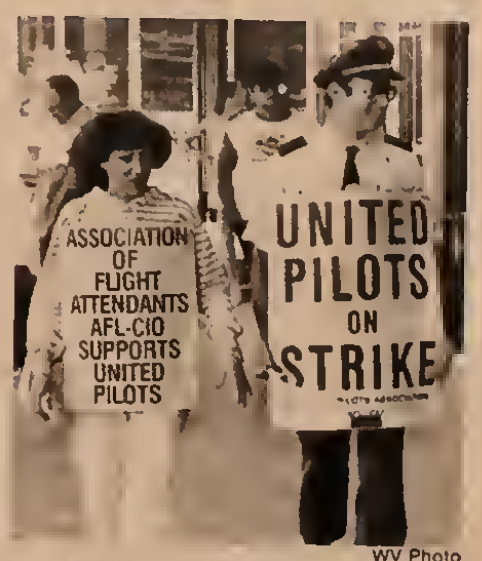

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Chicago's O'Hare Airport: "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"

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No. 382 — 28 June 1985

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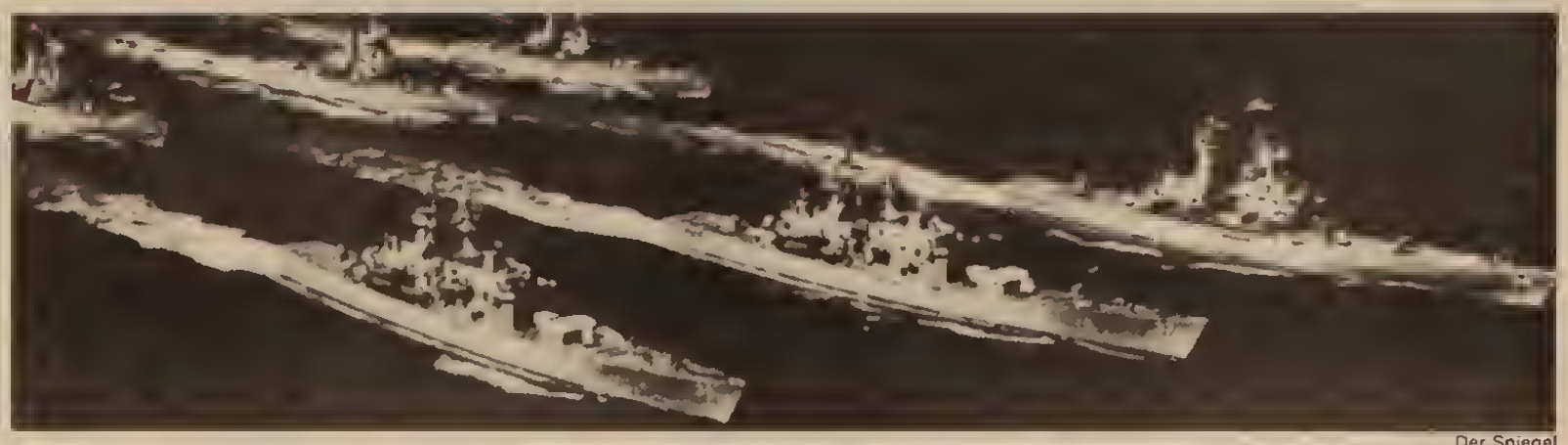

Der Spiegel

Reagan's Terror U.S.A.

JUNE 24—From the day he moved into the White House, Ronald Reagan has been America's "terror" president. His first secretary of state, General ("I'm in charge here") Haig declared that henceforth "Soviet-sponsored international terrorism" would "take the place of human rights in our concern." Reagan vowed to returning Iran hostages that the U.S. would respond to future threats with "swift and effective retribution." So when Shi'ite terrorists seized TWA Flight 847 from Athens, Greece on June 14 he was up against it.

As the Boeing jetliner went on a merry-go-round trip from Athens to Beirut to Algiers to Beirut to Algiers and back to Beirut again, many of his own supporters concluded that Reagan's policy is no different from "wimpy" Democrat Jimmy Carter's. The *Wall Street Journal* (20 June) titled an editorial "Jimmy Reagan." Gung-ho New Rightists are demanding action, now. But this administration already tried and failed miserably to impose a "Pax Americana" on the feuding ethnic communalists in Lebanon, and they're probably not anxious to repeat that fiasco. So since he's in hot water in the Near East, Reagan looks half-way around the globe to Central America for his target.

Right now the U.S. government is at its most dangerous. Determined to show it's not a paper tiger, it acts like a wounded tiger. Somewhere on the globe, Reagan will lash out against the Soviet Union or those he calls its "surrogates." A military blockade of Lebanon, air strikes against the

continued on page 4

Reuters

Israelis round up Shi'ite Muslims in Lebanon, March 1985.

Congress Votes for "Contra" Aid

U.S. Poised to Attack Central America

Defend Nicaragua! Military Victory To Salvadoran Leftists!

JUNE 24—In trouble over hijacking in the Near East, afraid of looking "weak" like Jimmy Carter over the Teheran embassy seizure, Ronald Reagan has announced he will strike back...in Central America. "Our limits have been reached," the U.S. president threatened last week. Asked to explain, White House spokesman Larry Speakes said, "It means that we are now drawing the line, we are laying out a specific plan of action, first in Central America," by upping military aid to El Salvador. Reagan was even more specific, saying he expected Congress to back steps he intended to take "to end the external support the Salvadoran terrorists receive from Nicaragua and the Communist bloc" (*New York Times*, 21 June).

Reagan has good reason to be optimistic about Congressional support, for on June 12 the United States Congress lifted a four-year-old ban on U.S. military action to overthrow the government of Sandinista Nicaragua. The issue wasn't the paltry $28 million for the CIA's counterrevolutionary ("contra") mercenaries. As the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (14 June) put it: "Congress buys a ticket for war in Nicaragua." In the guise of voting for "humanitarian" aid to a gang of murderers, *Republicans and Democrats alike have already given the green light for a U.S. invasion of Central America*. From here on in, it's a matter of time, and not very much time. As Speakes ominously noted, "The planning will take place in the next, in the coming days and weeks...."

The quick turnaround by the House of Representatives took the Sandinistas by surprise. They figured that class conciliation paid off last April when the Democratic-controlled House voted against contra aid. But their nationalist politics have blinded them to the anti-Soviet consensus shared by both U.S. capitalist parties. Democrats fearful of being labeled "soft on communism" caved in when Daniel Ortega went to the Kremlin asking for aid. And the Reagan administration adroitly exploited this by adopting the *Democrats'* program for trade sanctions. Now leading liberal "doves" like Brooklyn Democratic Congressman Stephen Solarz are calling for sanctions against both South Africa and Nicaragua. A Managua official reportedly said, "Our shock was very strong. We totally misread the reaction to the Moscow visit" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 June).

So the Sandinistas say, "Now we have to write off Congress and go directly to the [American] public." Their supporters are caught in a quandary. For half a decade the Latin American "solidarity"

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Franken/Sygma

U.S. military in "Fort Honduras" is getting ready for invasion of Nicaragua.

GEORGE LAVAN WEISSMAN, Veteran Trotskyist

1916-1985

no credit

George Lavan Weissman, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and a Marxist for almost 50 years, died on March 28 of a heart attack. On May 25 in New York 130 of Weissman's friends and comrades gathered to honor him at a memorial meeting organized by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency. The FIT was constituted by a group of primarily old-guard SWPers, including comrade Weissman, after they were bureaucratically expelled from the SWP in 1984. The range of speakers and letters of greetings to the meeting—from a grandson of Leon Trotsky, ex-SWP leader Myra Tanner Weiss, United Secretariat head Ernest Mandel, Trotskyist scholar Pierre Broué, and the Spartacist League's James Robertson, to mention a few—are a powerful testimony to Weissman's long and dedicated commitment to the Trotskyist movement.

Surviving Weissman are his second wife, Muriel McAvoy, and three stepchildren from his first marriage; his first wife, Connie, died in 1972.

Born in 1916, Weissman was won to Marxism as a student at Harvard University during the Depression. In 1936 he joined the Boston branch of the Socialist Party (SP) youth organization, the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL). At that time the SP and particularly the youth had moved leftward and the Trotskyists had entered aiming to recruit the best militants to Trotskyism. The Boston Trotskyists regarded winning over Weissman as key. And he soon joined the Trotskyist "Socialist Appeal" Caucus and was expelled from the SP with the Trotskyists in 1937. Soon Weissman had recruited an entire branch at Harvard. Weissman was a founding member of the SWP at its first conference in January 1938. And unlike so many of the ex-YPSL petty-bourgeois intellectuals who dumped the defense of the Soviet Union and Trotskyism in the 1939-40 Shachtman faction fight and split, Weissman stuck with the SWP's proletarian majority.

As a Trotskyist, Weissman was active in trade-union organizing: in a 1937 Boston seamen's strike, a Maine shoe workers' strike and a Rhode Island textile workers' organizing drive. He served briefly as SWP organizer in Boston and, later, Youngstown. In the late 1930s he sailed as a member of the National Maritime Union and once during the Spanish Civil War he tried to jump ship in North Africa to fight against Franco's fascists. Although he never made it to Spain, he delighted in describing his adventures to younger comrades in later years. In 1941 Weissman was drafted into the U.S. Army; he left the army in 1946 as a captain of artillery.

Weissman played a key role in preserving the heritage of revolutionary Trotskyism through his work as a director and editor of the SWP's Pioneer Publishers and Pathfinder Press and as a member of the committee which supervised editing and publishing Trotsky's works. He later served as the director of Trotsky's literary estate in the United States. At the time of the opening of the closed section of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard University in January 1980, Pathfinder Press sent up a team to examine the new material. Weissman's knowledge was such that he was the natural leader of the team.

Not only a leading intellectual and editor, Weissman was also an important activist in many SWP campaigns. He was a key functionary in the American Committee for European Workers' Relief after World War II; in the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee, which won back the civil service job of SWPer Jimmy Kutcher, the "legless veteran" fired by the government for being a communist; and in the campaign to fight the deportation of Carl Skoglund, a long-time SWP leader who organized Teamster drivers in Minnesota and helped lead the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike.

Weissman was also key in establishing SWP work with Robert F. Williams, the militant civil rights leader who organized blacks for armed self-defense in North Carolina (Williams was later forced to flee to Cuba and China to escape a "kidnapping" frame-up). When two black schoolchildren, Hanover Thompson, age 9, and Fuzzy Simpson, age 7, were jailed on a charge of attempted rape for being kissed by a white playmate in the infamous "Kissing Case" in Monroe, the boys' mothers called on Williams for help. When civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn flew to North Carolina to represent the children in court, Weissman came along. His article, published in the *Nation*, was the first real publicity the case received. Weissman served as secretary to the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice formed around this case. He continued his work with Robert F. Williams through the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, which defended the right of black self-defense.

In a telephone interview with *WV*, Robert F. Williams paid tribute to Weissman: "I remember him as a dedicated revolutionary and a person who really was a friend to all people struggling for liberation. He was instrumental in mobilizing a lot of support for our struggle in Monroe.... He also was friendly to people even though he might not have been of the same political persuasion. I think it would be good for young people today to study his life."

For many years comrade Weissman was a member of the SWP's leading bodies, the National and Political Committees. He wrote regularly for the *Militant* and served as its editor from 1961 to 1966. Speakers at the memorial meeting testified to Weissman's profound knowledge, especially of American history, which not only imbued his own writing but enriched that of his comrades. Weissman was a voracious night-time reader and he was usually unable to make it to the editorial office much before late afternoon. According to speakers at the memorial meeting this caused a lot of friction with the rest of the editorial staff.

Weissman's hours would cause no problem with the *WV* staff—for us, politics is not just a daytime job. Such a concept of a "9 to 5" regular schedule in the SWP was perhaps symptomatic of the wearing out of the SWP old guard of which Weissman was so prominent a member. By the early 1960s the SWP had begun to degenerate politically, hailing Fidel Castro as an unconscious Marxist and refusing to fight for Trotskyist leadership in the civil rights movement. By 1965 the party was thoroughly reformist and the "best builders" of the pro-Democratic Party antiwar movement, and the old boys were for the most part content to live in a party which kept the Trotskyist label only on paper. But the new boy to whom they turned over the leadership of their party, Jack Barnes, junked their Trotskyism

TROTSKY

LENIN

Blacks in the Proletarian Vanguard

In his 1939 discussions with a delegation from the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on the black question, Trotsky underlined its strategic importance for the American workers revolution:

We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class. What serves as the brake on the higher strata? It is the privileges, the comforts that hinder them from becoming revolutionists. It does not exist for the Negroes. What can transform a certain stratum, make it more capable of courage and sacrifice? It is concentrated in the Negroes. If it happens that we in the SWP are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie.

—Leon Trotsky, "Discussion at Coyoacán, Mexico" (11 April 1939)

This letter was sent to the May 25 memorial meeting to honor George Weissman by SL national chairman James Robertson.

17 May 1985

Dear Comrades:

I too cherish the memory of George Weissman and also of his wife Connie. Several years ago I belatedly heard that Connie had died; I have had no opportunity until now to express my sorrow at the passing of this really fine woman.

In the course of my not always entirely pleasant years in the Socialist Workers Party, George and Connie were almost unique in the friendship they extended me. This is a thing that one does not forget. Now they are gone.

George taught me something very important about the class struggle when once he described to me the reactions of a young socialist college student to a bitterly hard fought strike that he found himself supporting.

Fraternally,
James Robertson

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 382 — 28 June 1985

Mayor Goode: "Reagan's House Tom on Philly Plantation"

Cliff Carter, a black trade unionist, is a guest contributor to WV.

By Cliff Carter

A home in Philadelphia was bombed to kill all the people inside. This date was May 13, 1985, one day after Mother's Day. And too, in Philadelphia, Home of Brotherly Love. In America, Home of the Free and Land of the Brave, or vice versa.

Nothing can be said by Police Commissioner Gregore J. Samhor and Mayor W. Wilson Goode to justify themselves in the bombing; because what other reason would the police bomb a building with people inside except to kill them?

Who made the decision to bomb and burn down the neighborhood? Was it Sambor or Goode, or was it the CIA, FBI or the Reagan Administration with a special meeting held by Congress?

"Willie" Wilson Goode-man was placed in charge of the Philadelphia Plantation by the capitalist rulers. Goode was told to go along with the bombing and make things look as though he gave the orders. City mayors are nothing but fronts for the ruling class, and Goode falls in that category. Is Goode a House Negro playing the part of a House Tom on the Philadelphia Plantation?

The MOVE people were used as guinea pigs. The bombing of their home was a demonstration and lesson to show all left groups and militant labor union locals what will happen if they step out of line. This murder was well planned. The police chief ordered the fire fighters not to shoot one drop of water until the MOVE people were well fried, and the other homes completely beyond saving.

What's next on the agenda, or rather, who is next? Will the plantation owners send their House Toms (city mayors, black and white) after the militant trade union locals next? Is the black church next? This is just the beginning. Mayor Goode would set himself on fire first before he would take part in bombing a white neighborhood. Along with the chores given Goode (such as what to do, how to do it and who to work and where to work them) he was told who to bomb.

Malcolm X said in one of his speeches (from *Malcolm X Speaks*), "If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, 'What's the matter, boss, *we* sick?'" Now when Mayor Goode was told by cop Sambor that he (Sambor) had planned to bomb the MOVE home, Goode said, "Boss, make sure I know the time so I can see *us* bomb the MOVE people together."

The Philadelphia bombing was a product of black people being forced to live in segregated neighborhoods. A segregated neighborhood means a neighborhood that is controlled by city officials who have no real interest in it whatsoever. The same principles that apply to a neighborhood, apply to schools also. If the water, gas, electricity and the allowed money for repairs and operating the neighborhood are controlled by the city officials, then the people are at the mercy of the officials.

Meyers/NY Times

Miller/Woodfin Camp

Mayor Goode, Police Chief Sambor carry out Reagan's program for black America: bombing of MOVE, West Philly.

The United States government prefers black people to live in segregated neighborhoods and schools. With this, the U.S. could cut off money and miseducate anytime it (U.S.) pleases. And too, *drop a bomb anytime.*

The whole world watched the bombing in Philadelphia, and I am sure the working people from all "walks of life" are still stunned from what happened. In cities around the country, they read in the newspapers the Associated Press saying: "*The radicals might have engineered their own deaths.... They're insane.*"

This murder in the black community is no different from any other murder done by the police in the past. Black people are murdered (by the police), put on trial (yes, dead men and women have been tried by the United States courts) and found guilty of attempted murder (against the police), and murder (their own). We must not forget that the police have always had "open season" on the black neighborhoods ever since the ending of the Civil War. But now, the police departments have had an amendment added to their "license to kill." They (police) have been given black mayors to justify each and every murder committed on black people. The "sell-out, sold-out" Goodes are with us and increasing with every election, parading as Democrats and Republicans.

Eleven people were murdered and 61 homes completely destroyed. What have the AFL-CIO heads said concerning this? Are they too busy bread-breaking with the bosses? The AFL-CIO should break away from the Democratic Party and start working for the working people.

Police brutality in the black community will only be stopped by decent and concerned people free of the ties with the Democratic and Republican parties. A change of things (socialist revolution) will be done by the same people. ■

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and junked them too. In 1982 Barnes explicitly disavowed the theory of permanent revolution and attacked Trotsky as a hopeless sectarian, in order to move closer to the Cuban Stalinists (and Nicaraguan Sandinistas) for whom the party had long served as cheerleaders. Barnes expelled virtually every remaining veteran of the old party when they protested his open repudiation of Trotsky.

Why did the generation of revolutionaries trained by James P. Cannon in the class and factional struggles of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s allow the likes of Barnes to take over the SWP? Well, Farrell Dobbs hand-picked Barnes; probably he liked the results. Joe Hansen simply acquiesced while Cannon, in retirement, made a little trouble for Dobbs and Barnes from the sidelines. For the rest of them, maybe they thought they had a "doomsday machine": that when the time came someone would push the button and eject them from a degenerating party. They would say that the Revolutionary Tendency (RT, precursor of the Spartacist League), which fought the degeneration of the SWP and was expelled for it, pushed the doomsday button too early. But later there was nobody to push it (though Tom Kerry, to his credit, tried)—the veteran cadres who had known and cared about what Trotskyism was had been shunted off into "advisory" status, to be held in barely veiled contempt by Barnes' "insiders" and sycophants. The long-time party veterans had been deprived of any real influence in the SWP; by the time the final chop came, age and illness and death had claimed too many and what was left of this layer, represented by the FIT, could only protest honorably but hopelessly the open repudiation of them and their history by Barnes' party.

Jim Robertson recalled one indicative experience from 1960: "The SWP was running Farrell Dobbs for president and I was assigned to drive him to some campus appearances. In the car I was talking about the Lenin volumes that had just come out. Moscow was bringing out the full *Collected Works* and I couldn't wait to get my hands on each new volume. I was dismayed that Dobbs was simply not interested." For the SWP central leadership, Lenin and Trotsky had ceased to be centrally relevant to formulating political program. The old cadres were looking for something "new"—what they got turned out to be Barnesite anti-Trotskyism. The destruction of the SWP as a revolutionary instrument was accomplished programmatically in the early 1960s, expressed organizationally by the SWP's first-ever political expulsion—the purge of the RT solely for its "disloyal" political ideas. This expulsion was codified in the SWP's 1965 document on "Organization," written by Dobbs and accepted by Cannon, which has been the touchstone for every Barnesite purge including the final, contemptuous ouster of the veteran party members who recoiled from spitting on their memories of Trotskyism.

We remember that George Weissman was the only member of the SWP Political Committee to vote to hear the appeal of the RT to the SWP's 1965 convention. And we think that Weissman, in later years, might have appreciated Jim Robertson's statement, printed in the *New York Times Magazine* (25 April 1965) as: "We want to be a Trotskyite party that Trotsky would recognize." (Bitter note: In the interview, Robertson certainly used the term "Trotskyist." But back then the *Times* editors preferred the classic Stalinist pejorative "Trotskyite" and enforced this style across the board up until the late '70s.) To Barnes, Weissman and his generation were so much garbage. The SWP was conspicuous by its absence at the memorial meeting and the *Militant*, in Harry Ring's dishonest obituary of Weissman, reports that he "left" the SWP in 1984!

When Barnes' minions came to interrogate Weissman for "disloyalty" in January 1984 he threw them out of his house with the words, "I'm a Trotskyist; I still believe in Permanent Revolution and I refuse to regress to the Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry." For this defiance on the eve of his expulsion from the SWP, and especially for his years as a leading American Trotskyist, we honor the memory of George Lavan Weissman. ■

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Reagan's Terror...

(continued from page 1)

Bekaa, fostering a "pro-NATO" coup in Greece, sending the Marines and the 82nd Airborne into Central America to establish a *cordon sanitaire* around Nicaragua and even an invasion—it's all possible. From Moscow, *Pravda* warned on Saturday that Washington circles "wish to use to the maximum the incident with the U.S. plane in Beirut and the murder of six Americans in the Salvadoran capital to substantiate fresh dangerous militaristic actions."

Such behavior has already become a pattern. When Reagan took a beating in the opinion polls over his attempt at reconciliation with Nazi SS stormtroopers at Bitburg, we wrote: "The last time he was in trouble was over Lebanon, and he responded with the invasion of Grenada. What will it be this time?" (*WV* No. 378, 3 May). The answer was trade sanctions against Sandinista Nicaragua, a deliberate act of war. This time around it looks like he's planning to send in the troops and planes to stop the "Communist/terrorist menace" in

Montecinos/AFP

El Salvador: U.S. Marines were legitimate targets of guerrillas in bloody civil war.

Central America. Asked about U.S. actions in response to the TWA hijacking, White House spokesman Speakes replied, "Wait and watch." We say, watch out for Reagan's "Terrorism Made in U.S.A.!"

Imperialist Provocation and Hysteria

The imperialist machinery of provocations and military hysteria has been put in motion. To justify it, Reagan lumps together three sharply different situations: Beirut, San Salvador, Frankfurt. The Beirut hijacking by Shi'ite Muslims is an ambiguous situation. Taking random travelers hostage is a repulsive action, in particular the brutal beating and then murder of a Navy diver. Yet those 700-plus Shi'ites being held hostage in some Israeli concentration camp didn't exactly get due process either! And sadly one nationalist atrocity invites another. In contrast, in El Salvador, where over 50,000 have died at the hands of U.S.-armed death squads or from U.S.-supplied bombs, four Marines were killed by an urban guerrilla commando—a legitimate act of war. And then there is the Frankfurt airport bombing which killed two Australian babies and wounded scores of people—some kind of weird attempt at mass murder for no known purpose, by an unknown group.

Ronald Reagan and the American government, who have armed and trained murder squads from Nicaragua to Afghanistan, have no right to say anything about "human rights" or morality. They are dripping with blood. The American president claims it's a crime against civilization that those Marines were shot in San Salvador. Yet thousands upon thousands of Salvadoran peasants are being slaughtered in savage carpetbombing, indiscriminate shelling and sweeps by the U.S.-aided and "advised" puppet army of death squad "demoerat" Napoleón Duarte. More than a fifth of the population of five million has been turned into refugees by this "free world" terror. As Radio Venceremos of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front put it, "Did Ronald Reagan think that he would come to make war in El Salvador and that his soldiers were not going to die?" (*Washington Post*, 23 June). But that's what the rulers of this irrational system do think.

When an American major was shot sticking his head in a Soviet tank shed in East Germany, for Washington that qualified as "terrorism." Now the U.S. is complaining that some leaders of the anti-Soviet Polish Solidarność, Reagan's favorite "union," have been locked up. But what about when the entire leadership of the Salvadoran center-left was brutally hacked to pieces by the security forces as they tried to hold a political meeting in a Catholic high school in 1980? If that's not terrorism, what is? According to U.S. standards, when Cuba aids black Angola in fighting off an invasion by white supremacist South Africa, that's "terrorism." But the no less than *eight* separate attempts by the CIA to assassinate Castro, the bombing of a Cubana airlines plane, the assassination of Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier—by the lights of Reagan's America that's all legitimate defense of the "free world" against "godless communism." This government sends a civilian airliner with over 200 innocent hostages aboard on a spy mission to provoke Soviet air defenses, then when the plane is downed screams about Soviet "barbarism."

Administration spokesman Larry Speakes declares, "We must act against those who have so little regard for human life and the values we cherish." As there isn't enough "terrorism" around to feed the "anti-terrorism" war crusade, on March 8 a car bomb attack on a pro-Iranian Shi'ite clerical leader, killing 75 people in Beirut, was organized by a hit squad contracted by the CIA. In turn, the Israel-sponsored "South Lebanon Army" recently took 21 Finnish United Nations soldiers hostage in order to pressure the Amal militia to return some of their men who had defected. But now the Shi'ites have taken on the biggest terrorists of them all, and Reagan & Co. would love to use the big stick. Already the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* and its battle group are cruising off the Lebanese coast with a Marine amphibious force on hand, and a unit of the "anti-terrorist" Delta Force is reportedly in Cyprus, only 100 miles from Beirut.

Beirut Terror Tangle

The present "terrorist crisis" was all too predictable. The Shi'ite seizure of the TWA airliner is indefensible, but they had plenty of reason to do it. When the Israelis literally kidnapped 1,100 men and boys as they were retreating from Lebanon this spring, dragging them off to prison camps in Israel, we wrote: "Each Shi'ite killed by the Israeli army creates more sons, brothers, sisters and grandfathers willing to be martyrs in the fight against the Zionist Satan" (*WV* No. 377, 19 April). Now the chickens come home as Shi'ite terrorists have seized American hostages, demanding the release of 766 of their co-religionists held by Israel.

The "moderate" Shi'ite group Amal, headed by Nabih Berri, is willing to do business with Israel and the United States. When the Israelis launched their 1982 *Blitzkrieg* invasion of Lebanon to "purify" it of Palestinians, the Shi'ites were more than willing to cooperate. They recently launched a murderous onslaught against Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut and southern Lebanon in an attempt to disarm the PLO. Israel, which engineered the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila by the Christian Phalange, says it was planning to release the Shi'ite prisoners anyway, *to unleash them on the Palestinians*. The Zionists said they were "impressed with the way Amal had been fighting the Palestinian guerrillas in Beirut and wanted to add to Amal's strength by sending back some of its most able fighters" (*New York Times*, 19 June).

The Israelis now say they can't release *their* hostages, because to do so would give in to "international terrorism." The U.S., in turn, says it won't "cave in" to the hijackers' demands. Meanwhile, Reagan is discovering the problem Carter faced—how to take action without being blamed for getting the hostages killed. The American public may applaud Sylvester Stallone's *Rambo* on the screen, but pulling off a commando raid or some other military stunt or act of mindless vengeance could easily backfire. An Indiana audience

NEW YORK POST

METRO

SWAT TEAMS RING CAPITOL

U.S. on alert for terror attacks here

Reaganites use "terror scare" to regiment U.S. population for war.

broke into chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" when Reagan proclaimed he would not yield. But almost six out of ten Americans polled said the main thing is to save the hostages.

The press is full of "America held hostage" headlines. Flag-waving superpatriots, Reagan's constituency, are tying yellow ribbons around everything in sight. TV commentators ask, "Is this America 'standing tall'?" Yet the American people still manifestly don't trust their government when it comes down to it. They sympathized with Allyn Conwell, spokesman for the hostages, when he warned Reagan against intervening militarily, and said with dignity:

> "We understand that Israel is holding as hostage a number of Lebanese people who undoubtedly have as equal and as strong a desire to go home as we do."
> —*New York Times*, 21 June

Administration spokesmen initially attacked the hostages' eloquent and sensible plea, but then quickly backpedaled. White House advisers no doubt remember that when a lone Shi'ite fanatic drove a truck bomb into Marine HQ in Beirut in October 1983, killing 241 U.S. soldiers, public opinion rightly blamed *Reagan* for sending American troops into this slaughterhouse in the first place.

Reagan's back in the Lebanese swamp again. Washington is frustrated, so *watch out world!* When they start talking about "terrorism" in Washington, it's time to hit the deck. When Reagan invoked emergency powers to order a trade embargo of Nicaragua, we warned: "How long before Democratic House speaker 'Tip' O'Neill looks out the window of his Capitol office to see it surrounded with dump trucks, supposedly to avert a 'terrorist threat'?" ("Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" *WV* No. 379, 17 May). The answer: one month. The 21 June *New York Post* reported in blaring headlines: "SWAT Teams Ring Capital, U.S. on alert for terror attacks here." And when some guy shot his mom in the State Department building they went crazy with security measures, turning the building into something like the Beirut Airport. Why? Evidently, the Reaganites are expecting to be treated like they treated the black MOVE group in Philadelphia.

For the current gang in power in Washington, "terrorism" is any perceived threat or serious resistance to what they consider the interests of the U.S. government. And "terrorists" are anybody they intend to destroy. After Reagan ripped up the PATCO air controllers union, striking Continental Airline pilots were hauled into court charged with "terrorism." When they firebomb that back-to-nature black commune in Philly, killing eleven people and incinerating an entire neighborhood, naturally their victims are proclaimed "terrorists." Salvadoran guerrillas, the democratically elected government of Nicaragua, staid bureaucrats in the Kremlin—these are all "terrorists" in Reagan's book. And the Nicaraguan "contras," who specialize in rape, pillage and grisly murder, are "freedom fighters." The big terrorists, armed and dangerous, are in the White House, fighting against freedom all over the world. ■

U.S. Bars Jewish Red Army General

On June 6, three prominent Soviet Jews were excluded from the United States. Invited by *Jewish Affairs* magazine to a celebration of the 40th anniversary of V-E Day, Soviet general David Dragunsky, a Red Army war hero twice decorated with the Hero of Soviet Union medal, Lev Kaufman, chairman of the Jewish Autonomous Region, and historian Andrei Belaev were denied entry visas. Condemning the exclusion as "a blatant act of anti-Sovietism and anti-Semitism," General Dragunsky added, "We see this act as linked to President Reagan's laying of a wreath at Bitburg Cemetery where 49 members of the SS are buried" (*Daily World*, 12 June). The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following telegram condemning this outrage:

Telegram

11 June 1985

Secretary of State George Shultz
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Condemn exclusion from U.S. of three prominent Soviet Jews, Andrei Belaev, Lev Kaufman and hero of Red Army triumph over Hitler, Colonel General David Dragunsky, whose family fell to Nazi terror. Reagan salutes SS at Bitburg, brings Nazi-style racist murder to Philadelphia as he prepares nuclear "Operation Barbarossa." This exclusion is outrage to every victim of and fighter against fascist terror.

Partisan Defense Committee

Ali Agca and the Preposterous "Bulgarian Connection"

Shot Pope, Thinks He's Christ

Billed as the "trial of the century," purporting to show a KGB link to the shooting of the pope in May 1981, it has certainly been a spectacle. But like the Nazis' show trial half a century ago over the burning of the Reichstag, this effort to conjure up a Communist connection to the papal assassination attempt has backfired spectacularly. On the very first day of the trial in the giant Foro Italico courtroom bunker, Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turkish fascistic fanatic who shot the Polish pope John Paul Wojtyla shouted out: "I am Jesus Christ! I am omnipotent, and I announce the end of the world!" As Agca raved on before hundreds of journalists and TV cameras, the anti-Soviet inventors of the "Bulgarian connection" like long-time CIA groupie (and sometime *New York Times* correspondent) Claire Sterling could only cringe in their ringside seats. The prosecution may have "god" on their side, but their case is unraveling day by day.

For the past three and a half years, Sterling's "terror network" crowd has been churning out classic CIA "black propaganda" with lurid stories of a Soviet hand in the "pope plot." From the beginning, as a *Le Monde* (26-27 May) article noted, "The 'Bulgarian connection'...rests essentially on Agca's say-so." And Agca has been saying the most contradictory things—whatever he has been fed and/or his interrogators want to hear—hoping to get released. Now in open court this madman sounds like a certified Reaganaut railing against the Soviet "evil empire." "I can say with certainty that the political and financial center of world terrorism is the Soviet Union," proclaimed the convicted assassin. Agca claims the Bulgarian secret service also ordered the bombing of Radio Free Europe, and hired him to gun down Polish Solidarność leader Lech Walesa, Tunisian president Bourguiba and the prime minister of Malta.

At one point Agca shouted out, "The order to kill the Pope came from the Soviet embassy in Sofia," the Bulgarian capital. But when it comes to proof for these bombastic charges, the peddlers of the "Bulgarian connection" lie have produced a big fat zero. When the judge expressed frustration at the frequent alterations of his testimony, Agca replied that he would raise up a dead man in the presence of President Reagan and the UN secretary general, "provided the Vatican tells the absolute truth that I am Jesus Christ," and that the Bulgarians were guilty (*New York Times*, 25 June). And last week the case was blown wide open when a major organized crime figure who has turned state's evidence, Giovanni Pandico, declared that Agca had been coached in jail by underworld figures and Italian intelligence. Pandico is the star witness in a trial against 251 suspected mobsters of the Comorra, the Neapolitan equivalent of the Mafia.

In an interview with the weekly news magazine *L'Espresso* (23 June), Pandico said that General Musumeci, former deputy chief of SISMI, the Italian military intelligence agency, met in March 1981 with the jailed head of the Comorra, Raffaele Cutolo, and made a deal to get Agca (who was being held in the same prison) to implicate the Soviet bloc in the shooting of the pope. Two months later the Turkish gunman, who previously denied having any accomplices, suddenly became "cooperative" and told investigators that the plot was hatched by Bulgarian intelligence officials. Musumeci, a member of the anti-Communist Propaganda 2 (P-2) "masonic" lodge, was arrested last fall on charges of setting up a secret "Super-SISMI" (Super-S) tied to organized crime and fascist groups.

Mari/Libération

Pope meets Agca (left): My son, just stick to the story, for god's sake! May 1981 assassination attempt (below).

AP

The Many Lies of Ali Agca

During pre-trial interrogation, Agca's testimony went through more recantations and "refinements" than most cats have lives. And now every time he opens his mouth in court this convicted assassin, who faces a life sentence in Italy and a death sentence in Turkey, tells a different story. Tiring of the cat-and-mouse game, Judge Santiapichi last week asked in frustration, "How do I know which are the lies: the old version or the new?" The version we've been told to believe by the *New York Times* (10 June 1984), that pillar of establishment respectability which has been serving as a mouthpiece for terror "expert" Claire Sterling, is that "the Bulgarian secret services recruited the man who shot Pope John Paul II in 1981 in a plot to weaken the Solidarity movement in Poland." But now even the *Times* is bailing out. After four weeks of the trial, reporter John Tagliabue wrote a "news analysis" (22 June) noting that "Mr. Agca has, by his own hand, inflicted crucial damage on his credibility," that he "seems to gamble with the truth like a bargaining chip."

The problems for Sterling's "theory" only begin with the fact that Agca publicly threatened to assassinate the pope immediately after escaping from prison (where he was jailed for murdering a liberal Turkish newspaper editor) *in November 1979*, just as John Paul II was about to visit Turkey and almost a year *before* Solidarność emerged from the Polish strikes of August 1980. Even top CIA officials have doubted that the Russians would use an unstable element like Agca on such a mission. And the whole history of the "pope plot" has been as a stick with which to beat the Kremlin. The "Bulgarian connection" was launched by Sterling in a September 1982 *Reader's Digest* article as Soviet leader Brezhnev lay on his deathbed, soon to be succeeded by KGB head Andropov. And a quick glance at the dramatis personae in this elaborate production shows that the connections are primarily with the Turkish fascist right. Agca's reputed accomplices include:

- Omar Bagci, who set up a right-wing Turkish émigré organization in Switzerland; he delivered the Browning 9 mm. pistol which Agca used on his murder mission.
- Musa Serdar Celihi, the head of the "Grey Wolves," terrorist arm of the Turkish fascist National Action Party, in Frankfurt, West Germany; he supplied the cash for Agca's peregrinations in Europe in the months before the assassination attempt.
- Oral Celik, a "Grey Wolf" from Agca's hometown who arranged his escape from a Turkish maximum security prison in 1979; he was identified by Agca as the second gunman in St. Peter's Square on 13 May 1981.
- Bekir Celenk, according to Agca one of the heads of a reputed "Turkish Mafia" in Sofia, wanted on drug and arms smuggling charges in Italy and Turkey; he is the putative link to Bulgaria.

So Agca is tied to Grey Wolf Bagci, to Grey Wolf Celihi and Grey Wolf Celik, while Celenk—currently under surveillance in the Bulgarian capital—insists he never met the would-be papal assassin. Sterling & Co. would have us believe that Grey Wolf plus Grey Wolf plus mafioso equals Soviet plot! The *only* tenuous link between Agca and Bulgaria is his claim that he stayed in Sofia for 50 days in 1980. Yet the passport he was carrying when arrested shows him entering and leaving the country in a single day, as hundreds of thousands of Turks do yearly in transit between West Europe and their homeland. And the "vast" quantities of money Sterling claims Agca spent (roughly $50,000) could easily be payments from his Turkish underworld associates for services rendered as a professional hit-man.

On the dubious basis of Agca's testimony, 18 months after he was convicted for the crime, three Bulgarians were also indicted: former Rome embassy personnel Todor Aivasov and Major Zhelyu Vassilev, and the hapless Sergei Antonov, the Balkanair official who has been under arrest for the last two and a half years in Italy. While the professional killer became a media star and even received a visit in his comfortable cell (complete with a TV set) from Pope John Paul II himself, who forgave the assassin, Antonov was denied bail even though he never tried to flee the country; was held behind bars for months, transferred to house arrest because of physical and mental exhaustion, then thrown into jail again.

Sergei Antonov resembles nothing so much as a character in a 1930s Eric Ambler spy novel, an innocent accidentally caught in a grotesque web of intrigue. He is described as "thin and haggard" and "almost expressionless" as he stands with dignity in a cage in the Foro Italico listening to the interminable legal wrangling. Will he be thrown to the lions in this Cold War judicial circus? We demand that Antonov be freed at once and all charges be dropped against the three Bulgarians, against whom there is not a shred of evidence, only the absurd and totally unsubstantiated fabrications of the assassin, who has admitted to lying repeatedly and "playing a double game."

Examining magistrate Ilario Martella, who presented the 1,243-page indictment of Ali Agca's alleged confederates last October, made much of the gunman's ability to "remember" details of the Bulgarians' physical features and descriptions of their apartments. But in every case, the slightest examination exposes glaring contradictions:

- *Plots and plans:* Agca claimed a planning meeting took place on 10 May 1981 at Antonov's flat (described in detail) with his wife and daughter present to serve tea. But when Rossittsa Antonova presented documentary

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Der Spiegel

Free Sergei Antonov, Bulgarian official framed up in anti-Soviet "disinformation" campaign.

Geronimo Pratt Speaks From San Quentin

Victim of COINTELPRO Frame-Up— Free Former Black Panther Leader!

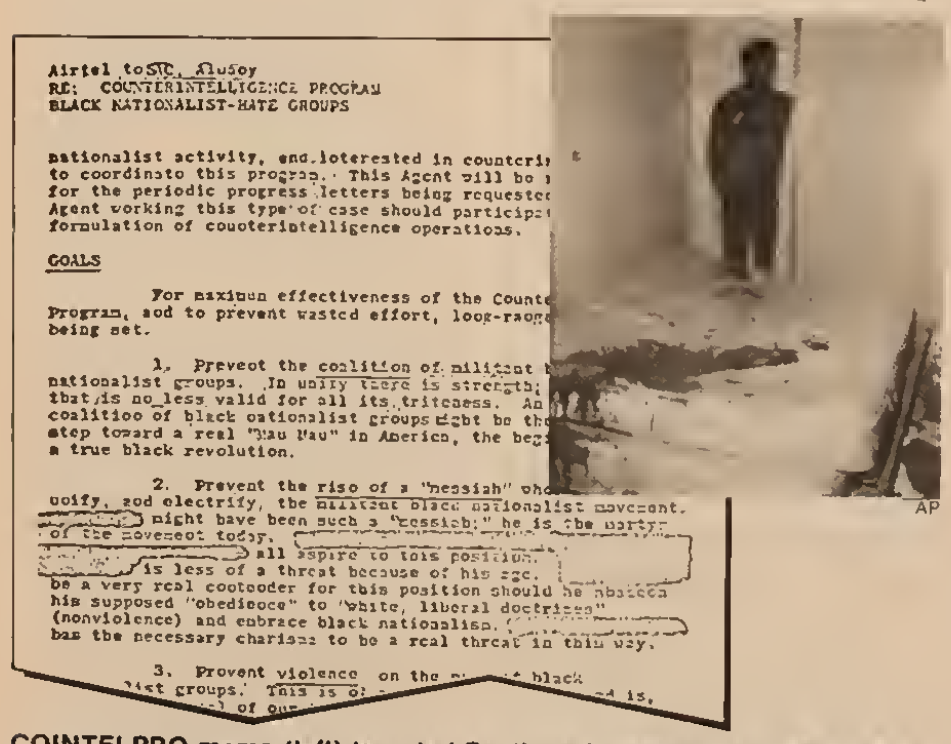
WV Photo

America's foremost class-war prisoner, former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, has been behind bars for 15 years, including *six in solitary*, for a crime he did not commit. America's monstrous, racist rulers, who relish incinerating black babies and an entire black neighborhood in Philadelphia, have mobilized their murderous resources to "neutralize," to crush or kill this black militant as they did the rest of his Panther comrades. But Pratt has survived.

He grew up in Klan-infested southern Louisiana. Given the lack of job opportunities Pratt joined the army at the age of 17, serving two tours of duty in Vietnam where he was a highly-decorated paratrooper. Like many veterans radicalized by the Vietnam War, Pratt returned to racist America and sought in the Panthers the vehicle through which he could place his experience at the service of the black liberation struggle.

Pratt immediately became a prime target for the FBI's "Counterintelligence Program" to exterminate black activists. Of the 293 COINTELPRO "operations" against black groups, 233 were against the Panthers. In the ensuing government terror campaign, Panther offices were smashed, hundreds railroaded to prison, and 38 Panthers mowed down in the streets. In the 4 December 1969 massive FBI/cop raid in Chicago, Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were murdered in their beds. Four days later they came for Pratt in L.A. In a pre-dawn raid, hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos, armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers and dynamite, surrounded the Panther headquarters where Pratt was living. As helicopters circled overhead they subjected the house to a five-hour barrage. Due to his war wounds, Pratt was sleeping on the floor and survived, only to be arrested for "conspiracy to assault policemen"! The violent *police conspiracy* was so obvious that even an overwhelmingly white jury threw the charges out of court. However, Pratt was sent up on the more minor weapons charges.

While Pratt was in jail on these charges, the government—unable to kill this Panther militant in bed—decided to subject him to a "legal" lynching. Based on the "testimony" of one Julio Butler, an LAPD agent and FBI informer who lied on the stand about his relation with these agencies, Pratt was framed up for the 1969 murder of a white Santa Monica schoolteacher. The government suppressed FBI wiretaps that would have shown Pratt to be 500 miles away at the time of the crime, visiting Panthers in Oakland. Recently, retired FBI special agent Wesley Swearingen, formerly assigned to the Los Angeles office, has come forward to say straight out: "Pratt was set up." Combined with evidence of the frame-up released by the government under the Freedom of Information Act, Pratt won a new evidentiary hearing in federal district court this past January; the judge's decision is still pending.



Airtel to SAC, Albuquerque
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counteri
to coordinate this program. This Agent will be
for the periodic progress letters being requested
Agent working this type of case should participa
formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counte
Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range
being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant
nationalist groups. In unity there is strength;
that is no less valid for all its triteness. An
coalition of black nationalist groups might be th
step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beg
a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who
unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement.
might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr
of the movement today.
all aspire to his position.
is less of a threat because of his age.
be a very real contender for this position should he abandon
his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines"
(nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism.
has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the
black
ist groups. This is o
ed is,
of our

AP

COINTELPRO memo (left) targeted Panthers for assassination and frame-ups. Chicago Panther leader Fred Hampton was murdered in his bed by massive cop/FBI onslaught in 1969.

The Panthers of the late 1960s were deeply committed to black liberation but they lacked a proletarian perspective to show them the road. They glorified the ghetto uprisings as a mass revolutionary onslaught that would liberate the black community from the "pig," requiring only their heroic example to extend and organize. Inspired by the heroic examples of Castro's Cuba and Ho Chi Minh's Vietnam fighting racist American imperialism abroad, the Panthers believed the black ghetto could be a base for guerrilla warfare against the American state. But against the concerted terror of that state they never had a chance. Under the withering repression of the bourgeois state the Panthers split: the Huey Newton wing (under the influence of the Communist Party) descending into sniveling reformism while the Eldridge Cleaver wing supported by Pratt expended its cadre in the dead end of "urban guerrillaism." Today, Newton and Bobby Seale are immersed in the same Democratic Party the black power movement once despised, while Cleaver turned to the sinister ultrarightist Moonie cult.

What is outstanding about Pratt is that he has maintained his dignity and remains unbroken and committed to the principles of black freedom which imbued the best fighters of his political generation. Barred from the prison library, Pratt nevertheless managed to read widely giving himself a university-level education. Throughout all his years behind bars, even from the hellhole of solitary, he has refused to seek parole because it would require an admission of guilt, and he has vigorously pursued every legal avenue to win his unconditional freedom and expose the FBI/LAPD frame-up which put him in chains.

Pratt's freedom must become the cause of every enemy of racial oppression and every class-conscious worker in the U.S. and abroad. Drawing the lessons of his political generation is indispensable to forging an integrated revolutionary workers party that can smash this racist capitalist system once and for all. The Spartacist League is proud that through our press the silence of prison walls can be broken and the voice of this courageous black militant will be heard. The following interview with Pratt took place at San Quentin on March 13. SL central committee member Al Nelson conducted the interview for *WV*.

Nelson: Now, the hearing is over. What are your thoughts about what came out of the hearing in court?

Pratt: First of all, there was a lot of lying, deception, cover-up again. You had a lot of fear and intimidation that seemed to be coming from the counselors of the FBI who were trying to cover up what this one FBI [ex-agent] Swearingen, who had been in for a long time, had exposed. So they grouped together and developed a systematic attack or refutation of his testimony. It left it in the balance, whether he was telling the truth or whether all these dudes were lying.

The information came out in '76 via the Freedom of Information Act, all of this information from different angles showing that I couldn't have done this murder. And they continue to ignore it. They continue to stonewall and drag it on. I think that up to this point it's been very clear that what they've been doing, the government and their courts, is to continue to stretch out the lie of this criminalization. I'm not a criminal, never been a criminal, never consider myself a criminal. This *criminalization* process of the movement of the '60s that I come out of, right?

Nelson: Yes. It was part of the government's COINTEL Program, and it became public and it was known then explicitly that the FBI had a whole program to bust up the Black Panther Party and so-called "neutralize" its principal leaders, like yourself.

Pratt: What does "neutralize" mean? You know what I am saying? It means to kill. In that situation they mean to kill you, if they can't get you run out of the country, straight up kill you.

Nelson: We were very concerned ourselves about what you described as the attempt to criminalize political organizations. The post-Watergate reforms didn't put to rest COINTELPRO police-state methods. Now these methods have been given a more open and sinister expression by the attempts of the Reagan administration to criminalize political organizations. We recently won an important victory for democratic rights in a successful settlement in our suit against the FBI.

Pratt: It means a lot to every prisoner of war who is victimized out of that war of the '60s, the '70s, every political prisoner.

Nelson: In our publicity about these new FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, we often used the example of the Black Panther Party, referring to these new guidelines as "the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun." It was with the Panthers in mind that we determined to challenge these new FBI guidelines that make all political dissent some kind of "terrorism."

Pratt: Very much needed.

Louisiana "Klan Country"

Nelson: Let's talk some about your background. You said you're from Louisiana.

Pratt: I'm from Africa by way of Louisiana.

Nelson: It's a very racist Klan-infested area, Louisiana. What were some of your experiences growing up?

Pratt: The Klan killed a friend of mine. I think we were about nine or ten, swimming in the Atchafalaya River. See, I was born and raised on the Atchafalaya River in the town they call Morgan City, 50 miles from the Gulf of Mexico in the swamplands of the Mississippi delta.

First time I went to jail was for speaking to a white woman, first time I ever saw the inside of a jail. I was about 11 or 12. Something, again, I didn't even do because I grew up down there. I knew the rules.

So you're talking about experience. I've seen things firsthand. My brother was attacked by the Klan. We were attacked by the Klan three or four years later while we were out "trick-or-treating" one day. Until this day my brother has—he suffers from blackouts and migraine headaches from the beating that he got that night. My whole family was right there to repel that situation or he might have been killed. We've been in a lot of situations in the South, confrontation with the Klan. I grew up in that situation.

When people refer to the South they automatically say, "It's the racist South." That's true, but since I have been out of the South it seems like the racism out here is far more lethal, it's far more difficult to deal with. Down there it's more straight up. You know what's happening, and they attack you, you attack them, you have a right to. Nobody blames you. You know the law can come with their laws and their manipulations, but the rules seemed to be more understandable.

AP

Black Panther Party defended right to armed self-defense, protested gun control bill in Sacramento, May 1967.

I grew up in a very tightly knit family, you know. But the militancy was always there in me and I've been rebelling against those evils all throughout my life. That feeling of community that you grow up in, you go out and you catch 50 catfish, you come back. Everybody in the community was going to eat catfish.

Nelson: Did you know about the Deacons for Defense and Justice? We ourselves publicized and supported the Deacons for Defense and Justice when they were first formed in '64-'65 because we supported the right of organized, armed self-defense. And at that time, and now, we are somewhat unique in that respect.

Pratt: Sure. They were our heroes. The biggest influence in that area had come from the Marcus Garvey movement in the '20s. You've always had a lot of militancy in that area where I'm from. You got the Indians, you got the Africans, the mulattos, you got the mestizos, you got the Creoles, the Cajuns. You got a lot of diverse situations and a lot of ways it's been dealt with throughout history.

And family members, they were all very touched by the Garvey movement and it had still existed, the aftermath of that, even though technically—the FBI did Garvey the same way they did the Panthers and are doing people today with the same programs. Strangely enough, started by J. Edgar Hoover himself when he was about 20-something years old, against Garvey.

Nelson: As a young man in those days, were you influenced by the speeches and ideas of Malcolm X?

Pratt: Yes, very much so. But when I was talking about Garvey, I was talking about the older generation. When you are with the older people you listen to them talking, and you would hear something about the African Blood Brotherhood, every now and then. You would hear about the Liberty Party every now and then. Also, the Maroons [descendants of escaped black slaves]. The Deacons were well-loved, and it was a situation that really nurtured me in a very nationalistic sense in which I'm criticized a lot.

I call myself Jaga, not Pratt, right? Pratt is the alias that's on me. The Jaga people never submitted to slavery. They preferred to die. They preferred to attack—you know, sacrifice themselves to death rather than submit to slavery. And this trend is consistent throughout our history, but it's distorted by the major media, by the black bourgeoisie and media both, historians, who are basically ignorant of the truth, who do not go and do scientific research....

Nelson: I don't think it's so much a question of ignorance as the attempts by all these you refer to, to discourage independent political struggle on the part of working people and black people. That's how we see it. Malcolm X criticized the "respectable" black leaders for deceiving people with their views of pressuring the government.

Pratt: Yes. You have those problems too. I look at that as non-antagonistic contradictions that can be struggled with through a non-antagonistic criticism/self-criticism situation.

But when you have a long trend of a historical pattern that starts before Jamestown.... And we have actual *examples* from archives, i.e., of African prisoners of war in 1525-1526, how long after Columbus is supposed to have discovered this place? They tried to enslave them up near the Pedee River, in what is now called South Carolina. They rebelled, ran the Spanish back to Haiti, back to Hispaniola, and the POWs were accepted by the native peoples here, probably early Tuscarora.

Now, here are *100 Africans*, POWs captured in war way back in the early 1500s, as opposed to *20 Christianized Negroes* in 1619 in Jamestown, Virginia nearly 100 years later. And that's where, according to shallow historians, our history is supposed to begin. It's not supposed to begin with any militancy. Our history has been that of very militant stands and trends. That's why I'm not ashamed of anything I have done. I'm proud of it, in fighting against these injustices. For I am a continuation of that spirit and legacy....

Blacks and the Vietnam War

Nelson: The Vietnam War had a strong impact in the black movement in this country. Muhammad Ali said, "No Viet Cong ever called me a nigger." Many Vietnam vets, I understand, also joined the Panthers. What was the war's impact on your own political development?

Pratt: Tremendous. It's hard to find a place to begin.

Nelson: I understand that at one point in 1967 you were part of the troops that were sent into Detroit, to quell the riots.

Regan/Newsweek

Detroit, July 1967: National Guard tanks and 82nd Airborne fresh from Vietnam sent in to crush black ghetto explosion.

That itself must have been the most extreme kind of contradiction.

Pratt: Yes. I was a sergeant and I had done the year over there [Vietnam] that was required. And they sent us back, but before we were sent back they had the situation in Detroit. And they called the paratroopers in to quell it because the National Guard couldn't do it. It just so happened that the paratrooper unit they sent out, our unit, were something like 60-70 percent black and quite—immediately they pulled us out of there. We stayed there about two weeks.

Nelson: What was the reaction of yourself and other black soldiers in that situation?

Pratt: It was almost like R&R. In my platoon everyone was pretty supportive of the movements that were going on, very understanding. See, you have to understand we were nothing but street people, country people in uniform. We were following everything just as closely as anyone else during that time, and in the position to help do things about it, you know. That's why we were pulled out of Detroit quick. They claimed quite a few weapons and munitions were stolen, and a lot of suspicion occurred, and some National Guard troops were shot by army weapons, and they couldn't figure out where they were coming from, the troopers or the rioters.

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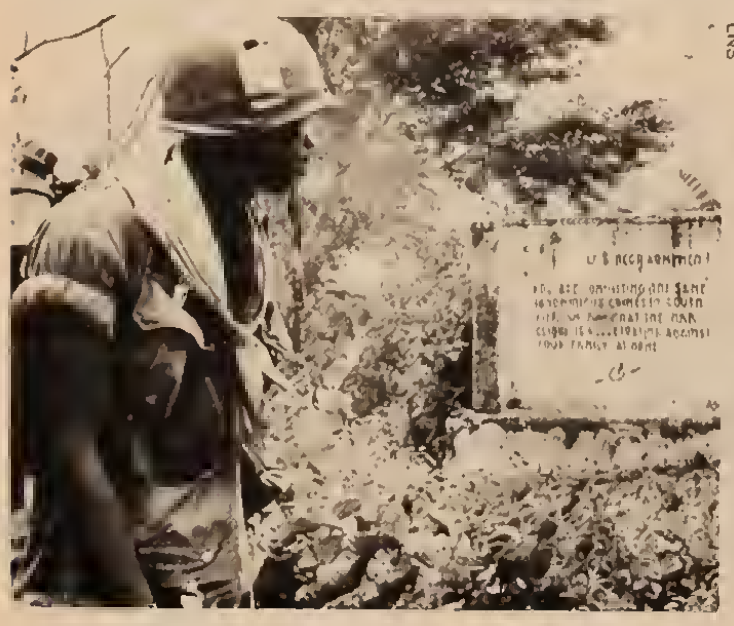


LNS

Vietnam. Sign reads, "U.S. Negro Armymen! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home."

Pratt...

(continued from page 7)

So it was a lot of suspicion, a lot of investigation.

Shortly thereafter we were sent against our will back to Vietnam during the height of the Tet Offensive, right in the middle of it when the Marines were pinned down in Hue. We had to go and save them, then march down the street, you know, like we took over the city. It was a very manipulated situation, since the North Vietnamese Army was already withdrawing when we arrived.

Nelson: You were a much-decorated Vietnam veteran, I understand, including two purple hearts, two bronze stars, one silver star, three combat infantry badges, a soldier's medal and a master paratrooper, etc., so you must have seen a lot of very heavy fighting yourself.

Pratt: Yes. We were always in what was called the boondocks, right? And it was always contact. Not every day. Sometimes it would last for two and three days at a time. Sometimes it would go, I don't think no longer than four days without some kind of fire. So it was constant.

Nelson: The contradiction of fighting in Vietnam and then coming home to a situation where there was such continuous and deep racism in this country must have been a heavy influence on a lot of your generation, and particularly black men.

Pratt: I grew up in Klan country, fighting the Klan. I ended up in a lot of situations in Vietnam where I talked to North Vietnam soldiers, regulars. They talked English just as good as I did, and talked very knowledgeably of our history and struggles, the contradictions, and they even knew things about Louisiana. I was enlightened a lot in Vietnam, a hell of a lot, from a lot of different angles.

During the second tour I was standing on a bunker right outside of Hue, in a town called Phu Bai when Martin Luther King was killed. And a friend of mine, Sergeant Brown was sitting over there. He was crying and I was standing on the bunker overlooking this old cathedral that had been bombed—been there since the 1400s, just the foundation—when we got the news. That was right before I left the army.

Black Panthers in Los Angeles

Nelson: When you left the army you eventually found your way to Los Angeles. Is that when you became a supporter of the Black Panther Party?

Pratt: No. I got out of the army and went back home to Louisiana. My sister was going to college at USC [University of Southern California]. She was home for the summer. And I drove her back to Los Angeles, and it was with the intention of coming back.

I never joined the Panther Party. I was going to enroll in school in the South. I never intended to enroll in school here. But the night I came—I'm going through Watts to see a friend of mine, who I had known in D.C. And I saw the police had some blacks, a whole family straddled against the car and a helicopter going overhead with a light, a big bull-light. And right away I had a Vietnam flashback. It was just like Vietnam, you know? And seemed like everything I would see, every corner I would turn in Los Angeles was pathetic.

I began to have discussions with brothers and sisters that I would meet about this. Eventually, my sister talked me into enrolling in UCLA, which I did, and the discussions grew. I met Bunchy Carter who was a Panther, but I never did join. After Bunchy, a highly revered Black Liberation Movement leader and founder of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, was assassinated he left a tape. And on the tape he suggested that if anything happened to him—he had suspected because the feds had indicated that they would kill him—that I would be the best person to take his place in the organization. I didn't find this out until a month later Bobby Seale called me up to Oakland and played the tape for me. And I first refused, because I wasn't intending to do that. But I went back to Los Angeles, and I think Kathleen Cleaver called. She came down and we talked. And it wasn't until a few months later when Bobby and Eldridge came to talk at the college.

I would be with them, but I would never say, "Okay, I'll take this position." But I finally did because of the cold stuff that the police were doing to the remnants of the party in Los Angeles. And when I saw that I could be effective, I could do some good.... I had no real intentions of staying with the party that long, or joining the party. You know, making a commitment for that long.

But I'll tell you one of the main things that really turned my head. I was standing on campus at the dormitory, and Bunchy and some Panthers would come up, and some Muslim members and stuff. There was a lot of activity during those days. And I had this car. I would let them use the car for community programs. We wanted to do things and be active in the community, right? We were students. And we started a free clothing program. This is during the time we came up with the idea of the free breakfast program, but that didn't materialize until later. Then we started free ride programs for old people, and making some positive contributions, and the feeling was beautiful.

Then all of a sudden, LAPD started jacking people up, whipping people, shot a brother with his hands cuffed behind his back. Understand what I'm saying? These things are very provocative. And I'm an able-bodied member of the African race who is being attacked. So therefore I'm their soldier.

Nelson: The Panthers were the best expression of the black power movement in this country, who in a contradictory fashion fought to remain independent of the bourgeois establishment. What do you see as the legacy of the Panthers? For instance, I understand that there was a great deal of discussion about the question of the lumpenproletariat versus an orientation toward the organized working class.

Pratt: For the first part, we did have a policy of not fraternizing or communicating with the government, because they had a program of going around co-opting or buying off movements, and we were offered quite a few million dollars, quite a few, by various agencies from the federal government. And we refused to talk to them. I remember one day I was in the office with Eldridge and two of them came in. They offered $20 million for a program under the guise—now this is how they would get the money to us—of community programs, right? And Eldridge immediately jumped up and kicked them out of the office.

We had a policy of not doing that. In fact, until this day I have never talked to the FBI. This is one of the main things that they like to throw in my face all the time. I'm proud of it. They used to say that the reason why I'm still on their active index file, even though I've been in prison all these years, and I don't have any reason to talk to them, is because I view them as my enemy. So that policy still holds true with me.

Nelson: What are some of the political issues that were heavily debated within the Panthers?

Pratt: Well, the one you just mentioned, the problem that we had is that basically the movement was comprised of people who had come from the, what you would call the downtrodden sectors of the cities, or the country boys out of the swamps, like me, who had different views, or who viewed it that if you work "within the system," you're helping this dude make money off of you, and hadn't had too much refined understanding of this.

But we learned through study that this element or this strata of society was called lumpen, and so we began to identify with the lumpen as being the most advanced sector of our society, and the most able-bodied to set the spark that would start the prairie fire that would wake the sleeping masses, you know?

Nelson: Yes, I'm familiar with it.

Pratt: Erase all the apathy and get our people to understand the situation that we were in. We can get into a lot of discussion about Fanon—his book *Wretched of the Earth* was like a bible to us. Mao Tse-tung, and his works on that subject. Marx, Nkrumah, Cabral. It covers a lot. And we had a lot of ideological struggle about this.

Nelson: Were there those who argued for an orientation towards the organized working class?

Pratt: This was the overwhelming view. We couldn't deny that. We couldn't overlook that. Stevie Wonder could see that, you know. And it's very clear that the working class is the most dynamic thing in society, if you call it that. Back then it was largely debated. Always the argument would go to the support of the fact that the working class was the most important class in society. In other words, the lumpen could go either way. You can turn a snitch, or you can turn to one of the best fighters and patriotic fighters for the movement there is.

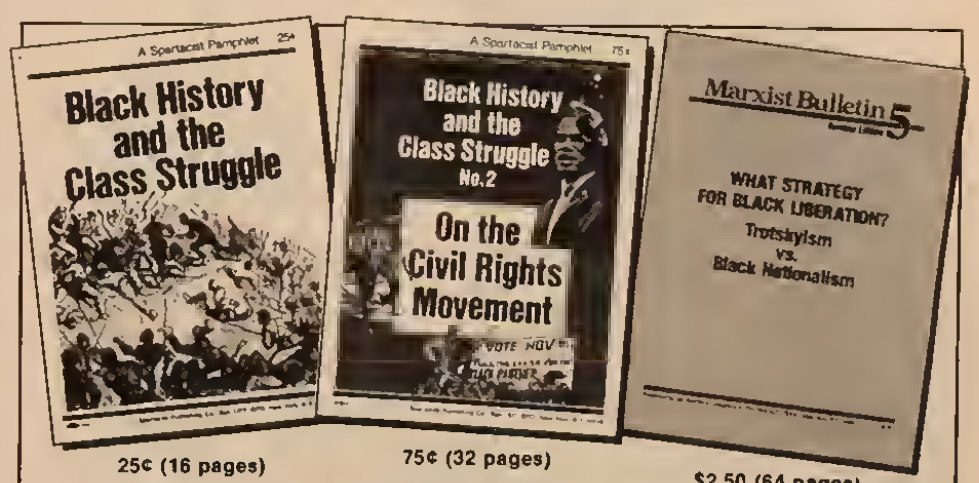
The sisters were very dynamic, in that our sisters were very progressive Panther sisters, especially in fighting and correcting macho attitudes, etc. When I say "Panther," I don't like to confine that because the movement was broad, way broader than the Panther Party.

AP Photos

8 December 1969: 300 cops assault L.A. Panther headquarters (left). Pratt (right, in 1971) was targeted for "neutralization."

AP

12 December 1969: Thousands of demonstrators jam L.A. Hall of Justice demanding freedom for Pratt and other Panther leaders arrested in cop seige.



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and we supported each other. We were active participants in the struggle, and so we were very aware of the infighting, such as the Black Panther Party vs. "US" [the L.A. black nationalist group headed by Ron Karenga] and there was a lot of effort to resolve those differences and struggle together in unity.

Nelson: If you look at the left these days and think back on those years you're describing, it's striking how far to the right the existing left organizations have gone. Many of the groups—at least of those who still remain—who used to support the victory of the NLF in Vietnam, now say in Central America, "No more Vietnams!" We considered that Vietnam was a victory for the whole working class, but now a lot of the groups, under pressure of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, want to stay away from the issue of revolution. For instance, we think that a military victory of the rebels in El Salvador would open the road to socialist struggle.

What are your views on the question of the Vietnam Revolution and military victory for the leftist rebels in El Salvador today?

Pratt: When I'm asked questions about things that have been going on since I've been in... these prison camps, I have a tendency to hesitate because I was out there in the movement when we were supporting a lot of political prisoners in here, and I know how alienated one can get in these situations, however much you read. But it's still clear, I'm still principled in that the revolutionary should always win.

I've been trying to create dialogue with people as much as I can, with people from your organization and trying to get understanding about what's happening out there, at the same time trying to deal with the heavy burden of my present situation. It's not easy, you know. That's why I don't want to pretend to be any good spokesman about the situation.

Nelson: Just asking your personal views.

Pratt: I support the revolutionaries, those who are moving against exploitation, against oppression, against man's inhumanity to man. And usually the United States, from the best evidence I've always known, is behind those kind of exploitations and oppressions of people of the lower classes especially, and of all classes.

Nelson: Since the Panthers were repressed by the state there has been no organization to take its place. Instead, it seems that for every new black face in a high place, like Tom Bradley or Coleman Young or Harold Washington, there has been a corresponding reversal of even the small gains of the 1960s. Jesse Jackson simply hustled black votes for Mondale, who didn't even pretend to stand for black rights. What are your opinions on the current crop of so-called "respectable" black leaders?

WV Photo

Detroit, 1979: Labor/black mobilization to stop Klan. Black workers will be in vanguard of American socialist revolution.

Pratt: You cover a lot. Old Bradley. I think that what you have is the realization of the very predictions that Fanon made, that Nkrumah and others made. What you have is a neocolonialist situation where you have a new kind of colonialism, like Du Bois used to talk about, the 10 percent of the Negroes who would be miseducated and their minds manipulated in order to support the existing structure at the sacrifice of the movement, you know.

Nelson: There is a program to keep the struggle for black liberation confined to the Democratic Party and subordinate to the government, which has been a dead end for black people.

Pratt: It is. I know Jackson, when he would come to the Panthers. I'm still an old disciple of Malik El-Shahazz, Malcolm, when it comes to criticizing people in the movement openly. Like Malcolm would say, we should discuss these things in the closet. But it's a problem in the entire movement throughout our history. That's why I talked about the history of what I would call the black bourgeoisie's misrepresentation of history.

Nelson: Well, the strong point of the Black Panthers, at least as we saw it, in those days was its arguments against what used to be called porkchop nationalism, that is, against the ethnic reformism of supporting the Democratic Party.

Pratt: Right. We didn't believe in the electoral process, period, because of gerrymander, because of a lot of reasons. When we ran Kathleen [Cleaver] for something, ran Eldridge [Cleaver] for president, it was part of our movement, to get issues across to the people.

Nelson: Well, as you know, Edwin Meese has now become U.S. Attorney General. He had a big hand in setting up the Los Angeles PD's "Black Squad" which targeted the Panthers for destruction. Are you at all familiar with the case of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, those two phone workers?

Pratt: I read about the situation.

Nelson: They were themselves the victims of collusion between the police and FBI because of her background in the Panthers. It took militant integrated working-class struggle to keep those two out of jail. Do you think the strategy could be important for your struggle for freedom?

Pratt: Working people, working-class people, they can effect change when organized quicker than anything and more justifiably than anything that I know of. So, sure, that's always effective, and in fact, the most effective tool, demonstrations, protests and what not. And I'm sure quite a few people are being educated by continued government harassments and oppression.

I wanted to mention, we didn't talk about the vast reservoir of rats, snitches and agents that were infiltrated into the movement back in the '60s, you know, all aspects of the movement. There's thousands of them. They're out there killing people. They're pushing drugs. They have a license to do these things because they had worked with the government before. And these people are continuing to destroy the inner structure of the black community, and I don't see too much written about it, and I don't see too much exposure on them. In Los Angeles alone there were 5,000 under the Ghetto Informant Program; 5,000, the GIP program; 5,000 in Los Angeles alone against the Panthers and US, and other progressive organizations.

Nelson: One of the most insidious aspects of these new FBI guidelines is the ability, this time legally, to infiltrate, with these kinds of agents, political organizations. That's one of the reasons we filed the court suit—the outcome of which declared that Marxists are not terrorists, we thought it was very important to get that across.

Pratt: Yes, I understand. At one of the hearings I was called a "terrorist" by the attorney general. It's just the same old propaganda game—like they used to redbait everybody, communists under every rock. I think it's growing weak on them, weaker and weaker. They are the biggest terrorists in the world, and I think it's becoming clear to people.

Nelson: In fact, that point has been made in our publications, that the government is resorting to these heavy-duty regulations precisely because they don't have the support of wide sections of the population.

Pratt: I was a terrorist in Vietnam. Spread a lot of terror.

Nelson: They don't count that.

Pratt: A lot of terror.

[Prison guard states interview must end.]

Nelson: If there was something you wanted to say, just in conclusion....

Pratt: We didn't talk about the situation in South Africa and it's really a situation that upsets me. You know, how we were real active in the '60s with training brothers and sending them to Africa, and travels that I did over there. I think it's good that it's finally hitting the media, but I think it should be more direct action. I think it should be politicized more, dealt with more. And I think parallels should be drawn, more parallels to this country, and the situation in South Africa. And I think it would be a very good rallying point and educational tool, education situation for all strata of society, here and abroad.

I want to mention Nelson Mandela because he inspired me long before I was ever incarcerated. I didn't know if I was going to wind up dead, in prison, or run out of the country. I knew it was going to be one of those three. And he inspired us back then, and he's still in prison today, Brother Nelson Mandela. And his wife is going through these same situations that my wife is going through, out there with the children. It's so many parallels, you know, and not just the South Africa/San Quentin parallel, but throughout the class situation, how the workers are being very effective over there and causing a lot of change.... And due to lack of time, I'll just suggest to your readers Brother Walter Rodney's book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, in order that they may obtain deeper dimensions in understanding the catastrophic famine ..

Nelson: This just opens up a whole interesting area of discussion which I wish we had more time to get into.

Pratt: I'd like to really thank the Spartacist League for their support. And I have been thanking people so much. Makes me think of an old comrade brother, very venerated, George Jackson, when he was trying to express gratitude in his letters. And it's not easy to do because you feel it so deeply. I'm going to continue doing what little and what more I can do. ■

Edmund Perry...

(continued from page 12)

carrying an American flag-covered coffin. As on Tuesday, the Guardian Angels acted openly as a police auxiliary, while the uniformed cops kept a discreet distance. At the stationhouse of killer cop Van Houten, Mason addressed the "brothers in blue." The "protest" ended in an obscene spectacle as the crowd was told to get down on their knees and pray in front of the smirking cops, pleading for the police to "respect us in spite of the color of our skin."

The Perry family will make its grief and anger heard. All power to them. But the black Democrats, offering themselves up as Harlem's "alternative" to Koch, carry out their cruel hoax. The spectacle of the black capitalist pols vying to prove they can best control America's ghettos for the ruling class was carried to its grotesque conclusion in the Philadelphia MOVE massacre where black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode approved the bombing of black babies and vowed "I would do it again."

The "BEOs" are *against struggle*: last month Vernon Mason led anti-apartheid protesters *away* from their sit-in at Columbia University to fill the church for a press conference announcing his campaign for district attorney. Now he channels the righteous anger of Harlem into bourgeois electoralism and impotent "vigils." Having a black as top prosecutor will no more protect black people than having a black top cop, Benjamin Ward, has "controlled" the killer cops' murderous rampage. Spoilers like Herman "Denny" Farrell play ethnic politics, nothing but pawns in racist pig Ed Koch's game. As Malcolm X said, "You put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last."

In last year's presidential elections, the reformist left covered up for Jesse Jackson and for loser Mondale. Now, coming into the New York mayoral race, they're the "radical" cover for the Harlem Democrats' anti-Koch campaign. The Communist Party's legal-defense group, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, calls for fighting police brutality with a civilian review board—these bodies at best function as a safety valve, and are manifestly inadequate to stop rampaging cop terror. And like the rest, a leaflet handed out at the Friday vigil by the Marxist-Leninist Party, U.S.A. criticized the cops, but had not a word to say against the Democrats.

While the Democrats seek to corral blacks into their electoralist shell game, we communists participate in elections as a platform from which to rally the mass organizations of the working class and the oppressed, in the plants and on the streets, in a powerful mobilization of social *power*! The transit worker brothers from the Local 100 "Committee for a Fighting TWU" are calling on their union, the powerhouse of NYC labor, to join with all city unions in a mass rally at City Hall against Koch's killer cops. Such a show of force would electrify decent people in this city who have had more than enough of Koch's racist rampaging cossacks.

Gifted young Edmund Perry was admired as a ray of hope for black youth in ghettos where half can't find a job and two-thirds drop out of the hellish schools. But the .38 police slug that cut him down gives the lie to the modern-day Booker T. Washingtons whose stock-in-trade is the myth that any black person can "make it" in racist capitalist America if he really tries. To the racist rulers who burned out Philadelphia homeowners in the MOVE massacre, their lives and property were cheap because they are black. We say: Break the stranglehold of the two capitalist parties—for a multiracial vanguard party to lead the struggle to smash the whole racist, capitalist system! We will not forget Edmund Perry nor those responsible for his death. Avenge Edmund Perry, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Thinks He's Christ...

(continued from page 5)

proof that neither she nor her daughter were even in Italy at the time, Agca "refined" his story, admitting that he had never been in Antonov's apartment at all. At another point the killer claimed the Bulgarians had hired him to kill Solidarność leader Walesa during a trip to Rome. Martella dutifully "investigated" this canard, but had to abandon it when Agca retracted the whole story a few months later.

• *Another Bulgarian mole:* Agca described a mole on Vassilev's cheek, which Sterling calls "barely visible," supposedly proof they had met. But the mole is clearly visible in Vassilev's passport photo, which was shown to Martella when he visited Sofia. Agca described Aivasov as shorter than Vassilev, yet the latter is a head *taller* than the former. Recently Agca claimed that the mysterious Soviet diplomat who supposedly put up more than $1 million to rub out the pope went under the name of "Milenkov or Malenkov." Earlier, however, the trigger man had identified "Malenkov" as a *Bulgarian* spy who allegedly introduced him to a Soviet attaché in Teheran.

So how *did* Agca get the details that so impressed Magistrate Martella, such as the description of Antonov's apartment? In a detailed four-part investigation of the "Bulgarian connection" (*Washington Post*, 14-17 October 1984) correspondent Michael Dobbs has documented how in his jail cell Agca had access to numerous magazines, newspapers and TV news which had already publicized much of this information. And whatever "facts" he didn't read could have been supplemented by coaching, either directly by intelligence agents who visited the prison on several occasions or through "Super-S" underworld connections on the inside. The Turkish gunman even wrote a letter to the U.S. military attaché in Rome, in August 1983, saying "You told me to talk, and I talked" and suggesting how they could blame then Soviet leader Yuri Andropov for the attempted assassination. But while Agca's undocumented charges are enough to hold Antonov behind bars and stage a giant show trial, this letter is simply dismissed by the prosecution as a joke.

Agca's testimony has repeatedly been produced on cue from his interrogators. So when the presiding judge sought to calm the tumultuous court proceedings last week, asking defense lawyers for patience ("*pazienza*" in Italian), the convicted killer responded, "Yes, Dr. Francesco Pazienza." Asked what he meant, Agca replied, "I met Francesco Pazienza. He asked me to collaborate.... He promised me freedom and a French passport." Pazienza is a former top aide to the deputy director of SISMI and a member of the sinister P-2 lodge. He has also been connected to the "suicide" of Roberto Calvi, former head of the bankrupt Banco Ambrosiano, responsible for the disappearance of more than $4 billion in Vatican funds, reportedly channeled to Polish Solidarność and Latin American death squads. When the Rome courtroom exploded in laughter at Agca's declaration, the judge suspended the proceedings—this was getting too deep.

The Bulgarian Concoction

Occasional frictions between the capitalist press and the capitalist government should not obscure how the "Fourth Estate" regularly serves as a mouthpiece for its imperialist masters. And the story of the "Bulgarian connection" is a textbook case of journalistic prostitution. Not only notoriously anti-Communist outfits but the most "authoritative" news media have lent their name and services to this classic disinformation operation. Even before the ink was dry on Claire Sterling's *Reader's Digest* piece that launched the "pope plot" ploy, on 21 September 1982 NBC's Marvin Kalb aired a lurid "documentary" announced with full-page ads blaring, "Did the Russians Plot to Kill the Pope?" *CovertAction Information Bulletin* (Spring-Summer 1983) did an analysis of the most egregious errors in Kalb's broadcast showing: 10 cases of pure innuendo, 11 inferences based on no known evidence, 13 items of pure opinion or speculation, 16 conclusions based on ignoring facts, 19 deceptive statements based on suppressing facts, and 6 direct "misstatements of fact." NBC's consultant for this blatant manipulation? Claire Sterling.

Most persistent in peddling Sterling's Bulgarian concoction has been that self-proclaimed paragon of "objectivity," the nation's newspaper of record, the *New York Times*. Shortly after General Haig announced that under the new Reagan administration, terrorism would replace human rights as Washington's main concern, the *Times Magazine* (1 March 1981) published a cover story by Sterling on "Terrorism: Tracing the International Network" claiming to show that "the Soviet Union and its surrogates" have set up "a worldwide terror network aimed at the destabilization of Western Democratic society." And they have kept up a steady stream of Reaganite "terror" propaganda ever since. Last year the *Times* (27 October 1984) found it fit to print a piece on "Agca's Other Story: The Plot to Kill Walesa"—a year *after* Agca had retracted his story. The by-line: Claire Sterling. And who should co-author the *Times* article on the opening of the "Bulgarian connection" trial last month? Claire Sterling, of course. Sort of like having Joseph Goebbels cover the Reichstag fire trial.

W.W. Norton

Pioneer of Claire Sterling's "Big Lie" techniques—Nazis' Goebbels at the Reichstag fire show trial, Leipzig, 1933.

There is a connection here, all right: a network of right-wing Reaganite think-tankers fanning the anti-Soviet flames with a concerted campaign of speculation, leaks and outright lies. Oddly enough, and much to Sterling's chagrin, the CIA has taken up the cudgels *against* the "Bulgarian connection." The March-April 1984 issue of the Agency's house organ *Problems of Communism* printed a review by "veteran" OSS and CIA man William Hood of two books on the "pope plot": Claire Sterling's *The Time of Assassins* and Paul Henze's *The Plot to Kill the Pope*. (Henze is the former CIA station chief in Ankara, Turkey.) Hood's article, appropriately titled "Unlikely Conspiracy," pokes numerous holes in her "theory." To wit: (1) If the KGB really wanted to bump off the pope, why would they choose Agca, Turkey's most notorious terrorist, whose description was on file with Interpol? (2) Why would his Soviet "controls" let Agca galavant around Rome, including repeated "reconnaissance" forays with Bulgarian officials who would presumably be watched by Italian counterespionage? (3) Why didn't they arrange to have Agca conveniently eliminated before he could spill the beans? (4) Why would the KGB and the Bulgarian Darzhavna Sigurnost allow Antonov to remain in Rome for *months* after Agca's arrest? If Sterling were right, the KGB would have to be run by Inspector Clouseau!

The Company's refusal to buy the "KGB pope plot" has enraged important sectors of the Reagan establishment in Washington today, including New Right-wingers, Catholic ultra-conservatives, *Commentary* Zionists and *New Republic* Cold War liberals. Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under the Democratic Carter administration, fumes that "senior officials in the C.I.A. were unwitting or in some cases, perhaps, even witting tools" of a sinister Soviet campaign to discredit the "Bulgarian connection." And former presidential adviser/flack William Safire has been bellowing for years that something's rotten in the state of Virginia. Shades of James Jesus Angleton, the CIA *éminence grise*, who was obsessed with the notion that Langley is riddled with KGB moles (and also called the Sino-Soviet split a "hoax"). But, somehow, we doubt that the CIA has gone "soft on communism." Perhaps they've been caught too many times in the past believing their own psy-war propaganda.

Behind the "Bulgarian connection" media hype is the deadly campaign by Reagan & Co. to mobilize American public opinion behind their anti-Soviet war drive. What better demonstration that the Soviet Union is the "source of all evil," especially for hundreds of millions of Catholics around the world, than to find a Kremlin hand in the attempt to assassinate the pope? That mouthpiece of American finance capital, the *Wall Street Journal* (22 December 1982), ran an editorial on "Andropov as Henry II," alluding to the murder of Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury in 1170:

> "Italian Defense Minister Lelio Lagorio, a Socialist, has likened Bulgarian complicity in the shooting of Pope John Paul II to an act of war. Those are strong words, and while nobody thinks it likely or even very desirable that Italy or the rest of the West should embark on an armed assault against Bulgaria and the East bloc, Mr. Lagorio has uttered an important truth."

How comforting—they say they're not going to launch World War III over their phony "KGB pope plot."

Yet the whole purpose of this exercise is to create a war psychosis. And they're not spending billions of dollars on all those shiny missiles just to decorate a future Smithsonian exhibit on "arms control." The real, *nuclear* terrorists are sitting in the White House and the Pentagon. *Only* the U.S. has ever used atomic bombs for war, and both Republicans and Democrats yearn for the days when the United States had a nuclear monopoly so they could dictate their terms. Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade carried over into Reagan's anti-Soviet "terrorism" campaign, all in the name of the anti-Soviet war drive. The gang in power in Washington today wants to replay the Cuban missile crisis, only this time they're going to make the "Russkies" (and the Cubans and the Nicaraguans) "cry uncle." They think.

Ali Agca and Ronald Reagan: two anti-Soviet nuts, both of them killers, both of them obsessed with the end of the world. But one of them is only an instrument of sinister powers, while the other has his finger on the button. When Hitler staged his show trial of Bulgarian Communist leader Dimitrov, accusing him of burning down the German parliament, it was a prelude to the Anti-Comintern Pact and ultimately World War II. The result: a global holocaust that produced 50 million dead. Behind *this* "Bulgarian connection" is the spectre of nuclear Armageddon that could spell curtains for all of humanity. ■

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Courts Are Bosses' Tool

UAL Workers Shafted

When the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) ended its 29-day strike against United Airlines, it wasn't the union-busting, PATCO-style outcome that UAL boss Richard Ferris was looking for but it was a real defeat for labor. The pilots are saddled with a two-tier wage system under which new-hires will be paid barely half what veteran pilots make. And while returning ALPA members headed back to their old jobs, those workers who respected ALPA's picket lines are getting the shaft. Ferris is adamantly refusing to take back the 570 pilot trainees who refused to scab. Meanwhile, the Association of Flight Attendants, which called on its ranks to respect the picket lines, returns with *no contract* and its members threatened with layoffs and/or forced transfers to accommodate newly hired scabs. ALPA broke its pledge not to return to work unless the jobs of these workers were guaranteed; instead, it left it up to the labor-hating capitalist courts to decide these issues, as well as the question of "superseniority" for scab pilots. It's shaping up as a particularly dirty deal, with the bosses indicating they'll go soft on ALPA while throwing the book at those who supported them.

But first prize for backstabbing goes to scabherder William Winpisinger of the Machinists union. Had the strategic IAM respected the pilots' picket lines, United would quickly have been brought to its knees. But "Wimpy" all but ordered his members to strikebreak, and the machinists scabbed en masse. In contrast, the majority of the flight attendants, who are far less skilled and therefore far more vulnerable than the machinists, honored the picket lines. And the pilot trainees, taken on by United as a strikebreaking force a few months before the contract expired, refused almost to a man to scab. If the United pilots didn't end up like PATCO, it was in no small measure due to the courage of these trainees who have no union protection. Forced to curtail its services drastically, the company was faced with an expensive strike and was hurting particularly on its profitable Hawaii run. The stab in the back to the trainees and flight attendants is even worse than accepting the divisive two-tier scheme; should these workers be victimized, it will make union solidarity that much more difficult in an industry where there's been precious little of it.

Crying poverty, Ferris demanded two-tier wages to keep United "competitive." Yet the strike was barely over when he announced the company's plan to buy Hertz, the largest car rental company in the world, for $587 million. Earlier this spring United took over Pan Am's Pacific routes for another $750 million. Ferris candidly stated that the buy-out of Hertz would put only a "small dent" in United's available cash (*New York Times*, 19 June). After selling off a few hotels and "revising" (ripping off) its "overfunded" employee pension fund UAL will have a sweet *$3 billion* to play its monopoly acquisitions game.

Despite United's obvious wealth, ALPA's leadership admitted defeat before the battle was on by accepting the "two-tier" pact out of concern for the company's competitiveness. Now these bureaucrats have thrown those principled unionists who honored the picket lines upon the none-too-tender mercies of the capitalist courts. But the government and its courts are not neutral—they are the instruments of the bosses. It was Reagan and the government whose smashing of PATCO spearheaded the whole union-busting drive. The union bureaucrats who refused to shut down the airports to defend the air traffic controllers justified it by claiming PATCO's strike was "illegal." In turn, the scoundrel Winpisinger justified his scabbing on the United pilots by claiming the no-strike clause made it "illegal" for the mechanics to honor ALPA's lines.

Labor has never won a lasting victory in the courtrooms of the class enemy. Kowtowing to the bosses' law has meant one defeat after another in the face of the capitalists' divide-and-conquer tactics. Now the airline industry threatens to become an open shop. The second largest airline is now the newly formed Texas Air/TWA combine, run by labor-hater Frank Lorenzo, who busted the unions at Continental. It's hardly a secret that Lorenzo's next target will be the unions at TWA. The bosses are playing hardball—it's high time that labor did too if it wants to break the string of lost strikes, broken contracts and busted unions. For mass picket lines that no one dares cross! Dump the Winpisingers and the scab-herding traitors! For a class-struggle leadership in the unions! ■

WV Photo

Flight attendants backed ALPA, now shafted by union tops.

U.S. Poised...

(continued from page 1)

milieu has oriented toward pressuring Congressional liberals. Last year they called off their protests and threw everything into campaigning for Democrats Jesse Jackson and then Mondale, who then advocated a "quarantine" of Nicaragua. At a recent CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) convention in Washington, a leadership proposal continued to urge "tactical alliances with those forces whose ultimate interests are not necessarily the same as those of the Central Americans." CISPES has mobilized goons and even called on the capitalist cops to keep "reds" like the Spartacist League out of demonstrations, all in the name of "tactical alliances" with the Democrats. It's a wonder they don't denounce Daniel Ortega as an "ultra-leftist" for his visit to Moscow.

Fight Imperialist War with Class War!

The Pentagon's preparations for an invasion of Central America are "largely complete," according to a two-part article in the *New York Times* (4-5 June). Taking out the Sandinistas would be as easy as "falling off a log"; "two weeks," in and out, to install a "contra" government with its own army—these were some of the self-deluding estimates by top U.S. military men of what's involved. Two retired military officers of the Center for Defense Information, Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque and Lieutenant Colonel John Buchanan, take a much different view in a recent article in the *Village Voice* (25 June) titled "Blueprint for Disaster." In evaluating a hypothetical "Operation Founding Fathers" they calculate that a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would cost 9,000 American casualties in the first two weeks, and another 5,000 in the next three months.

Estimated Sandinista losses would be far higher—44,000 and 24,000 in the same time periods. And there would be continued guerrilla warfare for years. With an army of 40,000, another 70,000 in the militias and active reserves, and tens of thousands of armed civilians who are prepared to fight to defend their

WV Photo

Nicaraguans protest Reagan's embargo, Managua, May 16.

revolution, *Nicaragua will be no Grenada*. Their defense plans in the face of a Yankee invasion are simply to prolong the battle as long as possible and produce the maximum number of American casualties. "We are not just going to abandon the cities," Sandinista Army commander Hugo Torres told the *Voice*. "We're going to fight in the capital, in the cities, on the highways *and* in the mountains."

Defense Ministry spokesman Guillermo González emphasized the moral factor in such a war of resistance: "We're going to bury our people as heroes, but they'll bury their people as victims of a policy." Even in the halls of Congress this has been noticed. In the "contra aid" debate, Congressman Hank González of San Antonio, Texas noted:

> "The significant thing is that the people support the regime.... No government that does not feel secure would hand out the arms in the variety, quantity as the Nicaraguan Government has done to the peasants up in the north fighting against the invasions....
>
> "Also every single household in Managua, if you...go into the barrios and the neighborhoods you will see sandbag shelters, you will see bulwarks of resistance and every household armed with a heavy-caliber gun. There is no reason, if the people wanted to, they could not rise and overcome the regime in Nicaragua. But the reason they are armed is they are fully expecting the North American invasion."
>
> —*Congressional Record*, 10 June

As the Congressman pointed out, the U.S. has invaded Nicaragua eleven times, six of them in this century. And who would Reagan put in the Sandinistas' place? The contras, "the ex-Somocistas, the ones who were hated and reviled and kicked out.... It is going to set up that whole region in flames," he concluded.

The U.S. cannot be appeased with concessions to domestic capitalists and negotiations in the "Contadora process." It is necessary to *defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution* if it is to survive. But there are hard facts that must be faced. As U.S. officers La Roeque and Buchanan point out, "Nicaragua has no equivalent of Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh Trail, which can be used to deliver significant amounts of arms and ammunition to the Sandinistas." The country can be isolated and taken by overwhelming military force. Thus the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution will take place crucially not only in the slums of Managua and the hills of Matagalpa, but also in the capitals and industrial centers of Latin America, *and in the streets, ports and factories of the U.S.*

Coming from a regime which directed the bombing of a black neighborhood of Philadelphia, which killed two million peasants and workers with its carpet-bombing in Indochina, the U.S. government's cynical attempt to whip up an anti-Soviet holy war against "international terrorism" is the height of hypocrisy. But it is real. From the beginning of the Reagan administration, the Spartacist League insisted: "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!" It was there that the warmongers in the White House were "drawing the line" in their insane drive for a global nuclear showdown with Russia. But the reformist left didn't want to touch the "Russian question," the question of communism. And now, four years of anti-Soviet war provocations and one trillion dollars worth of military buildup later, the U.S. is poised for invasion of Nicaragua.

In order to regiment the American people for war abroad the Reagan regime, with the complete cooperation of the Democrats in Congress and city halls across the country, has also waged war at home against labor and blacks. Just as breaking the PATCO air controllers union was Reagan's message to labor, the bombing of MOVE in Philly is the government's message to all blacks and anyone else who might get "out of line" in Reagan's America. Thanks to the belly-crawling treachery of America's Cold War labor bureaucracy, the bosses have been largely successful in straitjacketing the unions. Even the most limited defensive struggles were met with massive union-busting state terror. Yet today, from New York hotel workers to Appalachian coal miners, there is a renewal of union struggle, however uneven and hesitant. And with its "hardball" tactics, the government itself has politicized labor struggle. The task of the proletarian vanguard is to arm *our* side in the class war politically with a program to fight the sinister war mobilization.

"Hot-cargoing" military goods bound for U.S. puppets and mercenaries in Central America, labor political strikes against an escalation of U.S. intervention in the region, material aid to Nicaragua in the face of imperialist economic and military aggression, militant mass mobilization against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive—*these are urgent tasks for the American working class*. And while the "solidarity" milieu is mired in internal squabbling and still crawling after the Democrats, the Spartacus Youth League has launched a fund drive to defend Nicaragua. The Yankee overlords who want to bring back "moderately authoritarian" dictators like Somoza must be fought by organizing Leninist-Trotskyist parties to establish workers rule from Managua to Manhattan, from San Salvador to San Francisco. If you take the side of social liberation from Central America to the U.S., *join us* in this fight for world socialist revolution! ■

Nicaragua Needs $$$

The Spartacus Youth League is raising dollars for the urgent defense of Nicaragua against Yankee economic and military aggression. Every penny you give goes to Nicaragua. Take a stand: make your "anti-contra"hution today. Make checks payable to the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, and mail to: SYL, Box 3118 Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Harlem: Thousands Turn Out For Perry Memorial

NYC Cop Kills Black Scholarship Student

Edmund Evans Perry
1967-1985

The Perry Family

After a string of wanton police killings, the shooting of a gifted black student by the racist NYC cops has sent a wave of outrage through Harlem. It was around 9:30 p.m. on June 13 when white undercover cop Lee Van Houten gunned down 17-year-old black honor student Edmund Perry on Morningside Drive. Van Houten says he was on decoy patrol on the street which is the "border" between the ivory towers of Columbia University and Harlem, and Edmund Perry was on the "wrong side" of the line. The cop claims he was jumped from behind by Perry and another youth, that the youths had him on the ground when he pulled his service revolver from an ankle holster and fired to fight them off. A squad car rushed cop Van Houten to St. Luke's Hospital where his alleged injuries were treated. They left Edmund Perry lying on the ground, bleeding profusely from a gunshot wound in his stomach. The hospital told *WV* that Perry wasn't admitted until 9:55 p.m.—almost half an hour after he was shot—although the hospital was less than a block away. Three hours later he was dead.

Just as when an NYPD "Emergency Service" squad blew away black Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs last fall, the killing of Edmund Perry was ruled "within departmental guidelines." But this time the cops struck at a family which is a pillar of the Harlem black establishment. Edmund's mother, Mrs. Veronica Perry, is a member of Community School Board 3 in Manhattan, and an assistant teacher in a Headstart program at the Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association. The Sojourner Truth Democratic Club was "home" for the family, which had been active in the neighborhood for generations. Edmund had just graduated from the exclusive Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, which he attended on a scholarship from the Harlem community. He had a summer job at a prestigious Wall Street brokerage house, and was on his way to Stanford University this fall, again on full scholarship. It is said he wanted to be a doctor and return to serve his people. Some "mugger"!

Within minutes word of the shooting had spread to the Perrys' block on 114th Street and Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard, and the family rushed to the hospital. But the cops had sealed off the room and refused to let Edmund's mother see her dying son. Even after he died, the family was not permitted to see the body which was whisked off to the city morgue. Mrs. Perry contacted prominent black lawyer Vernon Mason, who is currently running for Manhattan district attorney against incumbent Robert Morgenthau in the Democratic Party primary. Suspecting a cover-up, the family insisted on having an independent pathologist present when Koch's coroner, Dr. Gross the ghoul, performed the autopsy. Gross cut the body apart from head to toe, searching for evidence of drugs or anything else to "prove" the victim caused his own murder, then in a final insult didn't even sew the body back up. "In my 40 years as a mortician, I have never seen a body as badly mutilated and butchered as this," said funeral director Chester J. Trumbo.

In his *Daily News* column June 18, Jimmy Breslin reported the independent pathologist's preliminary findings, and blew the cops' story out of the water. There were no powder burns on Perry's body or clothes, indicating he had not been shot at the close range that would be necessary in the hand-to-hand struggle cop Van Houten claimed. There were no abrasions on Perry's body, such as would occur in a fight. There were no drugs; there were no brain tumors. Meanwhile, Mason reports numerous complaints to his office of Harlem residents being dragged in by the cops and given the third degree in order to dig up some "eyewitnesses" to corroborate the cops' story.

The racist killing of Edmund Perry must be answered by a powerful voice of black protest out of Harlem that is taken up by the city labor movement and all victims and opponents of Koch's cossacks. Jail killer cop Van Houten—Lock him up and throw away the key! Down with Koch's killer cops! For mass militant labor/black defense against racist terror! There is a need for armed patrols all right—integrated, armed workers defense squads to defend the people of Harlem from the marauding race-terrorists in blue!

Perched on the border of the huge ghetto, Columbia University's message to Harlem blacks has always been the same: "Keep Out!" The 1968 "Columbia Revolt" was sparked over the refusal to permit community access to a proposed university gym in Morningside Park. Koch's cops on Morningside are there to preserve by force the racist status quo, the same way the stun-gun cops at the 106th "Torture Precinct" in Queens were trying to keep Ozone Park white. Now they're passing laws to take stun guns away from citizens, who want them to protect against muggers, while the cops keep on killing with abandon.

Harlem turned out in the thousands on Tuesday, June 18, jamming into Memorial Baptist Church on 115th Street to pay their last respects to Edmund Perry. Hundreds stood outside on the street in a quiet, tense crowd. The assembled black Democratic Party politicians urged turning outrage to prayer, periodically going out on the steps to make sure things were calm. Rev. Preston Washington, pastor at Memorial Baptist where the Perrys had worshipped for years, denounced the mayor, the black police commissioner, the cops "who are so often an occupation force," and called for the churches to become "citadels of revolution."

Edmund Perry, Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Arthur Miller, Randy Evans—the litany of black people killed by the NYPD cops was recited in and outside the church that night. The pols came out and told everybody to go home and come back Friday for a rally and march to the 26th precinct. About 500 people did return and this time when they came out of the church they got handed a candle and an election palm card. The entire Harlem black Democratic Party machine turned out, with aspiring candidates Vernon Mason, Denny Farrell, David Dinkins denouncing Koch and Morgenthau. Hazel Dukes of the NAACP stated it's not enough to march: "Go to the polls on September 10 [Democratic Party primary day] and pull the lever."

When the candlelight vigil to the precinct finally got underway, the "black elected officials" had their "photo opportunity" in the front rank, followed by a big contingent of the vigilante "Guardian Angels" gang

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WV Photo

Hundreds pack street as Perry family emerges from memorial at Harlem church June 18. Edmund Perry ...we will not forget!

Victim of COINTELPRO Frame-Up—
Free Former Black Panther Leader!

Geronimo Pratt Speaks From San Quentin

SEE PAGE SIX

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 383

12 July 1985

Smash U.S. War Drive!

Nicaragua Under Siege

Gentile/Picture Group

Barricada

Frontline defenders of Nicaragua: Soldiers alongside Soviet-built tank, digging in against Yankee invasion (left). Crack anti-contra battalion on parade in Managua (right).

On July 8 President Ronald Reagan escalated his war threats against Nicaragua. Speaking before the Bar Association, Reagan arrogantly proclaimed Nicaragua an "outlaw state" and part of "a new, international version of Murder Inc." which the U.S. government claims supports world "terrorism." In the mouth of the biggest state terrorist on this planet, whose "free world" butchers terrorize the people from South Africa to Latin America to Asia, Reagan's words are not just hypocrisy and lies. They are an open declaration of the U.S. government's intention to undertake military aggression; as we said last issue: watch out world! While ludicrously charging Nicaragua (along with Cuba, Libya, Iran and North Korea) with "outright acts of war" against the United States, Reagan remained coy about what kind of bloody revenge, and when, the U.S. is preparing against the Nicaraguans who dare to defy the diktats of the imperialist chief. Even in the face of this threat, thousands of U.S. citizens continue to visit Nicaragua each month to see for themselves the popular revolution which Reagan vows to destroy. We publish below a report of a recent trip to Nicaragua.

MANAGUA, July 3—Last week the U.S. House of Representatives voted a resolution authorizing President Ronald Reagan to invade Nicaragua should the Sandinistas obtain MIG fighters or nuclear weapons; to respond to hijackings or "other acts of terrorism"; to protect American citizens, or if there is a "clear and present danger" of attack on the United States or its allies. In the United States this was billed as a curb on Reagan: the *New York Times* (28 June) headlined, "House Restricts Sending of G.I.'s into Nicaragua." Not here. *Barricada*, the official newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), titled its story on the House vote, "Green Light for Invasion." And tens of thousands of Nicaraguans have mobilized in the streets vowing to fight the Yankee invaders.

After all, Reagan has *already* decreed a "national emergency" claiming that the Nicaraguan government's policies constitute an "extraordinary threat to the national security" of the U.S.! Following Congress' June 13 vote for millions to the CIA's "contra" mercenaries, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega declared that Managua was reasserting its right to obtain whatever military equipment it needs for its defense, including advanced jet fighters. For years Washington has claimed that Nicaragua is engaged in "terrorism" and "indirect aggression" by supplying arms to Salvadoran leftist insurgents. And they can always invent the excuse of

continued on page 6

Bloody Attacks on Soweto, Black States

South Africa's Racist Rampage

Smash U.S./Pretoria Anti-Soviet Axis!

Just after 1 a.m. on June 14 elite killer commandos from South Africa's bloody apartheid regime slipped into Gaborone, the capital of the sparsely populated black African state of Botswana which is but eight miles from the South African border. The commandos split up, and staked out nine homes and the office of the anti-apartheid Solidarity News Service. They then attacked them simultaneously using machine guns, mortars and powerful explosives to blow the homes and press offices to smithereens. The toll was 16 dead and six wounded. Others may have been abducted back to South Africa. Blood-soaked beds were the evidence that in some cases the surprise had been total.

Pretoria's white supremacist butchers would claim afterward that the raid was aimed at the "nerve center" of guerrilla operations by the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), the oldest and most prominent black nationalist organization of resistance to apartheid. But this was a terrorist murder mission which took the lives of a six-year-old girl, four Botswana citizens, a Sudanese refugee and South African refugees from apartheid repression unconnected with the ANC.

This savage massacre, like earlier raids in Lesotho and Mozambique, was President Botha's declaration that South Africa intends to bludgeon the

continued on page 8

Alan Hutchison

Armed might of apartheid state must be smashed by workers revolution.

Black Soldiers in WW II: U.S. Army's Racism in the Pacific

22 June 1985

Dear Editor,

Workers Vanguard's two-part series, "Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military" (*WV* No. 378, 3 May 1985 and *WV* No. 380, 31 May 1985) concentrated on the "war at home," the impact of blacks in uniform on racist American society. But reference should also be made to the black GIs' experience of racism and resistance in the Pacific theater during World War II, which foreshadowed the experience of black troops during the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

USASC

Black soldiers in the Jim Crow U.S. Army, Solomon Islands.

World War II was no war for "democracy" and in the Far East U.S. imperialism openly fought to turn the Pacific into an American lake and its islands into U.S. colonies. The colonial as well as imperialist nature of the war there exacerbated the racism endemic to America's Jim Crow military. From the white racist bastion of Australia to the brutalized Pacific island colonies, black GIs encountered fear, resentment and violent hatred from the region's old colonial masters and privileged whites and, most intensely, from their own white "comrades-in-arms."

British officials were particularly worried about the impact black troops—comparatively well-fed, well-paid and well-educated—would have on their colonial "subjects." When the War Department proposed sending a black cavalry regiment to New Caledonia where combat troops were urgently needed, army commanders protested: "French control of local natives was delicate enough not to aggravate it further by the presence of additional Negro troops" (quoted in Ronald H. Spector, *Eagle Against The Sun—The American War With Japan* [1985]).

With its official "white Australia" laws and immigration policies, this former convicts' colony at first protested receiving black American troops. Given the manpower requirements of imperialist war, the Australian government begrudgingly acquiesced to the presence of black GIs. The then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party called attention to a cartoon which "cleverly summed up the situation":

> "...showing a Negro soldier being greeted by an Australian official standing in front of a sign which reads, 'Colored persons not allowed in Australia.' The official is saying to the Negro soldier: 'Jolly glad to see you, old boy. Just ignore these bloody signs around here—for the duration.' The final payoff is that the Negro troops are not to be used for combat but only as work gangs to do the dirty work."
>
> —*Militant*, 11 April 1942, quoted in *Fighting Racism in World War II* (1980)

In a society saturated with racism and bigotry, black troops stationed in Australia were subjected to constant harassment and violence, especially from white American soldiers. The most explosive issue was black socializing with Australian women, which was violently resented even more by white soldiers from the "good ole US of A" than white chauvinist Aussies. In Sydney most popular dance and music halls were declared off limits to black GIs. Women who dared to attend black social functions were beaten up as they departed. In New South Wales, newly arrived American white troops attacked an army truck full of black GIs, forcing the blacks to dismount and provoking a race riot.

On Guam, repeated racial attacks by white Marines on black sailors from the local naval depot over socializing with native women in the town of Agana compelled the blacks to acquire arms like rifles and knives illegally. The Marines, of course, had access to weapons. On Christmas Eve, 1942, a white sailor shot a black sailor in Agana. The black sailors armed themselves, commandeered trucks and attempted to drive to Agana. They were stopped by military police, provoking a full-scale riot and shootout. Most of the blacks involved refused to testify before an all-white Navy Court of Inquiry and even a visit by NAACP executive secretary Walter White to solicit cooperation did not shake this black solidarity.

Comradely,
Deborah Maguire and
Reuben Samuels

TROTSKY

Communists and Parliament

The revolutionists' utilization of parliamentary elections and bodies was explicated at the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920) in a document drawing on the experience of the Bolsheviks and European revolutionary socialists. The theses were drafted by Bukharin with a historical introduction by Trotsky.

LENIN

In the modern conditions of unbridled imperialism parliament has become a weapon of falsehood, deception and violence, a place of enervating chatter. In the face of the devastation, embezzlement, robbery and destruction committed by imperialism, parliamentary reforms which are wholly lacking in consistency, durability and order lose all practical significance for the working masses....

12. Parliamentary activity, which consists mainly of disseminating revolutionary ideas, unmasking class enemies from the parliamentary platform, and furthering the ideological cohesion of the masses, who, especially in the backward areas, still respect parliament and harbour democratic illusions—this activity must be absolutely subordinate to the aims and tasks of the mass struggle outside parliament....

14. The election campaign itself must be conducted not as a drive for the maximum number of parliamentary seats, but as a mobilization of the masses around slogans of proletarian revolution. The election struggle must involve rank-and-file Party members and not the Party leadership alone; it is essential that all mass actions (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the armed forces etc.) occurring at the time are taken up in the campaign and that close contact is maintained with them. The mass proletarian organizations should also be drawn into active work around the election.

—"The Communist Party and Parliament,"
adopted by Second Congress of the Communist International (August 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 383 **12 July 1985**

George Lavan Weissman Remembered

5 July 1985

To the editor:

In light of *WV*'s obituary for George Weissman [see "George Lavan Weissman, Veteran Trotskyist," *WV* No. 382, 28 June], I think your readers will be interested in some additional details on the May 25 memorial meeting organized by Weissman's comrades of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT).

Your article notes the broad range of people who presented or sent greetings to the meeting, an indication of the respect in which comrade Weissman was held by those who knew him during his nearly 50 years in the Marxist movement. A subsequent article on the memorial meeting appears in the new issue of the FIT's publication [*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (*BIDOM*), July]. This article, written by Naomi Allen, notes that the United Secretariat, the international grouping headed by Ernest Mandel which the FIT supports, sent a speaker to deliver a message saluting Weissman as "an outstanding representative of the founding generation of the world Trotskyist movement," and greetings were also received from Mandel, from the United Secretariat's Mexican section and from a group of supporters in Canada. A speaker was also sent to bring the greetings of Socialist Action, a group of ex-SWPers who were sometimes associated with the FIT before and after both groups were bureaucratically expelled, but is no longer connected with the FIT. By way of contrast the SWP, the organization to which Weissman devoted his whole political life, did not see fit to honor him or even to acknowledge the invitation.

In addition to the numerous ex-SWPers who spoke or sent messages, including George Breitman, Myra Tanner Weiss, James Kutcher, Augusta Trainor and Gerry Foley, an impressive array of figures associated with the Trotskyist movement overseas sent messages. Mentioned in the *BIDOM* article were, among many others, Michel Pablo, head of the Fourth International in Europe following World War II; Marguerite Bonnet, Trotsky's literary representative in France; Ross Dowson, former leader of the Canadian United Secretariat section; Trotsky's bibliographer, Louis Sinclair; French Lambertist scholar Pierre Broué. From London, Tamara Deutscher, John Archer and Mildred Gordon all sent messages. Among the Americans saluting Weissman from diverse points of the political compass were Albert Glotzer, now with the Social Democrats USA, who left the SWP in 1940 with the Max Shachtman split; Dave Dellinger, former editor of *Liberation* magazine; and the SL's Jim Robertson, who as you noted knew Weissman in the SWP.

Perhaps the most moving section of the FIT's account of the memorial deals with comrade Weissman's personal and political involvement with the Trotsky family. Weissman, as you know, was the U.S. literary representative of Trotsky's estate. Naomi Allen's article notes that Weissman "participated in the centenary of Trotsky's birth in Mexico City in 1979. George and his first wife, Constance Fox Harding, entertained Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow, in their home during her visit to New York in the fifties, and he maintained a close relationship to Trotsky's grandson, Seva Volkov, and to his family as well. Volkov traveled to New York for the memorial meeting from Mexico and delivered a speech to the meeting that was translated by his daughter Nora." In his remarks, Volkov called comrade Weissman

> "the personification of the new man of the socialist society of the future, in a world without borders and without oppression, without exploitation and violence among people. Men like George Weissman make us proud of our human condition and of the Trotskyist movement—a living example of the high goals of humanity."

In solidarity,
L.G.

The country is awash with Soviet spy mania. You can't open a paper or switch on the TV without finding out about FBI agents seduced by KGB temptresses, reports of a fourth, fifth and sixth man in the Norfolk spy ring. Never before have so many people been charged with espionage, the government reports, and who knows how many more among the four million people with security clearances are ready to sell secrets for dollars? Oh for the good old days of Philby, Burgess and Maclean, remark the spy chasers plaintively, when spies were spies for the good of the cause. "The ideologues are few in number," said one expert, "The people who want a little more cash are legion" (*New York Times*, 6 June). Meanwhile, the Reagan administration is trying to whip up a McCarthyite spy psychosis in order to reinstate a federal death penalty for spies, hijackers and presidential assassins, among others.

The biggest case of late is that of the former Navy radioman John Walker, Jr. and his family. Supposedly he had been spying for the Soviet Union for 20 years without being detected, flying to ports around the world to take deliveries from relatives aboard Navy ships. He was only caught because his ex-wife Barbara turned him in. The case abounds with incongruities: no evidence of meetings with Soviet agents in the U.S., no proof of big money changing hands, and John Walker was Virginia state leader of the fascist Ku Klux Klan who used to "cuss the commies" together with his buddy Bill Wilkinson, a national KKK leader and known FBI informant. Even U.S. sources admit their "knowledge" of the purported spy ring "is based, to a large extent, on well-informed speculation." At this point there's certainly reasonable doubt about the affair, such as ex-wife Barbara Walker's remark: "'He always tried to make me believe that he was going away for espionage, but that was a lie: it was a cover,' she said of his affairs with women" (*New York Times*, 21 June).

During an earlier round of spy mania humorist Russell Baker analyzed the Dmitri Rizzutovich Money Store phenomenon. We reprint below Baker's column from the 22 December 1984 *New York Times*.

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OBSERVER
Russell Baker

Cloak And Dollar

Remember those days of yesteryear when only a Commie rat would betray America's secrets to Moscow? It isn't like that any more, as I learned the first time I dropped in at the New York office of the Soviet spymaster, Ovichovich.

A dozen Americans with bulging briefcases were waiting in a reception room, hoping for a chance to see the great spymaster so they might — as one of them put it — "pick up a nice piece of change for the holiday season."

They were out of luck, as it turned out, for Ovichovich was in conference all afternoon with a fellow from the defense industry who was demanding $150,000 for the blueprints of a weapon so new that its existence is still unknown to the American press.

"I finally got him to admit this new weapon — a laser-beam water pistol — is so new it does not exist; so new, in fact, that Cap Weinberger isn't even asking for $30 billion to build it." (This was Ovichovich talking at the end of the workday over a dry Manhattan.)

"The man is completely unprincipled — nothing but a cheap moocher trying to swindle the Soviet Union out of 150 thou."

Ovichovich is a fairly typical specimen of the new style in Red spymasters being assigned to the United States. In his training for the job, he worked undercover at a small-loan shop in the Washington area, where he learned to spot a deadbeat at 40 paces and elicit confessions of felonious intent from hardened bunco artists.

Such are the skills vital to success for Red spymasters in the American territory nowadays. There are now so many Americans with so many secrets to peddle if the price is right that the average Red spymaster's office resembles nothing quite so much as a shady finance-company operation.

As the business became increasingly commercialized it began to attract such a tacky class of people that the Soviet Union became embarrassed about having them swarming around the Embassy. Its spymasters are now exiled to branch offices in the country's more raffish urban neighborhoods.

Ovichovich is not proud of his calling. As a youth studying at the Soviet Institute of Spymastering and Document Filching, he had anticipated a glamorous career discovering brave and daring Marxists buried in the great American fruitcake.

These heroes, inspired by his persuasive teachings, would see the wisdom of bringing him America's secrets free of charge, so that the whole United States could some day be as much fun as Moscow.

It would be an honor to work with such spies, with spies who knew that exposure could bring down upon them cries of "Commie rat!" and even worse, spies who nevertheless were willing to run those risks for nothing but the love of Marx, or loyalty to the Revolution, or because they thought Stalin was a great human being.

By the time Ovichovich qualified to work the American territory the days of the high-principled spies were ending. It was no longer devotion to Communism that brought Americans in with the secrets; now it was strictly another rotten capitalistic enterprise.

"By the time I got here," Ovichovich recalled, "we were being approached by so many Americans desperate for money to pay their bills that I felt like a banker. When I'd go to a bar to relax, as soon as people heard my Russian accent, I'd be surrounded by Americans telling me about the top-secret jobs they held and how desperately they needed $25,000."

As a student of people who are defeated by the modern age, I have spent much time cultivating

> The spy business isn't what it used to be

Ovichovich. Here is a man so devoted to Marx that he is willing to spend his life at the sort of work people do in the Central Intelligence Agency, and what is his award? He ends up a broker in the marketplace, a buyer, a shrewd judge of values. In short, a capitalist.

It will surely ruin his character. Recently we lunched together and I picked up the check. "Are you interested in Gromyko's unlisted phone number?" he replied.

Though tempted, I declined his offer. "Gromyko is a Commie rat," I said. Ovichovich smiled. At the thought of what the good old days must have been like, I suppose. □

Fascists, or Just Plain Reactionary Pigs

11 May 1985

Dear Comrades:

In the article "Hands Off Guillermo!" [*YSp* No. 126, April 1985] frequent Nazi-Germanic references are made. For example, a reference to making "a Nazi-style 'example'" of Guillermo [Bermúdez], a reference to "UC Reichschancellor Ira Heyman," a reference to the "right-wing cabal running the campus: it bears no small resemblance to the führer's bunker."

In *WV* 378 [3 May] the article "Reagan Salutes Nazis" you end by saying, "The American bourgeoisie wanted Ronald Reagan, and it got the Nazis in the bargain. From South Africa to Germany to Central America and the United States, the scourge of fascism will only be wiped out through international socialist revolution." What on earth is going on?!? Reichschancellor—the University of California has become the German Empire? The Chancellor is head of state? (Reichschancellor is a mixed German-English word.)

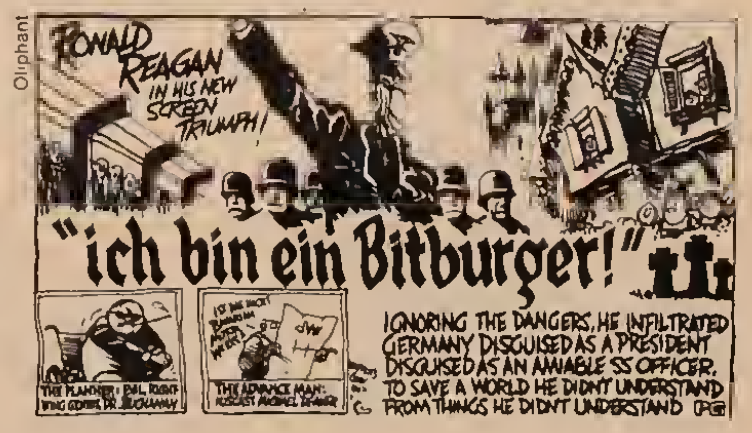
Is it somehow the invention of the Nazis to make brutal examples by coming down hard on opponents? If anything they were Johnny-come-latelies to that business. Certainly the good old democratic Americans were at it long before them; then of course there was the Roman Empire, etc., etc. The "führer's bunker," the Red Army is about to take Berkeley? The German Empire centered on presumably California with none other than dear old Berkeley as its capital is in desperate straits and about to be overrun? The *WV* quote says they "*got*" the Nazis. The scourge of fascism exists "From South Africa to Germany to Central America and the United States...." You are arguing these are fascist states? No, I really don't think you are that dumb. In the Viet Nam era there was a lot of this trite Nazi name calling, and I remember SL set itself apart by pointing out that fascism (and its German manifestation in the '30's and '40's, Nazism) was a historically defined manifestation which had to be dealt with in definite ways, and imposed definite limitations. (If this is supposed to be a fascist, or Nazi, or Nazi-like state why isn't SL and the rest of the ostensibly Marxist left either underground, in exile, in prison or dead?) (For that matter you might check the U.S. after its entry into WW I if you want to see some repression, very much within bourgeois democracy.)

All right, Nazi is a "buzz word" (I hate that expression, but it fits), say it and you arouse negative emotions (as you pointed out in the *WV* article). Smear your opponent with it and people will hate him. All this though is stupidly trite name calling! It is not scientific socialism. Marxism even in agitation should strive to be accurate. Furthermore by intentionally or otherwise equating things German with things Nazi you are committing a gross inaccuracy and a slander (not the least against the German communists who died opposing the Nazis or for that matter say other Germans like Karl Marx). In the "Red Avenger" satire you used a lot of Nazi and Germanic references, but satire is supposed to be absurd, it gets its effect by gross overstatement. If the Guillermo article was supposed to be satire it didn't come off that way.

In the *WV* article you seem to have gotten carried away with trying to tie Reagan to the Nazis (whom he explicitly publicly disassociates himself from) and wind up making an ambiguous statement. It needs clarification. Furthermore Reagan never said "Ich bin ein Bitburger" (in fact the pseudoquote is pretty absurd) and I really don't think that such things contribute anything positive to the article. Reagan is a conservative Republican, his politics are quite within the range of bourgeois democracy, and he seems willing to stay there. That does not mean that there may not be some repressive measures against his opponents, and it does not mean that he will not go to war. In no way can he be described as a fascist. This trite Nazi and fascist name calling in fact plays right into the hands of those who defend capitalism claiming that fascism is merely an aberration, and that really if we just get rid of them, and maybe vote out the conservative Republicans (*maybe*), everything will be all right (some would say put the conservatives in). This is not true, it won't.

The above is given as constructive criticism, and I hope that it will be taken that way. Generally I think that the politics and the expression of it in the SL press is good. I will add that apparently some other people here (Iowa City) think that the SL/SYL press is worth reading as they receive it positively or even ask for it.

In solidarity,
Loren



"Ich bin ein Bitburger"— syndicated cartoonist Oliphant thought so too.

WV replies: Two days after the above letter was written, the police bombed a black neighborhood in West Philadelphia, eleven members of the MOVE commune were burned alive, including two black babies, and 60 houses

continued on page 9

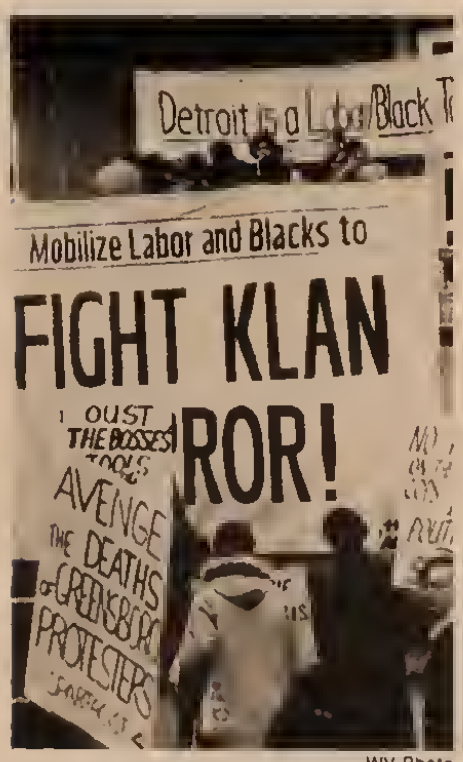
Verdict Implicates Cops, KKK, Nazis—Whitewashes Conspiracy

No More Greensboro Massacres!

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina on June 7, a jury brought back a verdict in the 13-week, $48 million civil suit of the survivors of the Greensboro massacre. Five Nazis and Klansmen, two Greensboro policemen and one police informer were found "liable for the wrongful death" of Dr. Michael Nathan, one of five Communist Workers Party (CWP) supporters murdered in cold blood by the fascists on 3 November 1979. The jury awarded $355,100 to Nathan's widow Marty; $38,360 to Paul Bermanzohn, who remains paralyzed five and a half years after he was shot in the head, and $1,500 to another wounded victim, Tom Clark. All charges of conspiracy were dismissed against 45 people, including some 36 Greensboro cops, two FBI informers and an ATF (Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) agent named in the civil suit.

The fact that any of these criminals was held accountable for the Greensboro murders in a North Carolina court is itself an achievement. Two previous whitewash trials by federal and state "prosecutors" let their Klan and Nazi co-conspirators off the hook, acquitted by lily-white juries. The *New York Times* (14 June) snidely commented on the verdict that although "most of the victims were political agitators" and "considered Klan-baiting and Nazi-baiting as part of their mission," still, they supposed, "even radicals have rights." The *Times* has treated this premeditated massacre as a "shootout" between two "extremist groups" all along. For the victims, survivor Marty Nathan commented:

> "Finally we have a verdict that found people at fault in this case. But I cannot say full justice was done. Five wonderful people were killed, and their lives were worth no less than Michael Nathan's."
>
> —*Virginian-Pilot*, 8 June



WV Photo

SL-initiated rally stopped Klan from "celebrating" Greensboro massacre in Detroit, 10 November 1979

The shotgun blasts that cut down the anti-Klan demonstrators proclaimed open season on blacks, union organizers and communists "at home" as the Democratic Party administration of Jimmy Carter whipped up its anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade abroad. *The Greensboro massacre was a government conspiracy from start to finish*, from the feds who instructed the fascists in the manufacture of pipe bombs and planned the attack route, to the "ex" FBI informer riding at the head of the caravan of death to the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. And the deadly conspiracy continues. Even as the government terrorists of Greensboro were in the dock, the black MOVE group and their babies were incinerated in Philadelphia, an operation worked out in detail with the FBI and lauded by Reagan's sinister top cop Meese. Greensboro was the opening shot of the Reagan years, and the bombing of black Philadelphia is the symbol of the Reagan regime.

Found "liable" in Dr. Nathan's death were Greensboro police informer Edward Dawson, charged with helping organize and lead the KKK/Nazi caravan to the demonstration site; Klansmen David Wayne Matthews and Jerry Paul Smith; Nazis Roland Wayne Wood, Mark Scherer and Jack Fowler; Greensboro police lieutenant P.W. Spoon and detective Jerry "Rooster" Cooper. It was revealed at the trial that Greensboro cop Cooper called up Dawson, their man in the Klan, to inform them of a last-minute change in the starting point of the leftists' march. It was Spoon, the cop in charge that day, who kept the cops away to be sure the KKK/Nazi death squad had a clear field for attack.

The verdict may be the result of a compromise within the jury; early in the morning of June 7, the jury was deadlocked on all but one count of assault. Jury foreman George E. Pope is black, a significant contrast to the composition of the two previous kangaroo courts. And the jury was clearly dissatisfied throughout the trial with the defendants' open apologies for racist murder. Lawyers for the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund presented 75 witnesses in eight weeks of testimony; when the government and fascists rested their case after only four days, a ripple of incredulity passed audibly through the court, one juror remarking, "Is that all?"

Death Squad Assassination

When the civil suit opened, we headlined "Greensboro CWP Victims on Trial Again" (*WV* No. 376, 5 April). In court, the obscene equation of the victims with the murderers was taken one step further, with lawyers for the government joining the fascists in claiming, according to the *New York Times* (31 March), that the "anti-Klan demonstrators had provoked the shootings" and the Klansmen and Nazis "acted in self-defense." District court judge Robert M. Merhige, Jr. initially agreed to hear a KKK "countersuit" at the same time, later ruling after objections that this would be taken up pending settlement of the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund suit. Now that motion stands in the wings as a threat, and could become part of a legal counteroffensive by the KKK, Nazis and cops. At the least, an appeal of the verdict is likely.

Why did the jury rule "wrongful death" liability only in the murder of Dr. Michael Nathan? Greensboro Rights Fund attorney Flint Taylor said the jury may have chosen Nathan because they were told Nathan was not an official member of the CWP at the time. (Evidently North Carolina courts hold that being a card-carrying communist is a justification for murder!) Chilling firsthand testimony of the cops and fascists refuted the "shootout" lie, proving once again that this was a death squad assassination in which the human targets were picked out in advance. Black Greensboro CWP leader Nelson Johnson was top on their hit list—only by chance did he escape just with wounds that day.

Maurice Cawn, a legal adviser to the Greensboro police department, testified that at police meetings planning for the upcoming march, he sensed there was a "stigma or bad feelings" about march organizer Johnson, stemming "from Mr. Johnson's involvement in unrest at North Carolina A&T State University in the 1960's" and Johnson's criticism of "what he called undue police force against Greensboro blacks" (*New York Times*, 27 May). "Former" Nazi Chris Benson testified to the meeting, one day before the murders, where he, Colman Pridmore, Virgil Griffin and Jerry Paul Smith looked at a rally poster with photographs of the anti-Klan demonstrators and picked out people they'd "like to get."

According to the Atlanta *Southline* (12 June), Hitler-lover "Roland Wayne Wood testified in a pinstripe suit with five skulls on the vest pocket," which he "denied" represented the slain demonstrators. The Nazis' lawyer Roy Hall could well have been Reagan's Bitburg speechwriter when he told the jury at the federal trial, "The Germans gambled everything and lost all in opposition to communism. Aren't they a lot more attractive now than they were 40 years ago at the end of the war?... These defendants are patriotic citizens.... That's why they went to Greensboro—to stop the communists."

Throughout the eight weeks of testimony there emerged publicly in the courtroom a significant pattern of government complicity for all but the willfully blind to see. Forced to testify for the first time, ATF agent Butkovich swore to the events at the November 1 Klan/Nazi planning session where a Klansman told him he had "a pipe bomb which would work well in a crowd of niggers." As the plaintiff's attorney Flint Taylor stated, "Agent Butkovich with the express authorization of his superior encouraged Nazis to bring guns to Greensboro." But Butkovich was not found liable as an accomplice to the racist murders.

Meanwhile, police informer Dawson testified how he had recruited Klansmen to confront the marchers, how he designed and put up posters depicting lynchings, obtained the parade route from the cops, arranged a meeting point for the KKK/Nazis and was essentially "in charge" of the death squad caravan. The cops knew in advance that the Klansmen were coming, that they had a machine gun and were going to "shoot up the place." Yet Spoon, the cop in charge, never even showed up on the site!

Greensboro cops maul CWP leader Nelson Johnson after Klan/Nazis/cops/FBI massacred his comrades.

No More Greensboros!

Nelson Johnson told *WV* that the decision was "a positive verdict in that the Nazis, Klan, the police commander, police informant and police detectives were all found liable," although there were many others who should have been found guilty and did in fact conspire. He added that the verdict was the product "not just [of] the efforts of those of us who were plaintiffs, but of people all over the country who worked to make it possible." As we have insisted, the survivors deserve every penny they can get, and it is important the cop/fascist conspiracy be exposed.

It will not be in the capitalist courts that real justice will be done. Reagan's racist dogs of war can and must be stopped by mass labor/black action. In the aftermath of the 1979 KKK/Nazi bloodbath, the cry of "No More Greensboros—Fascists Off the Streets!" rang out from Detroit to Washington, D.C., as Spartacist League-initiated mass mobilizations have successfully interdicted the fascist vermin in the big urban cities thus far into the Reagan years.

Like the Philadelphia inferno, the massacre at Greensboro was a heinous crime of the American ruling class burned into the memory of our party, and all class-conscious working people in this country. Only the abolition of this system of racist exploitation and murder can avenge the five fallen comrades of Greensboro. Labor/black action to smash fascist terror! No more Greenshoros! Finish the Civil War! ■

Hijack Hysteria, Air Safety Nose Dive

Reagan's Deadly Skies

Now that the 39 former hostages of TWA Flight 847 are back safely, Ronald Reagan is looking for a way to "stand tall" again, and that's when he's most dangerous, as tiny Grenada found out in 1983. "After seeing *Rambo* last night, I know what to do next time," Reagan muttered into the mikes. In addition to his shoot-'em-up fantasies, he's pushing proposals to beef up "security" at airports and other places. *Newsweek* (8 July) described the "terror-proof airport" of the future: x-ray machines, FBI computer checks, sniffer machines and electrified barbed wire, to turn airports into high-tech prisons like something out of *Escape from New York* or *1984*. Cost is no object—the already-planned "security" beef-up at U.S. embassies and consulates alone is projected to consume $3.5 *billion* dollars.

Time

You've got a lot more to fear from the airline industry than from hijackers. 150 died when Boeing 727 went down in flames after midair collision over San Diego, 1978.

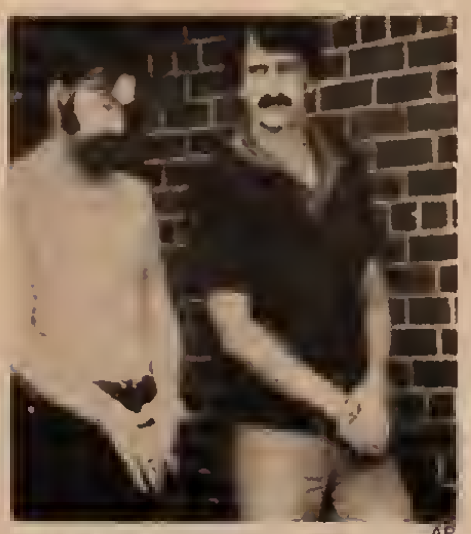
The Shi'ite hijacking is indefensible, but they had plenty of reason to do it after the Israelis literally kidnapped 1,100 Arab men and boys as they were pulling out of Lebanon this spring. It is the massive, systematic terrorism of imperialism that generates the desperate and suicidal despair of individual terrorists like the Shi'ite fanatics. In any case, Reagan's hostage hysteria has nothing to do with saving lives, American or others. We don't diminish in any way the cold-blooded murder of that young Navy diver in Beirut, but the fact is if you're in a plane that's hijacked your chances of coming out alive are pretty good, whereas if your plane is involved in a midair collision you're a goner.

Every year hundreds die in preventable air disasters—tourists, housewives, businessmen, the whole spectrum of American society—yet you don't see the president getting on TV talking about "America under the gun" or calling for even a penny more for air safety. Why not? Because skyjacking by foreign terrorists raises the hackles of imperialist egotism—Reagan & Co. figure they should have a monopoly on technological terror. But the air disaster carnage is considered simply the "normal" workings of business.

Most of the proposed "anti-terrorist" measures are either useless or dangerous. Beefing up the "sky marshal" force gives justifiable jitters to the airlines association chief of security, who warns of shootouts at 40,000 feet. And the president's call to boycott Athens airport is sheer hypocrisy and a political vendetta against the Greek government. Greek minister of culture Melina Mercouri shot back that "only two hijackings had originated in Athens in recent years, while 36 had occurred in the United States in the same period of time" (*New York Times*, 23 June).

Meanwhile New York's mayor Ed Koch, friend of Israeli terrorist/murderer Ariel Sharon (who invaded Lebanon in 1982, provoking the current round of anti-Israeli terrorism), has suggested such Zionist-type solutions as bombing Beirut airport and bombing Kharg Island in Iran. Well, we have a modest counterproposal ourselves: Israel should be persuaded to go back into Lebanon, as soon as possible for as long as possible, to get chewed up in the communal warfare; and Koch should do a deep penetration intelligence mission into the Shi'ite areas of Lebanon disguised as a mullah. They'd get a good dose of their own medicine.

As for saving lives, a truly safe air transport system would require such things as: hiring thousands more air traffic controllers and cutting their workday to four hours, providing decent wages, union-controlled working conditions and massive training to ground mechanics, installing state-of-the-art radar and other safety hardware at airports and on planes, and so on. (And how about teaching stewardesses how to fly in case of emergency—as the flight attendants' union has been demanding for years.) They can build safer, more rugged aircraft which can survive serious damage—like military jets designed to fly even after being shot up. But all this would cut into the profit margins of the airline industry. And under capitalism, maximum profit is the name of the game.



AP

Reagan jailed PATCO leaders, fired 11,400 air controllers.

PATCO: Union-Busting Kills Air Safety

In the Reagan years government air safety controls have been thrown to the wind in the name of "deregulation." The frontal attack on air safety was signaled by Reagan's 1981 firing of 11,400 striking PATCO air traffic controllers, whose main concern was staff shortages and job pressures creating safety hazards. Today the system is stretched thinner than ever with 14,300 controllers, 2,000 *less* than there were before the strike, and only half the workforce is rated fully "qualified." "The reduced force of controllers must handle a volume of air traffic 8 to 10 percent higher than the pre-strike level," noted an article in the *Nation* (1 June). Even the pro-business *Wall Street Journal* (20 April 1984) felt compelled to warn about skyrocketing "operational errors" due to "overtaxing a largely unseasoned work force of controllers."

Last month the National Transportation Safety Board reported there were 594 "near-collisions" in 1984, and they're investigating a rash of 14 near-collisions on the ground in the past three months. Furthermore, there's much more they're not telling us. According to the *Nation*, "Documents obtained in January under the Freedom of Information Act by Ralph Nader's Aviation Consumer Action Project indicate that the [FAA] failed to report at least 102 near collisions in 1983 and 1984." Predictably, the Reaganite "solution" for the mounting numbers is to change their statistical methods: a 7 June AP dispatch reports that the FAA is considering a "more limited" definition of "near-collision" using a standard of 500 feet which would, for instance, cut the 1984 numbers by "about one-third." The situation has gotten so bad that many of the present controllers, who bragged about strikebreaking in 1981, are now talking about forming a new union.

In order to make the skies safe for free enterprise, Reagan has made them deadly dangerous for airline workers and passengers. The government's destruction of PATCO combined with "deregulation" of the airlines was the green light for private carriers to attempt to destroy *their* unions. Now we have a host of fly-by-night outfits modeled on People Express, using scab labor, cut-rate maintenance and an unskilled staff, with every employee supposed to be an "entrepreneur" so that all they will worry about is the bottom line. After a few crashes they get bought out or go bankrupt. Meanwhile the big lines like TWA and United are taken over by professional union-busters. The dramatic nose dive of air safety under Reagan underlines a key point: union rights and passenger safety go hand in hand.

Air Disasters: Who Profits?

Over the years penny-pinching for profit has cost thousands of lives. The world's worst civil aviation disaster—involving two Boeing 747s, a Dutch KLM airliner which crashed into a Pan Am jet *on the ground* in the Canary Islands in March 1978, causing 585 deaths—could have been prevented if the Tenerife airport had installed available ground radar and taxiing guidance systems. Similarly, the worst civil aviation disaster in U.S. history—the crash of an American Airlines flight over Chicago in May 1979, in which 273 people died—was the result of cutting corners: an engine literally fell off the jumbo DC-10 because the company was using a fork-lift truck to perform certain delicate engine maintenance procedures, a practice which saved "200 man hours per aircraft and a considerable amount of money" but which cracked the airframe (see William Norris, *The Unsafe Sky* [1981]).

Safety innovations usually come following the public outcry over a major disaster. Thus only after TWA Flight 514 plowed into the side of Mount Weather, Virginia in December 1974 did the FAA decide to order the installation of inexpensive "ground proximity warning systems," which tell the pilot to "pull up, pull up!" And the infamous DC-10 weak cargo door problem—which was known for *years*—was not fixed until after a Turkish Airlines DC-10 crashed in March 1974, killing 346, as a result of the cargo door blowing open. In the old days coal miners used to take canaries down into the mines to detect dangerous gas fumes—nowadays in the capitalist airline industry, we humans are the canaries.

And in the anti-union Reagan years things have sharply worsened. In 1983 Air Line Pilots Association president Henry A. Duffy noted an increase in "pilot pushing," where pilots are under pressure to fly in marginal conditions, causing disasters like the 1982 crash of a

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

"saving American lives" (as the Grenada invasion showed), even though the hundreds, possibly thousands of Americans here don't want to be "rescued." Even American liberals called the Congressional action "affirmative go signals for the Administration."

On June 28, sixty thousand workers, students and soldiers rallied at Managua's Roberto Huembe Plaza to give their response to the Yankee threats. It was the beginning of the annual march to Masaya, 25 kilometers away, to commemorate "La Repliegue" (the retreat). During the June-July 1979 insurrection, when Managua was cut off and subjected to murderous bombing by the National Guard, the FSLN organized a strategic withdrawal of 6,000 combatants, returning victoriously to the capital when the last of the Somoza gang fled on July 19. In the main speech to the rally, President Ortega answered the U.S. threats, saying that Nicaragua "already has nuclear weapons—the consciousness and heart of the Nicaraguans."

This year the march was led by a show of military force, including seven T-55 tanks, followed by several dozen army trucks pulling 152 mm cannon and anti-aircraft artillery. Mingling with the crowd were 4-5,000 troops of several EPS (Sandinista People's Army) and MPS (militia) brigades, chanting anti-invasion slogans as their units were called out from the podium. Nicaragua is once again readying the trenches in preparation for attack. The country is *on alert*, as it was last November during the "MIG crisis," manufactured by Reagan, when American SR-71 "Black Bird" spy planes daily caused sonic booms over Managua to sow panic in the population; and also in October 1983, following Reagan's Big Stick invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada. The tenor here can be seen from headlines in *Barricada*:

- June 21: "*¡Nicaragua alerta!*"
- June 23: "There Will Be No Grenada Here"
- June 25: "If the U.S. Attacks, They Won't Take Us Unawares"
- June 29: "On Your Knees Only to Take Aim"

All this week Managua has been mobilizing on an unprecedented level. A drive through the city will pass a dozen or more T-55s and armored personnel carriers; antiaircraft artillery is in place. In the fields of the city, still strewn with rubble from the 1972 earthquake, tanks and APCs are being dug in and camouflaged to defend strategic locations—in some key spots a tank every 50 to 100 yards. The troop transports that only a week ago drove through the city empty are now packed full of armed troops—army, militia, interior ministry. And more movements are taking place at night.

Ever since Reagan declared a trade boycott May 1—a clear act of war—the population has been tensed for a U.S. strike. Many believe the invasion will come this month. Last week everyone was talking about a *Village Voice* article reprinted here laying out hypothetical plans for "Operation Founding Fathers," targeted for July 4. Also reported was the *New York Times* series detailing extensive Pentagon preparations for invasion in Central America. But as the *Voice* also pointed out, the Pentagon has been engaged in a "perception management program" in an attempt to scare the Nicaraguan population into submission, to get Managua to "cry wolf" once too often.

Day/The Commercial Appeal

Reagan wants to wear down Nicaragua's defenses by psychological warfare—"controlled management" of *their* hysteria—counting on the Sandinistas sooner or later to make a mistake. Now Congress is "neutralized," and with the Lebanon hostage crisis, White House spokesmen talk of a "specific plan of action, first in Central America" to "end the external support the Salvadoran terrorists [leftist rebels] receive from Nicaragua and the Communist bloc." They accuse the Sandinistas of "paranoia," but one of these times the U.S. *will* invade—otherwise its war threats and war moves, which have only pushed the country further down the "Cuban road," make no sense. And Nicaragua must be ready.

The beat of the Reaganite war drums has been combined with internal provocation. After being crowned cardinal by the Polish anti-Communist pope in Rome, Managua archbishop Obando y Bravo came back by way of Miami, where he said mass for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries; prominent among the mercenary luminaries attending the "contra mass" were Adolfo Calero of the Somozaist FDN and ex-Sandinista Edèn Pastora, known here as *El Traidor*. When Obando landed at Sandino Airport June 14, a demonstration organized by COSEP (the businessmen's association) pulled 5,000-plus people waving white and yellow Vatican flags, many chanting "Viva Reagan—Death to Ortega!" It took six hours for Obando to make the nine-mile trip from the airport to his residence, edging along in his "cardinal-mobile" as up to 200,000 people lined the route.

Was this a counterrevolutionary mobilization? It was plenty ominous. After the police had to use fire hoses to keep the airport crowd under control, Interior Minister Tomás Borge vowed, "We are not going to allow this to happen again." Obando's open air mass the next day drew only about 20,000, one-third the predicted turnout. The size of the crowd along the cardinal's route reflected strong religious sentiment in this highly Catholic country—where the church is deeply divided and there are three priests in the government. But, as the battle over Pope Wojtyla's 1983 visit to Managua showed, the church is also the trump card of the internal contras. Obando declared in his latest homily, "Don't let them cut off your head, like communism cuts off your head with the sickle and bashes it with the hammer." And then the rightist *La Prensa* complains that his sermons are no longer broadcast live!

The airport demonstration for Obando was noticeably middle-aged and well dressed. A very different crowd came out for a Sandinista Youth demonstration June 17—teenagers, preschoolers, militia men and women in their early 20s, in uniform and fully armed. Guns were passed out to the crowd, single shot and automatic weapons, and every time the speaker asked a rhetorical question shots would ring out amid chants of *"Aquí, allá, el yanqui morirá"* (Here, there, the Yankees will die) and *"No se vende, no se rinde"* (We won't sell out, we won't give up). Featured speaker Omar Cabezas, a guerrilla comandante and an EPS brigade commander, asked: "What would you prefer, plenty of toilet paper and nail polish, and in return we give up our gold and return the land confiscated from the rich?" The crowd roared back, "Let the revolution continue!" Cabezas quipped, "If you run short of toilet paper, you can always use *La Prensa* to wipe your ass."

As the contradictions intensify in Nicaragua, an accelerated pace of land distribution has been announced. Two weeks ago 3,000 peasants of the Agricultural Workers Association held a mass rally in Masaya, an area of acute land shortage, demanding expropriations. MININRA (land reform) minister Jaime Wheelock responded by confiscating the lands of COSEP leader Enrique Bolaños, who refused the government's offer of twice the acreage elsewhere. Then on July 1 the government announced another round of expropriations of Bolaños' property, this time his agricultural machinery business, SAIMSA. Apparently this was simply confiscated, without compensation, and the Nicaraguan capitalist leader is screaming bloody murder.

Meanwhile, in the war-torn provinces of Matagalpa and Jinotega, the government announced on June 28 the distribution of 600,000 acres of private and state land scheduled for the week of the sixth anniversary of the revolution (July 19). A couple of days later it was announced that titles to another 27,000 acres of land would be distributed to thousands of campesino families in the area around Managua. And on July 1, they announced the relocation of displaced Miskito Indians back to their ancestral lands in Tasba Pri and Rio Coco. According to *Barricada*, more land has been distributed thus far in 1985 than in the first four years of the revolution. However, until now almost all the land to which title had been granted was state lands occupied by squatters or former holdings of Somoza and his henchmen. The takeover of Bolaños represents a sharp departure: Wheelock pointedly declared that the political considerations had been carefully weighed in arriving at this decision.

For almost six years the ruling FSLN has followed a policy guided by the trinity of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." But under the blows of Yankee imperialism, this policy of conciliating contradictory class interests has become increasingly untenable and downright suicidal. In a recent interview with European journalists, Daniel Ortega declared that:

> "I at least have always had a rather clear idea of the historical stage which Nicaragua must accomplish in this century. And this is valid for Latin America as well. It is fundamentally the stage of national liberation. And we cannot unite national and social liberation at the same time, that would be very difficult. First we must conquer independence, a degree of national liberation rich in deep popular content which will make it possible to lay the bases to solve the great economic, social and political problems which will drag on over centuries."
>
> —*L'Espresso*, 23 June

No. Nicaragua does not have centuries, or decades or even years to resolve the fundamental question of which class shall rule. Reagan is seeing to that. As the 101st and 82nd Airborne Divisions rev up their engines, preparing to head for Honduras and then on to Managua, the internal contras must be crushed. Today, the struggle to complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution is a matter of life and death for the Central American masses.

Speaking with the *New York Times* (7 June), Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega said that in the face of a U.S. invasion, "There will be tens of thousands of people in different parts of Central America armed with rifles, antiaircraft guns and other weapons, in addition to tens of thousands in our country. The outcome will not be determined only by military power," and protests will spread through the United States as well. As the U.S. Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, gives the green light for invasion, American revolutionaries have a special responsibility to mobilize against Reagan's invasion plans. The Spartacus Youth League fundraising campaign for dollars to Nicaragua is an important step. It is also vitally necessary to fight for labor strikes against U.S. intervention. Now more than ever, anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. *Defend Nicaragua—Smash U.S. war moves!*■

WV Photo

Protest in Managua against Reagan's embargo, May 16. Banner reads: "I won't sell out. I won't give up. Let your mother cry uncle."

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Strike Wave, Leftist Insurgency in the Capital

Class War in San Salvador

When an urban guerrilla commando made a lightning strike in the capital of El Salvador June 19, wiping out four U.S. Marines in a single blow, Ronald Reagan reacted with the arrogance of an imperial dictator. As the flag-draped coffins were off-loaded from an American military transport at Andrews Air Force Base, he vowed to smite the "jackals" who may have "disappeared into the city streets" but could not "escape the judgment of God." The American president who thinks he can call down heavenly wrath will have some problems, though, for the streets of San Salvador are no longer the exclusive hunting grounds of the rightist death squads and the mass murdering Salvadoran army. And as U.S. forces in Central America mount, these few Marine caskets will be followed by many, many more.

The leftist rebels that Reagan calls "terrorists" carried out a military action against legitimate targets in the midst of a bloody civil war where they face armed forces trained, armed and paid for by the United States. The San Salvador attack, say leaders of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), represents a new stage in their fight to "carry the war to the Yankee aggressors wherever they are." Now U.S. "advisers" won't be able to supervise bombing attacks on peasant hamlets by day and sip margaritas in the Zona Rosa at night. And as well as facing the FMLN guerrillas, the U.S. and its puppet president José Napoleón Duarte have to contend with a combative workers movement that is rising like a phoenix after almost five years of clandestinity. The killing of U.S. soldiers has grabbed the headlines, but the press has not reported how tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants have repeatedly taken to the streets in recent months in mass actions.

Alert!

15,000 workers defy terror regime to march in San Salvador, May Day 1985.

Coupled with its invasion plans against Sandinista Nicaragua, Washington is sharply escalating its intervention in El Salvador. White House spokesman Larry Speakes declared: "...we are now drawing the line, we are laying out a specific plan of action, first in Central America, on delivering military weapons, providing additional intelligence, providing technical law enforcement assistance" (*New York Times*, 21 June). None of this has been authorized by the U.S. Congress, but they won't have any problems there: over the past year Democrats and Republicans have voted $441 million in new aid to "democrat" Duarte. Already, Reagan has used emergency powers to deliver six new helicopters to the Salvadoran military. But the rebels' Radio Venceremos broadcast an FMLN communiqué on the San Salvador attack warning that their operation, titled "Yankee Aggressor in El Salvador, Another Vietnam Awaits You," would not be the last:

> "Did Ronald Reagan think that he would come to make war in El Salvador and that his soldiers were not going to die?
> "Let this be clear: as long as there is more Yankee intervention, more U.S. Marines will die."
> —*Washington Post*, 22-23 June

Leading Salvadoran army officers like hardliner Colonel Sigfredo Ochoa claim, "We are winning the war." And spokesmen for Washington have been saying for the last year that there is "light at the end of the tunnel," to use the famous Vietnam phrase, although the tunnel may be a long one. They are relying heavily on saturation bombing by American-supplied A-37 strike aircraft, UH-1H "Huey" helicopters and AC-47 gunships (equipped with three .50 caliber machine guns each capable of firing 1,500 rounds per minute) for strafing; they use 500 and 750 pound iron bombs converted into anti-personnel fragmentation devices, and the air strikes are pinpointed by U.S. Air Force reconnaissance planes flying out of Honduras (report by Congressmen Leach, Miller and Hatfield, *Alert!*, March 1985).

UPI

Notorious Salvadoran death squad leader, army Lt. Colonel Cientuegos got his at the hands ot the FMLN.

This has produced some "successes" for the government: according to Red Cross figures, over 100,000 civilians were driven from their homes between November 1983 and June 1984. At least 750,000 out of Salvador's five million population have fled the country, probably half to the United States, and there are another 500,000 "internal refugees" living in camps inside the country. Now, following the brutal counterinsurgency plan of neighboring Guatemala, the Salvadoran armed forces are applying a scorched earth policy attempting to remove peasant supporters of the guerrillas. Called Project 1,000, the plan is to create a thousand "model villages" into which peasants in the northern tier of El Salvador would be herded. In Vietnam they called them "strategic hamlets," and as in Vietnam, here too they will doubtless be destroyed *from within*.

The vastly increased U.S. aid *has* meant a setback to the leftist insurgency. Massed attacks have become rare, making it harder to destroy whole units of the government army. But the guerrillas have adapted to the government's new tactics, breaking down into smaller squads and preparing for a "war of attrition." Without suffering a single lost battle, they have been able to pull off some spectacular raids, like the March 16 attack on the communications installation atop El Picacho on the outskirts of the capital. They have also begun targeting government and military officials, such as the execution of armed forces spokesman Lt. Colonel Cienfuegos that same month. Last week, guerrilla commander Joaquin Villalobos told U.S. reporters, "Our strategy has to be based in defeating the resistance and the capacity of the Reagan Administration to continue supplying the Salvadoran Army." As the rebel leaders vowed to spread the war to every part of the country, last month FMLN units entered the western city of Santa Ana for the first time since 1981.

Labor in the Streets of San Salvador

In the capital social conditions are explosive as a leftist-led union movement mobilizes discontent over catastrophic living conditions. As a result of a three-year wage freeze, the real wages of Salvadoran workers lost an incredible *65 percent* of their buying power during 1981-85, while unemployment has risen to an estimated 40 percent (*Guazapa*, 25 April). For the last year labor struggle has been on the rise as the historically militant union movement reasserts itself. In spite of the state of siege in the capital, during March-June San Salvador has seen a series of mass demonstrations and strikes on a scale unequaled since the massive mobilizations of 1979-80. The *Boletin Semanal Centroamericana* (10 June) published by the SALPRESS news ageney reports the following major strikes during the month of May alone:

- Some 22,000 members of the ANDES teachers union undertook the fifth in a series of one- and two-day work stoppages.
- Waterworks employees of the SETANDA union held a nine-day strike demanding wage increases and negotiations with the leftist insurgents. They won a pay hike and 49 workers who had been fired were reinstated.
- At the same time ATRAME, representing employees of the education ministry, struck for a salary increase.
- STISS, representing 4,500 employees of the social security institute, struck for a month, occupying five hospitals and 20 clinics across the country.

These struggles were reflected in repeated mass mobilizations. On March 8, 25,000 members of agricultural cooperatives paraded in the capital protesting inflation and calling for "dialogue" with the FMLN and its allies of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). On March 24, some 10,000 protesters, organized by the Committee of Mothers of Prisoners and the Disappeared, marched on the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Archbishop Romero. And on May 1, an estimated 25,000 workers, peasants and students took part in the largest May Day celebration since 1979. Wearing hats with large visors and sunglasses to disguise themselves from government finks, they courageously marched "under the eye of death," as one speaker put it, through the streets where hundreds of martyrs have been slaughtered by the security forces.

The workers' mobilizations went on throughout the month: on May 15, more than 5,000 ANDES teachers marched to the education ministry; May 20, several unions marched on the social security institute to support STISS strikers; May 23, some 4,000 teachers and workers marched on the legislative assembly demanding satisfaction of their demands; May 28, again more than 4,000 workers marched on the assembly, this time together with the Mothers Committee.

These actions have taken place in the face of murderous repression. While U.S. officials proclaim the end of death squad violence under "democrat" Duarte, since the beginning of the year 22 Salvadoran trade unionists have been killed or kidnapped, among them

continued on page 10

UPI

Reagan's man Shultz and Salvadoran puppet Duarte.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

desperately poor and economically dependent black African states on its borders into expelling the ANC and other opponents of apartheid. This in turn is part of its war to drown in blood the growing resistance to apartheid by South Africa's black masses, especially the six-million-strong black proletariat. The Gaborone raid came as the apartheid regime was attempting to behead the largest anti-apartheid grouping, the United Democratic Front (UDF), 40 of whose leaders are on trial for treason. They face hanging if convicted.

Coming but two days before the annual commemoration by black South Africa (and black people throughout the world) of the massive youth-centered revolt which began in the black township of Soweto on 16 June 1976, the Gaborone massacre was both a provocation and a dire warning. The Soweto uprising swept across the black townships of South Africa; more than 500 youth were killed by the police before it was quelled in 1977, with thousands more forced into exile, particularly into Botswana. And in Soweto on this June 16 as 5,000 blacks poured out of a commemoration meeting at the township's Regina Mundi cathedral, cops in armored cars waiting outside fired tear gas and rubber bullets, pursuing the crowd as they fled.

This scene was repeated the following day as cops with batons and tear gas charged a demonstration of 500 blacks in a township near Windhoek, the capital of the South African colony of Namibia, formerly called South West Africa. The blacks were protesting the imposition by Pretoria of a puppet "transitional" government excluding the black majority, who overwhelmingly support the nationalist South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). And as if to remind everyone who still rules this mineral-rich land, on June 29 South African forces based in Namibia pursued SWAPO guerrillas into southern Angola and in a two-day rampage killed 61 people.

Meanwhile, a showdown is looming between South Africa's mine owners and the superexploited black miners who come overwhelmingly from the bantustans and bordering states like Botswana, Mozambique and Lesotho. The black National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) which represents more than 160,000 of South Africa's half-million black miners, held strike ballots at 18 gold mines and eleven collieries in their fight for increased wages. Already in late June 20,000 black gold miners in three mines near Johannesburg wildcatted for two days, forced back to work only by the threat of dismissal and the force of police bullets which killed one miner.

Troubles for the Washington/Pretoria Axis

The Gaborone massacre was a typical night's work for apartheid's bloody rulers. And up to now they have been able to look to Washington under Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" to give apartheid's racist crimes both material and moral support. For example, when South African police killed 20 and wounded another 27 unarmed funeral goers in Uitenhage last March, Reagan justified the murder claiming: "There was rioting going on on behalf of others...who want a violent settlement." This lie was repudiated even by the apartheid regime's own commission of inquiry which found that most of the blacks were shot in the back.

But the Botswana raid, coming on the heels of another South African commando raid into Angola's northern province of Cabinda to blow up oil installations jointly owned by the Angolan government and the U.S. multinational Gulf Oil, compelled the State Department to issue a diplomatic rebuff by recalling the American ambassador to Pretoria. Certainly it was not concern for innocent black lives that motivated the White House defenders of the Uitenhage massacre and the organizers of the bombing of a black Philadelphia neighborhood. The State Department claimed it was acting out of "respect for the national sovereignty of all states and inviolability of international borders." Coming from the invaders of Grenada, the state terrorists who mine Nicaraguan ports, the car bombers of Beirut, the State Department's claim exemplified what Shakespeare said in his *Merchant of Venice*: "The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose."

But Washington is indeed temporarily miffed with its racist, anti-Soviet allies in Pretoria. Under "constructive engagement" Reagan has tried to broker a "Pax Afrikaner" in southern Africa in which Pretoria, as a junior partner of Washington, economically dominates and militarily polices nominally independent black states. This is to include Namibia, whose "independence" is linked to the withdrawal from Angola of 25,000 Soviet-backed Cuban troops, who are the only guarantors that this former Portuguese colony will not be turned into another bantustan. As with its Israeli client state in the Near East, Washington has developed a soft cop/hard cop duet with South Africa.

The latter does the dirty work of militarily terrorizing neighboring black states or organizing local "contras," such as Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola and the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR). This allows the U.S. to play "honest broker" and woo the black nationalist regimes away from their Soviet allies with promises of peace treaties with their imperialist neighbors to the south and of American aid. In return these regimes become border guards for apartheid slavery. Under the Lusaka Agreement, Angolan troops patrol their border in tandem with South Africans to cut off the SWAPO guerrillas. And under the Nkomati Accords, Mozambique expelled most of the ANC members in exile there. However, both UNITA and the phantom "MNR" have continued to receive South African backing for their campaigns wreaking mass murder and economic devastation on these poor countries.

The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution gave impetus to the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism by the Angolan and Mozambique masses. That humiliating defeat of U.S. imperialism stayed its hand from rushing to replace the Portuguese as it had replaced the French in Indochina, and its South African proxies were routed by Soviet-backed Cuban troops in Angola.

War Against Black Townships

On July 5, police wearing knitted caps as hoods went on a house-to-house rampage shotgunning blacks in Duduza, a black township east of Johannesburg. After three days of stonewalling, Pretoria finally admitted to killing at least three blacks and that a black woman was run over by an armored vehicle. On July 9 a funeral vigil was held for the four in a movie theater in a nearby township, KwaThema. Policemen and soldiers lobbed tear-gas canisters into the vigil. As the mourners poured out, these apartheid butchers opened fire, killing six immediately.

In the black townships around Port Elizabeth, 27 anti-apartheid militants have been "disappeared" and eleven assassinated in a "death squad" campaign of terror by police and white supremacists with ties to the military. The apartheid regime's determination to crush any resistance has targeted the militant townships of the highly industrialized East Rand in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape. Here Pretoria has imposed a massive military occupation with systematic terror and murder, provoking black protest in order to suppress it with greater bloodshed.

externally and to "reform" the apartheid system within. Both the Reaganite Republican Senate and the Democratic House are now passing measures for economic sanctions to pressure the Afrikaner nationalists in Pretoria to act in the best interests of the "free world." Writing for the *New York Times* (20 June) op-ed page, liberal New York Democratic Congressman Stephen Solarz endorsed both Reagan's boycott of Nicaragua and economic sanctions against South Africa as part of "A new Democratic foreign policy that...would serve our country's interests by facilitating a bipartisan consensus to resist Soviet expansionism and Communist tyranny."

From Soweto to Harlem: Workers to Power!

The U.S. rulers are worried that the arrogant white supremacists in Pretoria are destabilizing not only southern Africa but American society as well. Rev. Leon Sullivan, the Philadelphia black clergyman who sits on the General Motors board of directors and who drew up the "Sullivan Code" for American multinationals in South Africa, warned the Senate Banking Committee that if South Africa explodes, "Riots would occur in Harlem and other cities all over this country" (*Washington Post*, 14 June).

Thus, the black front men for U.S. imperialism see a direct link between pacifying Soweto and pacifying Harlem. In a keynote speech to a June 16 rally in Harlem called in the name of commemorating the Soweto uprising, black Democratic hustler Jesse Jackson called on *Ronald Reagan* to adopt a "new humane African policy" and for "a new African liberation policy coming from America." This is like calling on Hitler in 1938 to adopt a "new humane Jewish policy" or for a "new Jewish liberation policy" to come from Nazi Germany! The Harlem rally occurred only three days after black scholarship

AP

Soweto, June 1985: 5,000 blacks defied troops to commemorate victims of Soweto uprising of 1976.

These events, in turn, inspired the massive youth-centered rebellion which began in Soweto in 1976 and re-emerged this past year, merging this time with the class battles of the black proletariat. South Africa cannot tolerate independent black states on its borders because they constitute a direct challenge to apartheid slavery, and so they behave like arrogant bully boys in "their" backyard the way their Yankee imperialist allies have behaved in "their" Central American backyard for a century.

From Washington's standpoint, however, Pretoria's unbridled militarism stands in the way of establishing a stable neocolonial relationship with the various black nationalist regimes in southern Africa and eradicating Soviet influence in the region. How can the nationalist regime in Angola, for example, be convinced to accept the withdrawal of Cuban troops if South Africa treats international borders as if they don't exist? At the same time, apartheid terror internally threatens a bloody conflagration within South Africa itself.

Hence U.S. imperialism would like South Africa to "moderate" its behavior

student Edmund Perry was shot dead, another victim of the wanton killing spree by Mayor Koch's racist cops.

Even though the attorney for the Perry family, Vernon Mason, who is running for district attorney in the Democratic primaries, was one of the featured speakers, Perry and other victims of racist cop killings were seldom mentioned at this rally. Likewise, the burning alive of eleven black MOVE members in Philadelphia was only referred to most delicately, if at all. This is because the purpose of the Harlem rally was to elect more black officials like Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode, who took "full responsibility" for that holocaust and vowed to do it again. At this rally which disgraced the memory of the Soweto martyrs, only a black leader of the Columbia anti-apartheid protest related apartheid slavery in South Africa to the hard racist reality of America's mean streets.

Apartheid is universally reviled because it ruthlessly concentrates, institutionalizes and sharply delineates the brutal exploitation, racist terror and colonial degradation inherent in *every form of capitalist imperialism*, but

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which elsewhere is masked by "impersonal" market forces, social convention and formal bourgeois legal equality. In Ameriea the children of welfare mothers supposedly bave as much "right" as a Rockefeller to own a bank. In South Africa in the white "homeland," where the cities, industries, mines and arable land are concentrated, blacks *by law* can own nothing.

In South Africa blacks are forced by law to live in "group areas." There is no "group areas" act in the U.S. but Edmund Perry was still shot dead by a cop for being out of his "area" after dark. Every American black and the oppressed and exploited of the world solidarize with the struggle against apartheid because they see in it the mirror of their own oppression.

As with the birth of the civil rights movement in the late 1950s, the anti-apartheid protests which swept the campuses this past spring raised questions which directly challenge the racist imperialist system, both in the U.S. and in South Africa. At the same time, they sought solutions within the framework of the system. Take the "divestment" strategy whereby student protest is supposed to pressure college trustees to sell stocks from their endowment portfolios of multinationals which invest in South Africa, thereby pressuring these companies to pull out and thereby pressuring the apartheid regime to reform itself. But there are two fundamental laws of capitalism involved here: investment seeks the highest rate of return and every sale has a buyer. Indeed, due to the superexploitation of black labor, which from an *economic* standpoint is what apartheid is all about, the rate of return in South Africa is very good. Every "divestment" will therefore find another investor. Wall Street and its government in Washington are not going to fundamentally alter the capitalist system.

While the "divestment" strategy is a form of liberal utopianism, many of the anti-apartheid protesters are raising basic questions about racism and war in a period when Reagan wants to regiment the American people for his insane drive for nuclear Armageddon with the Soviet Union. Young anti-apartheid militants are being given an education in the class nature of the state. One need only contrast the kid-glove treatment the limousine liberals got at the South African embassy in Washington to the hundreds of protesters beaten and arrested at elite campuses like Cornell and Berkeley.

Berkeley students also witnessed and appreciated a small demonstration of the power of the working class. For ten days last winter longshoremen in the Bay Area refused to unload South African cargo despite victimization by the bosses and criminal sabotage by union misleaders and their reformist hangers-on. The key to black liberation in both the U.S. and South Africa lies in class struggle.

South Africa is drifting toward a bloody civil war. The black majority has made it clear that they are not going to take this oppressive situation anymore, and the white minority is armed to the teeth and determined to defend what it has got. Insofar as a conflagration occurs purely along national, white-vs.-black lines, the whites will win hands down. But the Achilles' heel of the apartheid system is the six-million-strong black proletariat. From the gold mines of Witwatersrand to the auto plants of Port Elizabeth, for the past decade this proletariat has entered into struggle and gained an increasing sense of its own power. In South Africa the *class* principle can prevail.

A workers revolution in South Africa would be the powerhouse for emancipation of all desperately impoverished and famine-stricken black Africa. And it would be a clarion call, given the strategic position of black workers in the U.S., for the American proletariat to enter the battle to wrest power from this insane racist ruling class. ■

Fascists, Or Pigs...

(continued from page 3)

destroyed in the fiery holocaust. This terrorist crime was authored by a conspiracy extending from Philly city hall, with its black Democrat mayor, to the racist Republican in the White House. Why? The back-to-nature MOVE group's alleged "crimes" were violation of the city sanitation code, failure to pay the gas bill and using a loudspeaker. The Philadelphia inferno isn't exactly what we would call "within the range of bourgeois democracy"; on the other hand, it bore the unmistakable signature of the Reagan regime. In response to this deliberate act of racist mass murder we ran the headline: "Bithurg Hits Philly."

Ronald Reagan wasn't trying to "explicitly publicly disassociate" himself from the Nazis at Bitburg. On the contrary, he consciously tied himself to German Nazism by honoring the Waffen SS graves. This outrage was only added to by his obscene, hastily added visit to Bergen-Belsen, where his Secret Service ordered West German police to round up and cart off protesting Jewish Holocaust survivors. The Bitburg visit disgusted broad layers of American society, including even the *Navy Times*, hardly an organ of crazed leftist Nazi-baiters, which printed a cartoon showing a swastika-bearing skeletal arm giving Reagan the Hitler salute. As for our evocative subtitle, "Ich bin ein Bithurger," it seems the same idea occurred to nationally syndicated cartoonist Oliphant.

Was all this outrage mere "trite name-calling"? We don't think so. Reagan positively *wants* to make the Nazi connection in order to cement his alliance with modern-day German imperialism for war on Russia. The "Fourth Reich," bristling with Pershing nuclear missiles only eight minutes from Moscow, is in the front line of Washington's anti-Soviet war drive. And the mad bombers in the White House basement are, if anything, even crazier than the entourage in Hitler's bunker. The Hitlerites only wanted to conquer the world by fighting a war on two fronts; the Reaganites believe they can nuke the "Evil Empire" without a single white, upper-class American being touched by so much as an ash of fallout.

There are probably a few capitalist politicians around who believe in bourgeois democracy. Ronald Reagan just doesn't happen to be one of them. He came to power through elections, all right (so did Hitler), but in his drive for war Reagan openly expresses his bonapartist contempt for Congress: he pounds the table declaring, "We've got to get where we can run a foreign policy without a committee of 535 telling us what to do." To outlaw and suppress opposition to this war drive the administration has issued FBI "guidelines" equating political opposition with "terrorism" and calls for "anti-terrorist" preventive strikes while the Supreme Court guts the Bill of Rights.

Granma

Ku Klux Klan endorsed Reagan. The present gang in the White House is a bunch of dangerous, war-crazed, fascist-minded nuts.

The present Cold War II, combined with Reagan's insistence on making America a "Christian nation" under the iron heel of far-right Moral Majority bigots, has emboldened native fascists to new outbursts of racist terror. The opening shots of the anti-Soviet war drive were fired here at home, under Democrats Carter and Mondale, in Greensboro, North Carolina on 3 November 1979. And as was just demonstrated in court, the government and KKK/Nazi killers at Greensboro were in a murderous conspiracy to gun down communists, union organizers and civil rights activists. On 27 November 1982 Reagan, who was endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan, gave the lynchers the green light to take the streets of the nation's capital for the first time since 1925. But they were stopped and run out of town by the mass mobilization of labor, especially black workers and youth, initiated and politically led by the Spartacist League.

Loren Schutt is right when he indicates that promiscuous "Nazi-baiting," a Stalinist specialty, leads to political disorientation. But to say that the present rulers of America are a bunch of dangerous, war-crazed, fascist-minded nuts in no way implies political support for the Democrats or any other bourgeois party. On the contrary, it only emphasizes the urgency of workers revolution. Brother Schutt unfortunately shares with the reformists an unwarranted faith in the stability of bourgeois democracy in this period of the death agony of capitalism. But there is no "Chinese wall" between the "democratic" and fascist variants of capitalist rule. Back in the 1930s, James Burnham, when he was a leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, wrote:

> "The Peoples' Front justifies its policy by stating that the fundamental issue at the present time is 'Bourgeois democracy vs. Fascism.' We have seen that there is no such issue, that the only issue is 'Socialism vs. Capitalism.'... Bourgeois democracy prepares the ground for fascism; fascism takes root, grows and matures, within the ground of bourgeois democracy. No basic transfer of power is involved in the transition from democracy to fascism; the same class continues to rule by other means.... It is of the utmost significance to remember that Hitler came to power in Germany *within the framework of the Weimar Constitution*—the Constitution described by Social Democracy as 'the most democratic in the world'."
>
> —*The Peoples' Front: The New Betrayal* (1937)

The mass murderers who destroyed villages in Vietnam in order to "save" them from the Viet Cong now bomb a black neighborhood in Philadelphia in order to "save" it. In El Salvador they promote "death squad democracy," and they proclaim the apartheid police state an integral part of the "free world." An insane social order which proposes to destroy the world in order to "save" it from communism will not long preserve the trappings of democracy at home. That is why we say, "From South Africa to Germany to Central America and the United States, the scourge of fascism will be wiped out through international socialist revolution." ■

Reagan's Deadly Skies...

(continued from page 5)

Pan Am jet at New Orleans airport which killed 145 when the plane was caught in a dangerous "wind shear" on takeoff in a heavy rainstorm. Some carriers like American Airlines have abolished the final walk-around check of the aircraft by a mechanic before takeoff to save a few more pennies, and all carriers are planning to eliminate the third member of the cockpit crew through automation. How many more will die for this "frugality"?

While the time bomb in air safety ticks away, Reagan tries to blame all the world's troubles on the Soviet Union. But in the matter of air safety, the Soviets, who are not hobbled by the profit motive, are becoming pioneers. When a team of Western avionics experts recently toured the test sites of a Soviet electronics research institute, they were astonished to discover that the USSR is now emerging as "a potential exporter of next-generation hardware" for air traffic control systems (see articles in *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 24 June and 1 July). *AW* reported with a hint of envy that the Soviets are readying an ultra-modern collision-avoidance system using high-speed phased-array antennas, which can track many planes at once. The FAA had once envisioned building such a phased-array system but abandoned the idea—it was "more costly."

As for terrorism in the air, the U.S. imperialists have a lot of gall pointing fingers at anybody. It was Reagan & Co. who criminally sent KAL Flight 007 on an intelligence mission over sensitive Soviet military installations in 1983, sacrificing the lives of over 200 passengers. Nor was that the first time U.S. spy agencies used civilian airline passengers as a screen for their "dirty tricks" (see "KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane," *WV* No. 379, 17 May). And what about the 73 passengers of a Cubana airlines plane blown up in the air by CIA-trained *gusanos* in 1976? The big-time terrorists are in the White House and the Pentagon. They and their union-busting pals in the airline company boardrooms are the ones guilty of mass murder in the skies.

"Travel broadens," Malcolm X rightly said, and the speed, convenience and potential safety of air travel hold out the promise of transforming the disparate nations of the world into a genuine international community. But the development of air transportation requires the highest level of human skill, technology and coordination, while cutthroat competition produces fiery disaster. In a concentrated form, the life-and-death question of air safety demonstrates the need for international planning in a socialist society. ■

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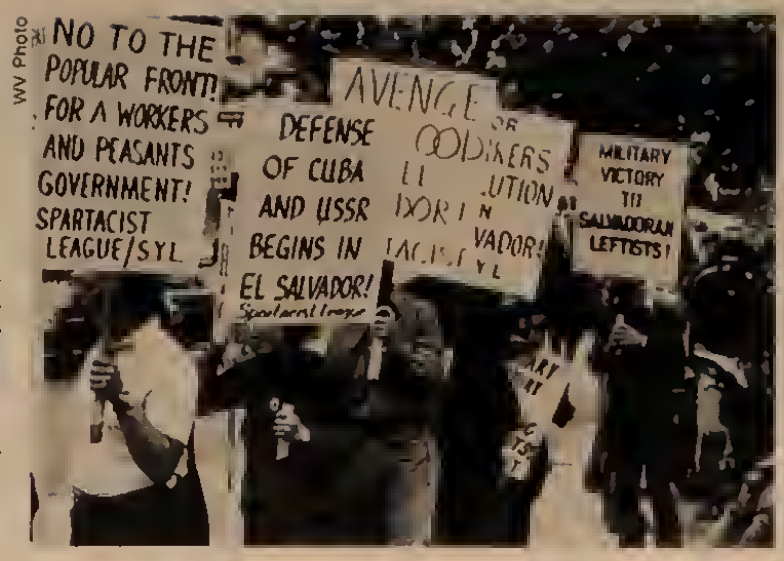
San Salvador...

(continued from page 7)

several prominent leaders. Two days after the May Day demonstration, two SETANDA members were assassinated by the National Guard. And this terrorism has received official sanction right from the top. In his June 1 "state of the nation" speech, Duarte blasted the union movement: "When the unions are infiltrated and manipulated for war and destabilization, they lose their social function and the credibility of the people" (*Boletin Semanal Centroamericano*, 20 May-9 June).

The very next day, at 3 a.m., in a coordinated action hundreds of military police and National Guardsmen burst into the hospitals and clinics occupied by the STISS strikers in an attempt to smash the strike. At San Salvador General Hospital the operation was led by a special SWAT team made up of agents of the notorious Treasury Police trained (in violation of a Congressional ban) in Puerto Rico by the FBI. Besides terrorizing staff and patients (one woman died of a heart attack), the police commandos managed to shoot dead four undercover cops who had entered the hospital earlier. Two STISS officials were arrested, but later released after 5,000 workers marched June 5 in their defense.

The government repression continues. On June 10, security forces raided the SETANDA offices. Two days later the headquarters of the Human Rights Commission and the Committee of Mothers of the Disappeared were broken into and sacked. But the workers' mobilization has continued as well. According to the weekly summary of the FMLN's Radio Farabundo Marti (WKCR, 3 July), on June 29 approximately 15,000 urban and rural workers marched in San Salvador demanding across-the-board wage increases, while 60 unions announced they were preparing a general strike in defense of the striking water workers.



Spartacist League/SYL demands "Down with Duarte! Workers to Power in El Salvador!"

Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

The June 19 San Salvador raid was carried out by the Mardoqueo Cruz unit of the Central American Workers Party (PRTC), the smallest of the five components of the guerrilla front. While the FMLN took credit for the operation, not all sectors of the opposition coalition took the same tack. Ruhén Zamora's Popular Social Christian Movement (MPSC), a dissident Christian Democratic grouping that is part of the FDR, took out a half-page advertisement in a local newspaper to declare that the attack on the Marines "lacks any justification" and "does not contribute in any way to the attainment of a just peace in the country." Asked about such criticisms by their allies, FMLN commander Jorge Shafik Handal, leader of the Salvadoran Communist Party, replied: "We don't have an absolute identity, either in our form of fighting or in our political positions" (*Washington Post*, 7 July).

There have been similar differences in the past between the ostensibly "Marxist-Leninist" groups of the FMLN and the tiny middle-class "democratic" formations in the FDR. They center on the price of the so-called "political solution" to the war which all wings of the FDR/FMLN call for. The "moderates" want at all costs to avoid angering Reagan or Duarte—even though they're in the middle of a war!—while the "militants" push armed struggle, in order to bargain for a better deal. Last fall, Zamora and an FDR official in Costa Rica raised the possibility of participating in the legislative elections organized by the Duarte regime ("Rebels Weigh Election Role," *Washington Post*, 16 November 1984). In response to this apparent split in the rebel ranks, U.S. Undersecretary of Defense Fred Iklé remarked:

> "You can use negotiations to bring over those associated with the insurgency who are willing to participate in the democratic process.... The hard core may go away—they may leave for Prague or Cuba."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 17 November 1984

Duarte, who ultimately depends on the military and Washington, could not provide the necessary guarantees for his former allies Zamora and Ungo, so he missed the opportunity to split the opposition.

From the beginning of the guerrilla struggle in early 1981, the Salvadoran leftist rebels have been calling for negotiations to end the war. Duarte finally took them up on their offer by calling for a "dialogue" which took place last October 15 at La Palma. Caught unprepared, the FDR/FMLN delegates presented only procedural proposals. At the next session, held November 30 at a Catholic retreat in the town of Ayagualo, they presented a three-stage proposal for a "government of national consensus." This was essentially a restatement of their January 1984 call for a "government of broad participation." Such a government, said the FDR/FMLN, would include not only workers and peasants, but also "the private sector" (i.e., business interests) and "an already-restructured national army."

In his recent interview guerrilla leader Joaquin Villalobos shocked American correspondents by declaring, "We have no condition for laying down our arms because we are not prepared to give up our guns ever" (*New York Times*, 7 July). But in his September 1983 document, *¿Por qué lucha el FMLN?* (What Is the FMLN Fighting For?), Villalobos declared:

> "The FMLN does not pose the destruction of the army but rather the organization of a new military power based on the present army and the FMLN."

The army is at the heart of the Salvadoran ruling class. For half a century it provided the presidents. It policed the peasants for the landowners; it spawned the death squads which assassinated hundreds of labor leaders. Its officer corps will defend capitalist exploitation to the death and is shot through with fascistic elements. Any "political solution" that leaves the armed forces intact means *abandoning the struggle for social revolution and abandoning the masses to the death squads.*

In addition to the tragic experiences of Spain under the Popular Front of the 1930s and Chile's Unidad Popular during 1970-73, El Salvador has already had its own experience with such a "broad" coalition: the "revolutionary junta" established on 15 October 1979, which included FDR chief Ungo and "democratic" colonel Majano, and counted several future FDR leaders (such as Rubén Zamora) among the cabinet members. Because of the presence of their would-be bourgeois allies in this "human rights junta" installed by Jimmy Carter's State Department, the leftist "politico-military organizations" which are today grouped in the FMLN hesitated to attack the new regime. But despite the promises of reform, within 48 hours the army was mowing down slum dwellers in the barrios of Mejicanos, evicting strikers from occupied factories and "disappearing" leftists.

For Workers Revolution!

Five years ago San Salvador was shaken by powerful union struggles: electrical and manufacturing workers struck repeatedly in 1979, occupying plants and leading to the downfall of the Romero dictatorship. Even in the face of the "reform" demagogy of the "revolutionary junta," labor unrest continued. In 1980 twice there were huge mobilizations of more than 100,000 people and *three* general strikes. The powerful working-class upsurge was ultimately defeated by massive government repression, bloody death squad terror... and the misleadership of a guerrillaist left which criminally *ignored* the crucial moment for proletarian insurrection, because workers revolution is not their goal.

In an interview with Chilean Stalinist Marta Harnecker, FMLN comandante Villalobos remarked of the 1979-80 upsurge, "The development of the mass movement... obviously generated expectations about the insurrectional possibilities.... What happened is that we lost the appropriate moment" (*Punto Final Internacional*, November-December 1982). But *why* did they "lose" this moment? We wrote in our article, "El Salvador on Edge of Civil War" (*WV* No. 252, 21 March 1980): "In the midst of a pre-revolutionary crisis, in which the impossibility of liberal compromise has been clearly demonstrated, the popular-frontist guerrillas continue to call for a grand alliance of the exploited and oppressed masses with the 'democratic' class enemies and military butchers." Villalobos admits it: they were looking, he says, to "sectors of the bourgeoisie [who] were willing to establish alliances with us."

Karp/Time

FDR/FLMN leaders Cienfuegos, Ungo and Zamora at La Palma talks. We say: No popular-front sellouts! Leftist rebels must win the war—Workers take San Salvador!

Today Villalobos says, "We believe that, except for the escalated process of [U.S.] intervention, we would have won the war." Yet it was known from the beginning that Washington would intervene to prop up its allies in El Salvador. The FDR/FMLN tops "lost" the moment once again centrally because they could not fight *politically* against the "democratic" demagogy of Reagan and Duarte. For fear of antagonizing liberal Democrats in the U.S., and because they *need* Duarte for their "political solution" fantasies, the guerrillas failed to challenge the repeated "election" frauds mounted and paid for by the CIA. So the U.S.-backed regime has gained political strength and mountains of arms, because the leftists failed to wage a *class* struggle. But at least they continued to fight guns in hand, whereas in the U.S. the "solidarity" milieu criminally disarmed opposition to the Salvador war by channeling it into pressure tactics on the Democrats, who now vote hundreds of millions for Duarte.

Now once more the possibility of powerful workers struggles in El Salvador has arisen. As we wrote more than half a decade ago, "The only road forward to victory for the workers and peasants of Central America lies in an uncompromising struggle against all the exploiters, their military, political and 'spiritual' representatives, not just the oligarchy and the imperialists but the capitalist class. This road, the road of permanent revolution, requires the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard to lead the struggle for workers and peasants governments throughout the isthmus and a United Socialist States of Latin America." ■

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Union Tops Throttle Militant NYC Hotel Strikers

On June 27, striking New York City hotel workers voted overwhelmingly to accept a tentative agreement with the Hotel Association of New York, ending a 26-day walkout. The gutsy militancy and determination of the strikers won them the respect of the city's working people. The bosses' attempt to break this union was beaten back; the strikers are back on the job, the scabs fired. But strikes are won and lost on the picket line. The disastrous no fight, no win policies of the union officials, centered on the bullshit lie that racist Democrat Koch and his mounted cops were on the union's side, paved the way for massive scabherding and a giveback contract.

Vito Pitta, head of the strikers' nine-union coalition, falsely hailed the settlement as a "victory." In Reagan's America and Koch's New York, it is testimony to the bankruptcy of American trade-union leaders that if a strike isn't *smashed*, the tops claim they won. The bosses won significant concessions here, including the right to combine jobs, a two-tier wage scale under which new employees will receive 75 percent of scale for their first year, and no grievance procedure for up to six months. The strikers got a 23.5 percent pay hike spread over *five* years, which means that inflation will wipe out any improvements in the slave wages most hotel workers get.

The strike started out with a bang. The militant marches of the hotel workers attracted nationwide press coverage, particularly in towns like Miami with a large hotel industry. Initially, 45 hotels were struck and there was talk of pulling out another 40 but it remained just that—talk. *Twelve thousand scabs* streamed across leaky picket lines into the struck hotels every day. At the ratification meeting Pitta was roundly booed when he tried to thank the New York cops—strikers knew full well whose side these racist, strikebreaking thugs were on. The Teamsters honored the strike but this was the exception. Most damaging was the scabbing of the unionized city sanitation men who picked up the hotels' garbage from day one—and Pitta & Co. abided them by claiming that the Taylor Law gave them the right to scab. AFSCME's consummate sellout Victor Gotbaum went so far as to cross the hotel workers' picket line at the Mayfair Regent. The daily midtown marches became noisy diversions from the critical task of stopping the scabherding and deliveries of food and supplies that kept the hotels open.

WV Photo

Militant pickets at NYC's Roosevelt Hotel, June 13.

The ranks were plainly getting tired of these no win policies. On June 24, a midtown candlelight march was scheduled for 9 p.m., an hour which ensured that not even traffic would be disrupted. Union officials stated that strikers would be wearing yellow armbands as a gesture of solidarity with the American hostages held in Beirut. Instead, more than 1,000 union members and supporters, far more than the bureaucrats expected, massed in front of the Plaza. Almost no one was falling for the patriotism diversion—there was hardly a yellow armband in sight. Chanting and clapping, the marchers paid a spirited visit to a dozen or so of the struck hotels. When they got back to the Plaza they ignored instructions to disband and, surging past both the frantic bureaucrats and the nervous cops, took off down Fifth Avenue for more picketing.

But as *WV* pointed out when the strike began, "spontaneous militancy is not enough." The measures needed for a solid victory—mass picket lines that nobody would dare cross and solidarity labor *action*—meant a confrontation with Koch and the Democrats. Strikers were more than ready for some old-fashioned class struggle. Our "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball" supplement was well received; over 1,000 *WV*'s and Spanish-language *Spartacists* were sold on the picket lines, along with a dozen subscriptions. But what was absent was a militant leadership that could counterpose fighting policies to the pro-Democratic Party line of Pitta and the city's Central Labor Council.

New York City, a once proud union town, is long overdue for some hard class struggle. The powerful NYC labor movement, although weakened by its defeatist leadership, can and must be mobilized to fight the bosses' racist, anti-union offensive. That means dumping the labor fakers who counsel reliance on the capitalist state and its anti-labor laws and injunctions. Real victories require a leadership armed with a fighting program of class struggle and the determination to politically break the workers movement from its subordination to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. ■

Spartacist Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

attack. It's time to finish the Civil War—Black liberation through socialist revolution!"

The Stamberg/Kartsen campaign is a platform for all who want to take a stand against the Moral Majority bigots and reactionaries who are trying to run our lives. The Spartacists say: Government out of the bedrooms! People should be able to watch, read or do anything consensual they want! Millions for AIDS research! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Free abortion on demand! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Triple welfare! For the socialist reindustrialization of America!

Marjorie Stamberg was the Spartacist Party candidate for state assembly in Manhattan's 64th A.D. in 1978. A veteran of the civil rights, antiwar and women's movements of the 1960s, she is a member of the editorial board of the Spartacist League newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*.

Edward Kartsen, a signal maintainer in the New York subways until recently, was the oppositional candidate for Transport Workers Union Local 100 president in 1983. Kartsen chaired the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington on 27 November 1982, when the Spartacist League and black unionists led thousands who stopped the KKK race-terrorists in the nation's capital. ■

Spartacist Forum

Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!

MOVE Massacred by Reagan, Cops, Black Mayor—They're the Terrorists!

Speaker: **Ed Kartsen**
Spartacist League Central Committee
Guest Speaker: **LaVerne Sims**
Former MOVE member
Guest Speaker: **Gene Herson**
Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the NMU

Thursday, July 11, 7:00 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan
Community College, Room N402
(Greenwich at Chambers)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Koch's Raid...

(continued from page 12)

people in the space of a month, it was another exercise in police intimidation of the population.

Many Brownsville residents were outraged. One mother, whose daughter was released after paying a fine, said, "It was really disgusting. Where were they yesterday when a 60-year-old woman got raped right over there?" Another resident remarked, "You know this stuff wouldn't have been happening if it wasn't an election year" (*New York Times*, 3 July).

This massive South Africa-style terror raid against the black community is exactly Koch's style. While calling for the bombing of Beirut airport, Lebanese cities and Iran, Koch plays out his bloody fantasies on New York's oppressed minorities. "You know Saudi Arabian law as it relates to graffiti," would-be ayatollah Koch said recently, referring to the barbaric practice of cutting off thieves' hands: "In my dreams... I'd make a Saudi Arabian the police chief for just a week" (*Daily News*, 27 June). Why bother? Koch's cops already beat to death alleged "graffitist" Michael Stewart, while his ghoulish coroner Dr. Gross gouged out Stewart's eyeballs so evidence of strangulation wouldn't turn up.

From the hit-and-run killing of a doctor on Park Avenue and the shotgun murder of Bronx black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs to the killing of scholarship student Edmund Perry, no one is safe from Koch's killer cops. That's what the Brownsville raid, Koch's vicious "solution" for the black community, was intended to underline. Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidates for mayor and Manhattan borough president, demand: Kick out Koch! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks! For integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women! ■

Cockroach Capitalists' Welfare Hotel Rip-Off

While big-time real estate robber barons like Condo King Donald Trump make multi-millions soaking the rich, NYC's cockroach capitalists are getting fat, too, packing the homeless into squalid welfare hotels and billing the city millions. As columnist Sydney Schanberg pointed out (*New York Times*, 15 June), there are now an estimated 2,900 homeless families crammed into these "single room occupancy" dives. Here they are preyed upon by desperate criminals, whole families huddled into SRO cubbyholes, denied cooking facilities, suffering with the most marginal sanitation facilities. According to Schanberg's exposé, "The city pays the hotels an average of about $1,900 a month for each room, which is roughly $23,000 for rent per year for one family. The bill to the city is about $70 million a year."

So why don't they just give the families $23,000 a year to go out and rent apartments? But, of course, that wouldn't do—*the homeless have to be punished for their "crime" of being poor!* Then there's the welfare hotel owners' latest scam. Fewer than half the 2,900 rooms have refrigerators and almost none have stoves, although many of the homeless families include pregnant women or infant children, which means facilities for storing and preparing food are essential. But when the city finally decided to install small refrigerators (about $160 each), the owners refused to have them unless they got a rent increase and a further rake-off for "maintenance" costs. One incredible argument: refrigerators generate heat, and heat attracts vermin (as if leaving food and beverages on the window sill didn't!)

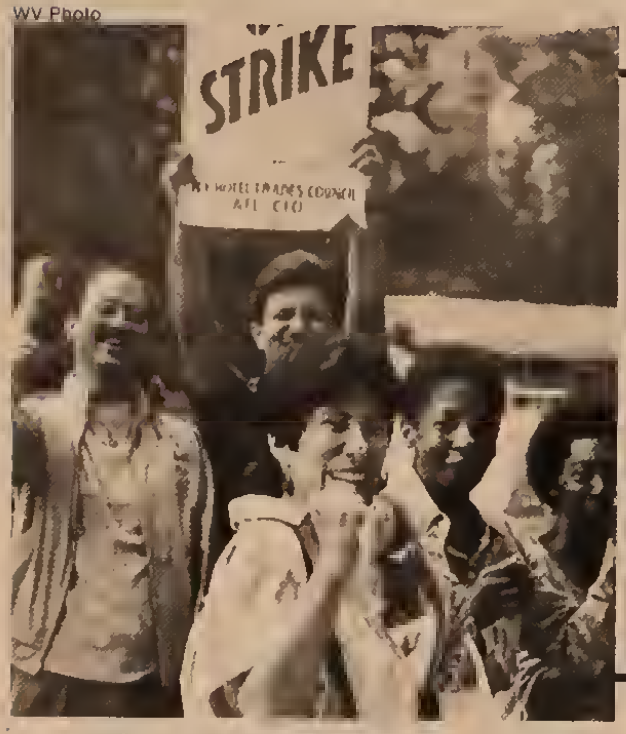
But they certainly attract *human* vermin—after the city agreed to pay the owners' blackmail fee of an extra $350 in "maintenance" costs, the owners finally let the city put in the small refrigerators. Truly, there's nothing Koch and his loyal slumlords won't do! Today, an estimated army of *60,000* homeless survive somehow in the streets, the subways and crevices of New York City. Thousands more are plunged into these depths each year, as the city's housing squeeze tightens, and even the paltry federal housing aid is cut off under Reagan. We say: restore and extend rent control! Homeless should seize Trump City—the several square miles of empty acreage on New York's far West Side! Expropriate the real estate barons!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacists Launch NYC Campaign

New York City: For the Working People!

WV Photo

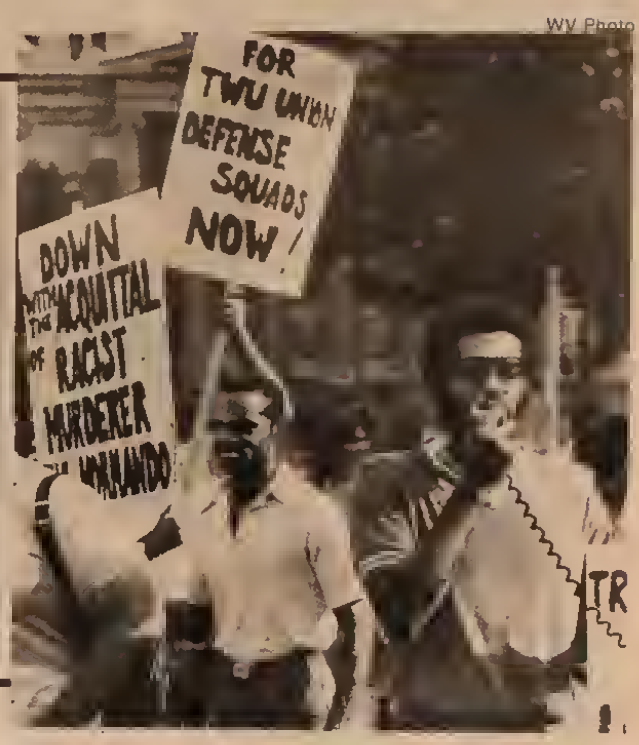


Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor

Stamberg with striking hotel workers. Spartacist League distributed WV supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win."

Kick Out Koch!
Dump Trump!
Stop Racist Cop Terror!

WV Photo



Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President

Kartsen urged massive union action after transit worker's brutal murder by racist punks in 1982. Above: Ed speaks at militants' rally, July 1983.

The Spartacist Party Campaign Committee announces it is running candidates in the upcoming NYC elections, campaigning around the call, "New York City: For the Working People!" Demanding "Kick Out Koch! Dump Trump! Stop Racist Cop Terror!", the Spartacist election platform denounces the Democrats and Republicans as "partner parties" of American capitalism and calls for a fighting workers party. The Spartacist candidates are Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor and Edward Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President.

The Spartacists say: Avenge victims of the racist cops—Edmund Perry, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs! Koch's cossacks are wantonly shooting down black youth and terrorizing Brooklyn black neighborhoods in South Africa-style racist roundups. It's a system: the cops kill, then D.A. Morgenthau and coroner Dr. Gross the ghoul cover up the crime. The Spartacist campaign calls to "Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks! For integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women!"

"The U.S. is gearing up for invasion of Nicaragua as part of the insane anti-Soviet war drive," said mayoral candidate Stamberg. "Meanwhile they bomb a black neighborhood in Philadelphia and wage war on the unions at home. Ed Koch is Reagan's hatchet man for New York City, and they're going after all of us—blacks, unionists, gays, immigrants, women, the homeless, students, ghetto youth, you name it." "The Spartacist campaign," she said, "seeks to rally the social power of the working class and oppressed for a revolutionary struggle against the war drive." The candidates' program states, "A vote for Spartacist is a vote for the program of workers power—from South Africa to the U.S."

"They're killing our youth," says Manhattan borough president candidate Kartsen. "A whole generation is being tossed on the scrap heap. We need schools and jobs, but Koch builds prisons. And they're trying to destroy our unions." The campaign calls for defense of city unions against labor-hater Koch who declared war on transit workers in 1980, and his Yuppie opponent Carol Bellamy who led the joggers over the Brooklyn Bridge during that strike. "The bottom line is the picket line," said Kartsen. "We need to build a class-struggle workers party to beat back the union-busters, to mobilize mass defense against racist

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Koch's Gestapo Raid in Brooklyn

Koch's cossacks have struck again. On July 2, two hundred cops swept through housing projects in Brooklyn's Brownsville neighborhood in a predawn Gestapo-style raid, dragging families out of bed. They rounded up and arrested 160 terrified black residents of the projects. Many were herded outside without being allowed to dress, chained together, photographed by the press and loaded into vans. The cops bragged they'd planned their racist terror raid for three weeks, using computers to locate so-called "fugitives." Meanwhile Brooklyn DA law-and-order "liberal" Elizabeth Holtzman's office had three assistant district attorneys waiting at the Criminal Court to "process" the victims. That means up to two days in jail, which for many means possibly losing their jobs.

They claim this raid is part of a program to combat robberies in Brownsville. But the "fugitives" they seized were simply a miscellaneous collection of people who'd missed court appearances for minor, petty charges like smoking dope on the street, trespassing or turnstile-jumping. It was sheer race-terror. Like the huge Operation Pressure Point "drug bust" dragnet on the Lower East Side last winter, where Koch's cops grabbed over 2,000

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Charles/NY Times

NYPD nightriders drag black "suspects" in chains from their homes.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 384 X-523 26 July 1985

FOSATU photos

May 14, East Rand: 30,000-strong funeral procession protests police murder of black trade-union leader Andries Raditsela. Police attack May Day demonstration in Johannesburg (right).

Black Masses Defiant, Class Battle in the Mines

South Africa State of Siege

JULY 22—On July 20, apartheid führer president P.W. Botha declared a "state of emergency" in 36 black townships and cities in South Africa. The sweeping order includes the heavily industrial Transvaal around Johannesburg, and the Eastern Cape region around the auto center of Port Elizabeth. Henceforth, any member of the state security, police or military has virtually unlimited powers to arrest *anyone* without cause and hold them incommunicado without trial for an indefinite time. Security forces can search and seize property without warrants, seal off any of the areas, impose curfews and censor all news from the specified locations. Violators can be punished by imprisonment for ten years.

This was the first emergency decree by the South African regime since March 1960—a similar order in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre of 69 unarmed black demonstrators led to the arrest of 11,503 people, and the voice of anti-apartheid protest was silenced for a decade. Since the order was imposed at midnight Saturday, security forces have arrested 350 of the most visible opponents of the regime, now being held without charge, and four black people were killed when police opened fire on a crowd of 400 demonstrators in the black township of Tumahole outside Parys, 75 miles south of Johannesburg.

Priests, lawyers, teachers and political activists were said to be among those detained as the police moved in to seize people identified from lists. According to civil rights monitoring groups, police took hostages—one a four-year-old boy—to exchange for activists they could not immediately find. The purpose of the crackdown, as the 23 July *New York Times* reported, "seems to be to arrest everyone deemed capable of organizing or channeling dissatisfaction with apartheid into protests that may involve attacks on reputed collaborators, as well as labor strikes and boycotts of white-owned shops."

Police breaking into homes, death squad executions of black school teachers, dumping bodies in the sand dunes along the Indian Ocean, hippo armoured troop carriers rolling through the black townships spreading terror—this is the "free world regime" Ronald Reagan says will be "reformed" through his "constructive engagement." In Washington, the State Department rushed to endorse Botha's emergency decree: "The situation has deteriorated to the point that the South African Government felt compelled to institute new measures" (*New York Times*, 21 July). Reagan, while shedding the occasional crocodile tear, supports his South African junior partner's move to crush the black revolt, scarcely containing his appetite to do it here, e.g., the Philly inferno.

South Africa is driving toward civil war. The current wave of black resistance to apartheid slavery continues to mount. So does the determination of the white supremacist regime, armed to the teeth, to drown that resistance in blood. Ever since last August when defiant black struggle and the massive boycott of the Indian and "coloured" (mixed race) communities doomed Botha's "reform" constitution, Pretoria's brutal repression has claimed more than 500 lives. Now it is gearing up for the massacre of tens of thousands. In the face of this dire threat, now more than ever there must be the strongest international labor-centered protest action against Botha's state of siege! Longshoremen: don't handle South African cargo!

Repression and Resistance In the Townships

The East Cape city of Cradock was the site of a massive funeral attended by tens of thousands Saturday, July 20, for Matthew Goniwe and three other leaders of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF) whose burned and mutilated bodies were found along

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Margaret Bourke-White

Mark Peters

South African black miners: powerhouse of workers revolution.

Spartacist League Forum:
Solidarity with MOVE Martyrs

Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!

SEE PAGE 4

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

the Indian Ocean coastline—victims of the apartheid authorities or their ultra-rightist henchmen. In courageous defiance of the apartheid police state, as the coffins were brought to the stadium where the funeral service was held, and later as the coffins were lowered into the earth, mourners unfurled the banner of the nationalist African National Congress, and the banner of the Stalinist South African Communist Party. Both organizations are banned in South Africa and their advocates if captured are frequently hanged.

Under the multitude of "laws" and "emergency regulations" of apartheid repression, funeral processions are one of the few gatherings which blacks may attend and they are regularly and savagely attacked by the police. On July 10, South African police went on a murderous rampage in the black township of Duduza, east of Johannesburg, in which 13 blacks were killed. The anger of Duduza was so intense that Bishop Tutu was rushed in from Johannesburg to lead the funeral procession of 5,000. This preacher of "nonviolence" to those facing, unarmed, apartheid's armoured cars and machine guns earned his Nobel Prize that day as he "saved" a black police informant from the just wrath of the mourners who sought to use this fink's overturned and burning car as a funeral pyre to transport him back to his maker.

One week later Soweto, the teeming black township of two million residents ten miles southeast of Johannesburg, exploded in the largest anti-apartheid protest since its name became synonymous with the black youth revolt against apartheid which swept across South Africa in 1976. As agents of the apartheid regime, black township officials are frequent objects of black anger, and on July 13, more than a hundred black youth were arrested and charged with taking part in an "illegal" demonstration outside the home of Soweto's mayor Edward Kunene. Four days later a hearing for those arrested coincided with a school boycott in 26 cities and towns. In Soweto on July 17, thousands of students boycotted classes, burned Kunene's home to the ground, commandeered a dozen municipal buses and held a huge rally at the police compound where the hearing was scheduled. In order to disperse this crowd of militant youth, police firing rubber bullets and birdshot and brandishing *sjamboks* (whips) were supplemented with charges by mounted troops.

Meanwhile, in black townships near Port Elizabeth, the Indian Ocean port city and center of South Africa's auto industry, the auto unions have been leading a boycott of white-owned shops, demanding a price freeze on staples, withdrawal of the military from black townships and elimination of puppet local black administrations. After four days, white civil officials called the impact of the boycott, set to last for two months, "desperately urgent" while black organizers said the action had resulted in total suspension of black trade in shops owned or operated by whites.

At the same time thousands of auto workers at GM, Ford and Volkswagen have walked off the job. The exploding black trade-union movement is the critical new factor in the equation. A *New York Times* article (21 July) comparing the present conjuncture with that of the Soweto 1976 revolt noted, "But some commentators contend the scope of present unrest exceeds that of 1976 because it has swept up community groups and black trade unions as well as young blacks."

Superexploitation in the Mines

As the bloody armed fist of apartheid repression strikes out at the black masses in the townships, a mighty giant—the country's strategic black miners—battles apartheid slavery in the mines. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), with about 150,000 members among the 550,000 black miners of coal, gold and other metals, is preparing for an industrywide strike. Upon the grinding misery and superexploitation of the miners have risen the giant conglomerates like Anglo American and, indeed, the whole South African industrial economy. Today, gold still accounts for half the foreign exchange crucial to importing the equipment on which the manufacturing sector depends. The South African

Peters/NY Times

Tens of thousands turned funeral in Cradock for four murdered UDF leaders into militant anti-apartheid protest.

bourgeoisie talks about "reform" as the economy stagnates due to the weak internal market, low productivity and the shortage of skilled labor created by the migrant labor system. But that system remains the integral and irreformable foundation of South African capitalism, and neither the pious wishes of former Anglo American magnate Harry Oppenheimer nor a U.S. Congressional ban on Krugerrands is going to change that.

For more than 20 years the U.S. has claimed to support a UN ban on military hardware to the apartheid regime. But because South Africa is a strategic anti-Soviet ally of the U.S., Washington has seen to it that its racist junior partner has not only become the predominant military power on the continent but has been able to develop its own arms industry so that it is now the sixth largest *exporter* of military goods in the world. Likewise, Congressional "bans" on loans and investment will change nothing, for capitalist investment, whether from Wall Street, London or Johannesburg, will seek the highest rate of return—which translates directly into sweating superexploited black labor in South Africa.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

The toiling masses of the world see in apartheid an intensified reflection of their own oppression and exploitation, and the red-hot hellholes of South Africa's mines are the compression chambers of brutal apartheid slavery. As long as the struggle in South Africa follows white-vs.-black national lines, the whites will win hands down. But the *class* principle can prevail. As South African society seethes on the brink of insurgency against apartheid slavery, the combative black union movement has been propelled toward openly political struggle. The strategic power of the black gold miners is key. South Africa's black proletarians, six million strong, must be the gravediggers of apartheid.

In South Africa the most elementary democratic and national demands—for the right to vote, for the right to live with one's family, for the right to strike, for the right to a decent education for one's children—mandate a fundamental social overturn of apartheid capitalism. By its very compression of social oppression, South Africa is a paradigm of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution: "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation" (*The Permanent Revolution* [1930]).

South Africa's black miners gave a concrete demonstration of proletarian internationalism last year when, despite their desperate poverty, they sent a generous contribution to the British coal miners engaged in a historic class battle.

The combativity of the oppressed black masses battling savage apartheid repression, particularly the powerful black proletariat, serves as an inspiration to the oppressed throughout the world and, not least importantly, to the strategic black proletariat right here in racist America. It compels *class solidarity*. To give conscious direction and leadership to the common class bond in the struggle against apartheid repression mandates the forging of proletarian internationalist parties in the U.S., in South Africa and internationally, by combating every variant of class-collaborationist popular frontism and nationalism (which in the U.S. and West European labor movements takes the pernicious form of protectionism). For workers revolution—smash apartheid! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Communist Newspaper

The Third World Congress of the Communist International in 1921 adopted a document on the organization of the revolutionary party, generalizing from the experience of the Bolsheviks, which underlined the importance of the communist press as a party organizer:

The communist newspaper must above all look after the interests of the oppressed struggling workers. It should be our best propagandist and agitator, the leading propagandist of the proletarian revolution.

Our paper has the task of collecting the valuable lessons from the work of party members as a whole and of pointing them out to the party comrades as a guide for the continued review and improvement of communist methods of work.... Thus the party press, as every individual newspaper, will be the best organizer of our revolutionary work.

—"Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work," adopted at the 24th Session of the Third World Congress (July 1921)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 384 **26 July 1985**

Victory to W-P Steel Strike!

In the first major steel strike in 25 years, 8,200 workers struck Wheeling-Pittshurgh on July 21. Last week W-P arrogantly tore up its contract with the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and cut the hourly wage/benefit package by about *one-third*. Utilizing the legal bludgeon cooked up by Reagan and Congress, W-P followed Continental Airlines' example by filing for bankruptcy in order to dump its contract, and a federal court rubber-stamped the procedure.

But the workers are fed up with making one concession after another. At union meetings held the evening before the strike began, angry steel workers shredded the company's slave "contract" terms. And at a regional union briefing meeting in Steubenville, Ohio 1,000 *WV* supplements, headlined "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," were snapped up by the strikers.

The parasitic American steel bosses have milked the industry dry. At Wheeling-Pittsburgh there are virtually no workers left under the age of 40, and the official unemployment rate in Pennsylvania's Mon Valley is 20 percent. The pro-capitalist union leadership has saddled steel workers with decades of no-strike agreements, while industry-wide union standards and bargaining have been dumped and Japanese workers scapegoated for the job-cutting and wage-slashing of the bosses. Even as angry workers walked out, union officials indicated they would accept pay/benefit cuts of $1.50/hour (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 July).

No givebacks! For mass picket lines to shut the company down tight! Teamsters, railroad workers: hot-cargo W-P steel! And if the company attempts to carry out its threat to start liquidating its assets, workers must seize the plants. Screw the bosses and banks! Victory to the steel workers!

West Coast ILWU

A Tale of Two Strikes

OAKLAND—For the American labor movement, the Reagan years have meant a long string of defeats. A vicious and powerful government is acting on behalf of a ruling class bound and determined to do away with every vestige of the period of New Deal-style class collaboration that has characterized the decades since World War II. Reagan set the stage with the grotesque smashing of PATCO, the air traffic controllers union. If there was any doubt about how far the government is willing to go, the bombing and incineration of MOVE members and their babies in Philadelphia was intended to dispel such doubts.

The bosses' anti-union rampage has been set up and facilitated by a tamed and treacherous labor bureaucracy loyal to the bosses' Democratic Party. They don't know *how* to win strikes. Add to this an uncertain economy and you have an American working class that feels shafted. With strikes at a 40-year low it is not often these days that you see some real class struggle. Yet there is plenty of restlessness at the base, and given half a chance of winning something, workers have on a number of occasions shown no lack of militancy, combativity and determination to strike back at the bosses.

Two recent strikes on the West Coast—both by members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—exemplify these current contradictions in the American labor movement. In one case, bold action by Columbia River longshoremen and other ILWU waterfront workers resulted in a swift victory over attempted union-busting. In the other, ILWU warehousemen in San Leandro, California were stabbed in the back by the union misleaders and were badly defeated. Same union, different strategies: class struggle *vs.* class collaboration.

In Vancouver, Washington, up the Columbia River on the Washington/Oregon border, ILWU longshoremen uncovered an attempt by a local barge company to load lumber and construction materials with non-ILWU labor on a Hawaii-bound barge. There have been repeated attempts up and down the Pacific Coast to circumvent ILWU workers and break union standards, and ILWU members in the Columbia River area had clearly had a bellyful of this attempted union-busting. Attempts by ILWU International president Jimmy Herman to negotiate a settlement were rebuffed by the barge company. Herman, a prominent member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), is an utterly tame and houschroken "progressive" union bureaucrat who is long on talk and short on action. He even opposed the ten-day labor boycott of South African cargo by San Francisco longshoremen last November, agreeing with the employers that it was an "illegal work stoppage." However, this time the ILWU locals were in no mood for Herman's usual "reasonable compromises" and had a different kind of negotiating in mind.

On Friday morning June 7, a mass picket of some 400 ILWU longshoremen, clerks and walking bosses from six locals up and down the Columbia River from Portland to Astoria assembled at the gates of the Columbia Industrial Park dock a mile from Vancouver and marched inside. Local 40 Secretary Larry Clark said, "we were tired of the encroachments on our work. We were tired of fighting by the Marquis of Queensberry rules with one arm tied behind our back, and the other strapped up to the elbow" (*The Dispatcher*, 7 June). After police arrived, the workers withdrew to the gate where they maintained a solid picket line in the driving rain. Reduced picketing continued over the weekend, with no movement by the employer.

Then on Monday morning, June 10 the workers struck their decisive blow. A powerful force of some 1,000 members of *all* ILWU Columbia River locals including the affiliated Inlandboatmen's Union (IBU) massed again in front of the Columbia River Park where huge stacks of lumber were waiting to be loaded on the barge. This time some of the pickets were equipped with bolt cutters. They formed a disciplined contingent and with Herman at the front marched en masse into the work area, ignoring one lone cop. Even Herman, who is more comfortable on his ass behind a desk, knew a parade when he saw one and doubtless figured he better get in front of this one before it ran over him. Then the workers gave the would-be union-busters a little taste of class struggle:

> "The pickets swarmed over the stacks of lumber, cutting the heavy metal straps that held together the 450 bundles which had been formed into 110 hoists. Within minutes, the yard looked like it had been hit by a tornado, with 2x4s, 2x8s and 2x12s scattered all over. By the time police reinforcements had arrived, 15 minutes later, the pickets were marching out, six abreast.
> "Discipline was tight. 'It was a well organized maneuver,' a Vancouver police officer told the Portland *Oregonian*. 'They had marshalls identified by arm bands. They just moved in, did their thing, and moved out'."
> —*The Dispatcher*, 7 June

Faced with this massive display of union power, the barge company knuckled under within hours and agreed to employ a stevedore company using a full complement of ILWU longshoremen, clerks and foremen to load the lumber on the barge. This kind of action is what we mean when we say "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" There was no appeal here to the "good will" and "social conscience" of arrogant employers, nor reliance on backstabbing Democrats or the bosses' courts. This victory was a result of independent working-class struggle and union solidarity.

In sorry contrast, members of ILWU warehouse division Local 6 at the Kaiser Aluminum Cable Plant in San Leandro, California suffered a devastating across-the-board defeat. After a two-week strike the treacherous union misleaders threw in the towel on June 28, forcing through a settlement that gave Kaiser nearly everything it had originally demanded: a $1.29 per hour wage *cut*, total elimination of paid sick leave, and the loss of two holidays—cuts that add up to a 14.3 percent pay cut frozen into a *five*-year contract. On top of this the company got a two-tier wage structure with new hires getting $2.00 per hour less for up to 270 days.

The Local 6 union officers had extended the Kaiser contract until after the ILWU (and the Teamsters) had arrived at a rotten settlement of the Northern California Master Warehouse Contract without a strike. The 154 ILWU workers at Kaiser were left isolated to take on the giant corporation alone. While urging the desperate workers to strike against Kaiser's "final offer" the Local 6 officers assured them in a leaflet, "We know how to bargain realistically. Our record of avoiding strikes speaks for itself." Indeed it does.

Kaiser rejected the union's offer of a three-year wage freeze and the strike was on. Having allowed the company to ship out their important stock during the two-week contract extension, the union officers did not even try to seal off the San Leandro plant with pickets. Instead the main body of pickets were sent to Kaiser's corporate headquarters in downtown Oakland, where their presence was supposed to "embarrass" Kaiser executives into being reasonable to their employees. Then they went to meetings of the Oakland City Council attempting in vain to "confront" Kaiser vice president and city council member Dick Spees (whom the ILWU had supported for election this year as a liberal Democrat "friend of labor").

After two weeks of this kind of worthless screwing around, the officers suddenly recommended acceptance of a complete and utter sellout as "the best settlement under the circumstances." The company's package passed by a narrow 58-55 vote after a stormy two-hour meeting (a number of workers had not been informed of the meeting). Thus the Kaiser workers were defeated not by the police and scabs but *from within* by a treacherous union bureaucracy that used every dirty trick in its arsenal of class collaboration to prevent militant class struggle.

The lesson of these two strikes—one a solid union victory, the other a miserable defeat—is that real victories mean a break from the losing strategy of playing by the bosses' rules. The defeatist misleaders who counsel reliance on the capitalist state and its anti-labor laws and injunctions must be dumped. To fight the racist, anti-union offensive requires a leadership armed with a fighting program of class struggle. Break from the Democrats and Republicans, the partner parties of American capitalism! To hell with the Labor Board, the company courts and their fixed, "Marquis of Queensberry" rules! We need a workers party! For powerful, independent working-class struggle to KO the bosses! ■

The Dispatcher

People's World

1,000 ILWU pickets "trespass" on Columbia Industrial Park June 10 and set scab barge operator straight (above). "Informational picket lines" like this one in front of Kaiser's Oakland headquarters don't win strikes (left).

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SL Forum: Solidarity with MOVE Martyrs

Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!

May 13, the day eleven black people were bombed and cremated by the government in Philadelphia. Eleven men, women and children, part of the MOVE group, a back-to-nature commune whose members all took the name Africa, were slaughtered. These were human beings—now their bodies are so destroyed that the forensic ghouls can't be sure the hunters actually got all of their quarry, because they can't tell even how many dead bodies there are.

In unleashing on MOVE the kind of treatment normally associated with wars far from home, e.g. napalming the peasants of Indochina, the government—Reagan, Meese, the FBI, the cops—was sending a message to Americans that massive overkill awaits you if you make trouble. The helicopter bombing of the MOVE babies will be a symbol of the Reagan years. The MOVE group—vulnerable in a racist society, targeted for continuing to cry out against the cops' and courts' decimation of their family in 1978—was blown away as a deliberate demonstration of the murderous prerogatives of the capitalist state. Like the people, from ghetto kids to grandmothers, who have been wantonly murdered by New York cops in recent months, the MOVE people were innocent victims of a state looking for excuses to show its firepower to cow the oppressed.

This atrocity must never be forgotten! Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners must be set free! Solidarity with the martyrs is an elementary reflex of human dignity, not to mention socialist morality. Yet there are those who claim to be socialists who nonetheless seek a middle ground between the martyrs and their executioners, who would solidarize with the accidental victims whose houses were burned but not with the people the state deliberately set out to murder. For our part we pledge that the future American workers government will avenge these dead. And we are embittered that there is so little a small Marxist party can do now beyond joining with the MOVE survivors in their righteous anger.

We publish below an edited transcript of a Spartacist public forum held in New York on July 11. Spartacist comrades, transit workers, community college students came there to bear witness to our outrage. We came to memorialize MOVE, people we never knew until they were martyred by the state, in our own way, by describing as precisely as we could the reasons behind the holocaust, a blood sacrifice by a depraved system driving toward war. We linked the massacre of MOVE to the 1979 Greensboro massacre in North Carolina, to Bitburg, to the cop reign of terror on the streets of New York.

It is our obligation to etch this racist atrocity into the memory of everyone we can reach, and on behalf of the working class to hold out the promise of proletarian justice. A thousand people should have been there instead of a hundred. Through *WV* we can bring to a few thousands a reflection of this meeting. But there is no way to capture in print the intense political and emotional experience when MOVE supporter LaVerne Sims (see page 6) spoke of MOVE's struggle against injustice, the jailing of their brothers and sisters in 1978, the children these people left behind and the slaughter of those children on Osage Avenue on May 13.

An opponent from a small group, the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), rose in the discussion period to denounce the meeting as "a sham" apparently because it was not a debate of the Marxist views of the SL vs. the philosophy of MOVE. Indeed it was not. It was, like our articles, like the so far non-existent united-front demonstrations in solidarity with MOVE that we want to be involved in, a protest against racist government massacre. The LRPer then refused to yield the floor after his three minutes and had to be dissuaded from further abuse; he again became unruly prior to the summaries. When the meeting was over he left, then incredibly came back in demanding that we uphold his purported honor as a socialist because LaVerne Sims had dared to question why he'd come anyway. He wanted us to have to escort him out, which we did.

What the LRP and its representative display is not simply insensitivity. They are a tiny tail on a reformist left donkey which aims to minimize the Philadelphia massacre and particularly the complicity of Wilson Goode, black Democrat. The reformists see their only hope for influence as tailing Jesse Jackson (who by the way responded to the Philly inferno by asking that black construction firms get contracts for the new housing). So they have pandered to the pervasive and cruel illusion that the advancement of black politicians leads toward freedom for the masses. In Philadelphia after the holocaust, this policy took the form of a token "protest" which became simply an alibi for Goode and an affront to MOVE when a planning meeting debated whether the survivors should be permitted to speak at a demonstration, and if so if they could be told what they should and shouldn't say.

When we first got word of such a demo being planned we contacted MOVE. When MOVE decided not to come out and be degraded we canceled our participation. The organizers, having dispensed with the problem of a MOVE presence, then had the effrontery to appear with eleven mock coffins symbolizing the dead.

We thank the sisters from the MOVE group who did us the honor of coming up to speak at our meeting on behalf of their slain comrades. We salute their courage and acknowledge our solemn obligation as the revolutionary vanguard to remember the MOVE martyrs and fight to avenge them.

This transcript has been edited for publication in *WV*. All speakers' remarks have been condensed and several contributions to the floor discussion by SL supporters have been eliminated.

WV Photo

MOVE supporters LaVerne Sims (at mike) and Louise James, SL's Ed Kartsen at July 11 forum.

Miller/Woodfin Camp

After Philadelphia holocaust, black neighborhood resembles Dresden after WWII firestorm.

Chairman: We have three speakers: Brother Ed Kartsen, a comrade from the SL Central Committee, who was chairman of the November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization in Washington, D.C. that stopped the Klan. He is also Spartacist candidate in the upcoming New York City elections for Manhattan borough president. The second speaker will be LaVerne Sims, on my right, who is a former member of the MOVE organization from Philadelphia. The third and final speaker prior to discussion will be Brother Gene Herson, who is chairman of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union, and participated in the efforts of the Spartacist League to mobilize in defense of and to march with MOVE in the canceled May 30 mobilization.

Ed Kartsen

Ed Kartsen: On May 13 an atrocity occurred in Philadelphia. What occurred was in no uncertain terms a legal lynching. It was a bloody racist massacre, and it is now being treated in a very grotesque manner by the ruling class press. I don't know how many people saw the article in the *New York Times* about "forensic science." Grotesque, disgusting, ghoulishly savage: none of these adjectives can possibly describe this article. What the government is doing is going through their hunting bag. They want to find out how many people they actually *got* in this very well planned out, conscious, willful murder. All the ruling class press in the form of the *New York Times* can talk about is how groovy it is to do examinations and studies of the remains.

Architects of state terror, executioners of MOVE.

In all, eleven people, including four black children, were deliberately murdered. This was a legal lynching that indicates planning at the top. The bloody traces of Sambor, the police commissioner, and Goode, the mayor, lead directly to Reagan and Meese. The *New York Times* on the 19th of May reported that "the Philadelphia commissioner, Mr. Sambor, said that he and aides met on Saturday, May 11 with local agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to review the strategy and tactics to be used. Mr. Sambor said, 'The FBI found the plan sound'." Well, the FBI of course ultimately reports to the attorney general, Edwin Meese. Black Democratic Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode was basically Edwin Meese's Uncle Tom, a black lackey. Mayor Goode sold his black skin to Reagan's racist, labor-hating war when he sold himself to the Democratic Party. Edwin Meese, in speaking before the California "Peace Officers" Association in San Francisco on May 16, praised Wilson Goode as "an example to emulate."

Racist Inferno Was Planned at the Top

Reagan the Hitler-lover could have been the top cop in all of this. Reagan had just returned from saluting dead members of Hitler's SS death squad in Bitburg, Germany. This was just prior to putting into action the firebombing of Philly. Reagan and Meese have created a terror scare in order to institute what is actually "state-supported terrorism." This includes police-state measures like the FBI's Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines labeling all opponents of the government as outlaws to be shot in the dead of night. National Security Directive 138 authorizes the U.S. military and intelligence forces to carry out unprovoked strikes against what they call "terror targets."

MOVE attacked no one. Left alone, they could have lived their lives. They even offered to surrender days before the bombing if Mayor Goode would guarantee no arrests. Mayor Goode's lame excuse for these murders was little different from Koch's and the black police commissioner in this city when they blew away a black elderly grandmother, Eleanor Bumpurs, in the Bronx. If you don't pay your rent, they blow away your house and along with it the rest of the neighborhood.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* of May 17 published a detailed report of how this atrocity was planned. For at least 18 months before this conflagration, the chief of the Philadelphia police department's Bomb Disposal Unit was assigned to study photographic blowups of the rooftop of the MOVE house, supplied by aerial reconnaissance. For weeks and possibly months the police department quietly and secretly tested explosive substances, including the one it eventually used on the lumber structures, in preparation for the MOVE siege. In a Philadelphia neighborhood, cops shot 10,000 rounds of ammunition in 90 minutes. They opened up with machine guns shortly after 6 a.m. May 13th. They used M-50s and M-60s: the M-50 is a .45 caliber submachine gun, and the M-60 is a .72 caliber that can fire 800 rounds a minute, and it is the general purpose machine gun of the U.S. Army.

WV Photo

Ed Kartsen: Victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for the Osage Avenue massacre to revolutionary justice.

Before they dropped the bomb, they knew there'd be a fire. *They didn't care because the children were black.* The cops watched. They wanted MOVE burned alive. And they sat for 90 minutes while the house burned, while Osage Avenue burned, while the neighborhood around it burned. And now the *Times* coldly and clinically talks about the search for the remains of the victims of this racist murder as if it were an archeological expedition. This is no more than a bigoted attempt to dehumanize the victims.

The bloody trail goes from Mayor Goode to the police officials, with the shadowy hand of the federal government, particularly the FBI and the Justice Department. It could have very well been Reagan himself. Remember, Reagan's friend Thatcher personally committed the war crime of sinking the Argentine ship, the *Belgrano*. When the working class seizes power in this country, these murderers will get an honest and fast trial, and then they will be shot. We promise that.

The only known survivors are Birdie Africa, who is 13 years old, hospitalized with second-degree burns, and Ramona Johnson Africa, who was imprisoned in lieu of initially *$3.2 million* in bail. We demand the immediate dropping of charges against Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners!

And what was this "big arms stash" they had? Big arms stash: two shotguns and three pistols, like millions of American homes.

The bombing atrocity in West Philly's black community wasn't the first time American blacks were bombed by the government. As *WV* reports, on the 31st of May in 1921—the decade of a racist mob attack on blacks in St. Louis and the Ku Klux Klan march in Washington—the heart of Tulsa, Oklahoma was devastated by bombs dropped from a police airplane. This was in response to organized efforts on the part of black residents to prevent a lynching by a white mob. In that bombing, 75 people were killed, mostly blacks, and 4,000 blacks were herded into concentration camps. The bombing of Philly's black community was in the same spirit as that 1921 bombing.

The opening shots of the Reagan years were fired in Greensboro, North Carolina in November 1979, when Dixiecrat Carter and anti-communist Democrat Mondale ran things in the White House. The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis murdered five leftist labor and civil rights organizers. The FBI and cops helped plan that massacre just like they helped plan the Birmingham church bombing in 1963 and the assassination of Freedom Riders. These are the same killers that orchestrated the bloody campaign to physically wipe out the Black Panther Party.

Neither the Greensboro massacre nor the Philadelphia bombing will ever be forgotten. A victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for the Osage Avenue massacre to *revolutionary justice*. They'll be treated fairly, just like American GIs that liberated Hitler's Dachau death camps treated the prison guards who were there: the GIs executed about 122 of them before they could be stopped, and the liberated prisoners dispatched another 50 with shovels.

This government craves *blood sacrifice*. And it carries out bloody acts on behalf of a single economic group we call the capitalist class. Today, more than a century after the Civil War, capitalist wage slavery must be smashed not only to free black America, but to avenge racist mass murder. Black working people united with *all* union militants must take the lead. Like the members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, which in New York recently put forward a motion calling for the Transport Workers Union Local 100 to mobilize its members and call on New York City labor to join it in a protest rally at City Hall to demand a halt to the wanton rampage of intimidation, terror and racist murder by Koch's cops.

DiMarco/Time

Miller/NY Times

Martyrs' bodies carried from rubble (right). "Forensic science" ghouls study charred fragments of what used to be human beings (below).

Philadelphia has a combative labor movement with a proven capacity to fight. Transport workers and school employee unions have gone on strike in recent years. These unions should have *shut Philly down* over this racist atrocity. Every union worker had better remember what Reagan did to PATCO. For Philly unions to have responded to the bombing by closing the city down would have been a basic act of self-defense.

Just as in this city, it would be a basic act of self-defense for the unions to act to halt the rampage of Koch's killer cops. On September 15, 1983 eleven TA cops brutally beat to death Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old son of a retired transit worker. On October 29, 1984 New York-style SWAT unit cop Stephen Sullivan blew away 67-year-old infirm grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. On February 7, 1985 10,000 armed cops rallied in the Bronx for the right to commit racist murder. On March 15 a berserk, drunken police sergeant and his two partners committed a homicide hit-and-run in their squad car, murdering a 70-year-old doctor and critically injuring a 72-year-old doorman at 72nd Street and Park Avenue. On March 16 an off-duty cop harassed, beat up, refused medical treatment, and jailed overnight a 26-year-old woman seeking an abortion at a Brooklyn clinic. On June 13 a white undercover cop, Lee Van Houten, gunned down 17-year-old black honor student Edmund Perry.

Black workers must lead the struggle in this city to end this cop murder. Black workers must lead labor in demanding the jailing of Van Houten, and the creation of integrated armed workers defense guards to defend the people of Harlem from the marauding racist terrorists in blue.

Black Democrats: Front Men for Reagan's Terrorism

The bombing of Philly was a Reaganite atrocity. It occurred simultaneously with revelations that the CIA was behind a car bombing this March in Beirut which took the lives of 80 people. This terror squad was labeled an "anti-terrorist unit." Reagan is also the same psychopathic killer who sacrificed over 200 passengers of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 in a Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union. The Philly bombing is Reagan's gearing up for war by practicing air strikes against the American population. In the July 9 issue of the *New York Times* it is reported that Reagan wants to go to war with Iran, North Korea, Cuba and Nicaragua. Well, Reagan couldn't go to war with Nicaragua in May so maybe he blew away a section of black Philly instead. To Ronald Reagan, South Africa's white-supremacist police state is a "democracy striving for racial equality." He thinks America's dirty war in Vietnam was a "noble mission." He put a wreath on the graves of Nazi mass murderers in Bitburg.

And the Cold War Democratic Party is more afraid of losing Nicaragua to the Communists than they are of the madman Reagan. Reagan alibis racist massacre in South Africa as part of an anti-communist crusade to mobilize the West for war against the Soviet Union. Reagan is fighting to unite the forces of worldwide anti-communism, from Vietnam's Hitler-loving Marshal Ky to

continued on page 6

Philly Inferno...

(continued from page 5)

dictator Somoza's leftover murderers and torturers. Reagan's raving about Nicaragua as a "Communist terrorist arsenal that threatens all of us" makes Hitler's tirades against the Soviet Union in the first years of his invasion of the USSR look relatively sane.

Black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode is as guilty as Republican Ronald Reagan and the racist cops for the bombing of black Philly. Before Mayor Goode was allowed to bomb his own city, he was touted as one of the premier black Democrats of the 1980s. He was even one of those interviewed by Mondale to be considered for a vice presidential candidacy. From ex-cop Tom Bradley in Los Angeles to ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry in Washington, black Democrats rule over misery and oppression of black life in America. Today black mayors campaign for Reagan's program of subminimal wages for teenagers. Where there are strikes to be broken, protests over killer cops to be quelched, or KKK strikebreaking. In Washington, ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry is a cutback king who enforced the expulsion of black students from the University of the District of Columbia. In Detroit "progressive" black mayor Coleman Young responds to 70 percent black youth unemployment with cop nightsticks and pistols, reviving the racist cop terror squads to enforce youth curfews. And now black Democratic mayor Goode bombs black Philly for the Reaganite racist terrorists. When [Chicago's] Harold Washington ran for mayor in the most segregated city in America, he didn't call for busing to break up school segregation. Jesse Jackson went to Norfolk, Virginia where thousands of blacks were marching against segregated schools, where he declared he wasn't for busing, he was just for voter registration.

Washington Post

27 November 1982: Support by black union locals for call to stop the Klan was key to mobilizing thousands in Washington, D.C.

provocations in black inner cities, it's the black front men for Reagan's racism who get the job done. An overwhelming percentage of black people vote for the Democratic Party. But at bottom the Democratic Party is necessarily a party of racist capitalism, a party of George Wallace, the Dixiecrats and even some open KKKers like California's Tom Metzger.

After Martin Luther King's 1963 speech, "I Have a Dream," young civil rights members, young members of SNCC started wearing buttons: "I Have a Nightmare." And 20 years later, life for the masses of blacks compacted into devastated ghettos has become worse, as capitalism declines into crisis. The bloody atrocity against black Philadelphia is an expression of the living nightmare of government racist terror in the Reagan years. And the Nazi doctor-style examinations of the remains of the victims of this atrocity appear prominently in the newspaper. The majority of black children live below the poverty line. Black teenagers are thrown wholesale onto the streets, where they are the marked targets for racist cops. Black people hover on the edge of survival; the capitalists answer with more cops and racist terror.

Not even an honor student from an elite private school, or a five-year-old black child, or a peaceful black back-to-nature organization is safe. A black man can't walk into Cicero, Illinois or Gravesend, Brooklyn without taking his life into his hands. Meanwhile, the courts and the cops make black lives cheaper, and the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis take their cue.

Martin Luther King was assassinated when he was leading marches in support of striking Memphis garbagemen. Today city workers can have their strikes broken by ex-civil rights activists, close companions of Martin Luther King. Atlanta mayor Andrew Young, who lay down in front of a sanitation truck in the 1960s to defend an Atlanta sanitation strike, now runs those trucks for flunkies. King and the black ministers were committed to the Democratic Party. Carmichael and the black nationalists took the road of black separatism, which ignored the "white" working class. These two dead ends represented by King and Carmichael led to a decade of no significant black struggle. This has encouraged the present racist terror spearheaded by Goode and Reagan's terror-bombing of black Philly.

Malcolm X in a speech in December 1964 said, "If the leaders of the nonviolent movement can go into the white community and teach nonviolence, good. I'd go along with that. But as long as I see them teaching nonviolence only in the black community, we can't go along with that. We believe in equality, and equality means that you have to put the same thing over here that you put over there. And if black people alone are going to be the ones who are nonviolent, then it's not fair. We throw ourselves off guard. In fact, we disarm ourselves and make ourselves defenseless."

Finish the Civil War!

The Civil War of 1861-1865 was the first and only American war in which black people clearly had a stake. Over 120 years after, black equality still has to be achieved. It is necessary that a reemerged black movement demand that the Civil War be finished. In 1861 Union commanders pressed for the arming and training of blacks. Professional soldiers like John C. Fremont, abolitionists like Thomas Wentworth Higginson, fought to accomplish this. Higginson was a friend of the great revolutionary abolitionist John Brown. German American Marxists like Joseph Weydemeyer also fought to put blacks under arms. Lincoln and the War Department wanted to resist the recruitment of blacks. As Foner notes, "blacks themselves initiated much of the action that culminated in abolition and their admission into the armed forces. Thousands of fugitive slaves flooded Union lines."

Ex-slave black revolutionary Frederick Douglass issued a historic appeal in March 1863 when he declared: "Men of Color, To Arms!" Douglass argued for black enlistment not only because the war must lead to the abolition of slavery but also because black people fighting for their own freedom would transform the black spirit itself. Douglass tried to complete the war by fighting to win basic economic and political freedom. But that great fight is still to come.

We stand in the revolutionary tradition of Frederick Douglass and John Brown. Today there is no longer a "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, as many of our political opponents believe. Only the mobilization of labor can finish the Civil War. Black and white working-class militants must look for and seize the opportunity to mobilize their fighting strength in a movement for black freedom, which is inseparably tied to the fight for the liberation of labor from capitalist slavery.

The appearance of the Southern civil rights movement with the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott opened a new phase in postwar American history. The movement ended a period of Cold War McCarthyite hysteria. America became polarized along the lines of for or against Jim Crow segregation. This movement must be revived on a labor/black foundation. Black youth, who weren't bound by the anti-communist prejudices of their parents, played a leading role in the civil rights movement. On the Freedom Rides through the South in attempts to implement integration of interstate busing, young activists watched the FBI "observers" stand by while the sheriffs' goons bashed the heads of demonstrators.

As a small political tendency then, we sought to give political leadership to these young black militants. We called for a Freedom Labor Party in an attempt to link the growing level of black struggle to the power of the labor movement. We called for Southern organizing drives. And we called for workers united-front action to prevent federal intervention.

We advanced the slogan for organized, armed self-defense. In a leaflet titled "Organize Black Power!" we pointed the way forward by calling for the defense of black ghettos. This leaflet declared, "every serious responsible working man should exercise his right to own a gun." We organized to raise funds for the Deacons for Defense and Justice, which was an organization of black veterans who defended civil rights demonstrators from Ku Klux Klan terrorists. We lacked the forces at that time to succeed in making the link between the young black militants and the labor movement. As a result, the black movement's future leaders went down the dead-end road of black separatism.

Today a mass black movement can reemerge, based on united actions directed against Reagan's and the Democrats' racist, anti-communist terror campaign. United actions like the November 27, 1982 demonstration in Washington that united black community organizations and individuals along with trade unionists into a force that halted a Ku Klux Klan march. United actions like the ones that could have taken place to protest the Philadelphia bombing, had the liberal left in the guise of the Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party and the Communist Party not insulted MOVE members by threatening to censor their own memorial remarks at what was supposed to be their own funeral march.

United actions involving groups like the Malcolm Shabazz mosque, which has taken an interest in the Philadelphia issue. United actions that could mobilize the power of labor, which is capable of smashing any force that opposes it, so long as labor is united around the principles of *class struggle*, defense of the picket line. These actions must be organized responsibly and led by a mass working-class party.

In addition to united-front actions, we are fighting to build a mass party of this kind. Toward that end, Marjorie Stamberg of the Spartacist Party is running for mayor to expose that racist, murdering strikebreaker in City Hall, and I am running for Manhattan borough president against an assortment of yuppies and black Democratic Party sellouts. Everyone in this room can join in this effort by contributing in any way you can. This campaign must be seen as an opportunity that can lead to the advancement of labor/black struggle. It must be seen as an opportunity to advance the struggle to break the stranglehold the Democratic Party and the trade-union misleaders have on the power of the labor movement.

We stand ready at all times to mobilize our strength in united actions against racist terror. The mass power of organized labor, black militants, once broken from the Democratic Party in mass actions, will constitute the kind of invincible force that will avenge the Philly bombing. Legal lynchings must be met with revolutionary class justice. All MOVE prisoners must be freed at once! United actions mobilizing the power of organized labor and minority organizations must be brought to bear to smash racist terrorism. The MOVE members must be avenged. We have to move forward to a mass labor/minority party that can lead the working class to seize power in order to end racist terrorism once and for all.

LaVerne Sims

LaVerne Sims: May 13 massacre in Philadelphia. "Guilt is the agent of plague to this system, and the section is you all's tools to get around you all's disasters"—John Africa. John Africa, a black man, a wise man, a righteous and godly man, a powerful man who presented such a threat to this system they came at him with everything they had. Everything! "What a family we are, when our aim is unbending, committed to stop this intruder of life from sucking the blood of our mom any longer with power no man can stand up against long. What a family we are, when we are

WV Photo

LaVerne Sims: Wilson Goode sold out his ancestors' principles for a promise, a position.

one force united, committed to move the whole world in a hurry, through loyalty true as the word revolution. A word that is now an experience of MOVE"—John Africa. Indeed MOVE had experienced the word revolution. Because as John Africa says, strategic revolution is fitness. To understand revolution you must be sound. Revolution is not a word but an application. It is not war but peace. It does not weaken, it strengthens. Revolution does not cause separation, it generates togetherness. MOVE brothers and sisters were, and are, the most courageous people I know. And they got that courage from strength, from the strength of John Africa, a small man in size but strong as an oak tree unbending.

Ramona Africa was one of the survivors on May 13th, and is being held on $4 million bail. Thousands of pounds of precious water was released on Ramona for seven hours straight. Thirty thousand rounds of bullets fired at her

and ultimately a homh was dropped, killing eleven people, five of them children. Yet the murderers are free.

Moe Africa, who was arrested prior to and leading up to May 13th, is still in jail. But district attorney Ed Rendell issued warrants on Moe and MOVE supporter Kareem Howard, who was also in jail and had been in jail for nearly two years. And Rendell knew this. Those warrants were issued to mayor Joseph Battle of Chester, Pennsylvania, and he in turn along with his goon squad converged on Moe's wife and , five children, who he knew were alone and defenseless. Throwing tear gas in on Mary and her children. Trying to provoke another massacre like the one that left eleven people dead in Philadelphia the same day. They had warrants for Moe and Kareem, hut arrested Mary and her children instead. They let Mary go, hut kept her children. But the next day Mary walked into that shelter and walked away with her children. She had no place to go, though, hecause they had leveled her home to the ground and destroyed everything she owned.

MOVE Martyrs' Cries Can't Be Silenced

Eleven MOVE memhers, including *five children*, went to their death on May 13th hecause they took a firm stand against this court system and said, "We want our political hrothers and sisters released from prison. They are innocent. We know it and we know you know it as well." And MOVE had every god-given right to defend this position. Because the man don't give you your right in defense, not when it's not in his interests. The position MOVE stood firm on, died for, still stands. We are demanding justice he done, that *all* MOVE political prisoners he freed. They are in jail for a crime they did not commit. The courts know it, the cops know it, the mayor knows it, Philadelphians know it, and we know it.

In 1977 the district attorney, Ed Rendell, the same district attorney, him along with the late judge Fred DiBona and the late inspector George Fenel of civil affairs, conspired to set MOVE up and they did. They took from a criminal case the term numher and applied it to a civil case, issuing phony warrants. The city administration headed hy former mayor Frank Rizzo acted on those warrants and in turn another eviction turned into mayhem, utter chaos, as a direct result of what these criminals done. The action taken hy Rizzo culminated August 8, 1978. A cop was killed that day, hy his own comrades. But they hlamed it on MOVE. And nine MOVE members were sentenced to from 30 to 100 years. Edwin Malmed was the judge. That confrontation led up to the confrontation May 13th, hrutally murdering eleven other MOVE memhers. MOVE sisters and hrothers went to their deaths protesting the injustice perpetrated on them hy Ed Rendell, judge Fred DiBona and inspector George Fenel, hy issuing those phony warrants to begin with. We are asking any and everyhody to join us in this protest, to get our family out of jail.

Mother's Day, May 12th, the system's helief. But May 13th and then there were none. Rhonda Africa is gone. Birdie Africa was Rhonda's son. Birdie was with his mother minutes hefore, hut minutes after he was motherless.

The MOVE sisters and hrothers in jail left their children hehind, and they will never see their children again. Mayor Wilson Goode, police commissioner Gregore Sambor, fire commissioner William Richmond and managing director Leo Brooks saw to that. They elected, endorsed and sanctioned the dropping of that homh, and lieutenant Frank Powell was the executioner. When lieutenant Powell dropped that homh from the helicopter, he wiped those babies from the face of this earth. The act of genocide. For there will he no generation forthcoming. Their lives were snuffed out, literally blown apart. Of five children, only one was intact.

Aftermath of unprovoked assault on MOVE by 600 cops, 8 August 1978. Nine MOVE members are still in jail for trying to defend themselves.

The other four were completely dismembered. All that is left are their arms, their legs, bones, teeth and patches of flesh. Patches of flesh, that's all that's left of them.

Brother Conrad Africa was just an arm and his teeth. They have an adult male with nothing left hut a torso. No arms, no legs, not even his head. His head was severed from his hody. They laid in pieces in the morgue. Bodies so ruined, so hadly charred they still cannot make identification. Still there are parts of those hodies in the ruhhle somewhere on Osage Avenue. And that's sad. That hurts.

What kind of a thing is this, that calls himself Wilson Goode? He's no damn good at all! This heast knew gasoline was on top of the roof. Yet he ordered a homh to he dropped. And it makes no difference what kind of device they want to call it. If this scum didn't know enough that even a match dropped on gasoline would have erupted into fire, he's got no husiness heing mayor of no city!

An idiot would have known hetter. But it wasn't that he didn't know. It was that he *did* know. Because it was premeditated murder. But if it was entry they wanted, they could have got it, hecause the front door had heen kicked open long hefore the dropping of that homh. And they knew it.

My sister Louise had only one child, her son Frank Africa. But he's gone now. Shot in the hack and cremated in cold hlood. Genocide. Murder. On Mother's Day, May 12th, Louise had that one child. But May 13th she was childless. Louise too will never witness a generation to come, hecause she had no grands.

You know, whenever hlack folk get any kind of position, they always feel the need to impress on the white man just how *un*prejudiced they are, and they hend, how and scrape doing it. But the degradation to follow is selling out their ancestors' principles cheap. Wilson Goode sold out. He sold out his ancestors' principles for a promise, for a position. Sold out for a penny, just to prove to the white man that hlacks would he treated no different than the white structure intended. That they would *still* he mistreated. When the mayor took that oath, took office as mayor to serve hlacks, Puerto Ricans and whites well, he meant it. He meant he would serve for his master a job well done on hlacks, on Puerto Ricans, hut for whites. He said, "I'll prove to you, master, just give me my title and I'll play the role. Just 'cause my skin is hlack means nothing, 'cause my mind is white, I just look hlack." John Africa says, "An innocent mask will fool only the hlind, hut the man that can see will cut through all disguises." Wilson Goode can't he trusted. Any time a man will sell out his principles for a dollar, he is to he seen as the traitor he is, regardless of the color he portrays himself to he. He is dangerous, a menace to society. A traitor will stop at nothing, and neither did Wilson Goode. He was hent on hringing MOVE out of that house dead or alive—preferably dead—hecause of his own personal vendetta, his ego, his pride. He is so ugly with hate, so ugly with arrogance, so vicious and prideful, in murdering MOVE he also murdered his career, the only thing that meant more to him than his own family. I was taught hy John Africa years ago, and I quote: "A just person will ignore his pride and hold on to what is right. An unjust person will ignore what is right, and hold fast to his god-damning pride." Long live John Africa!

It is incidental MOVE memhers lived on Osage Avenue. For no matter where MOVE lived, MOVE would have still protested the injustice of this corrupt system. MOVE has lived in Chester, Pennsylvania; Utica, New York; Rochester, New York; Richmond, Virginia and Philadelphia. But no matter where MOVE moved, they could not escape the terrorism of the cops and this administration. MOVE moved to the roof of their own home, huilt hunkers, literally lived up there, hut they still could not escape the neighhors' hricks and stones that they threw up at them. Still could not escape the helicopter that flew over them constantly.

And even when they stayed indoors, they were imposed on hy the hours and hours of chanting, the incense hurning that seeped through the cracks of their walls from the neighhors next door. The reefer smoke that seeped through the windows from the neighhors on the outside. But MOVE memhers were taught hy John Africa not to attack the oppressed, not without provocation, hut to attack the oppressor. If MOVE harassed the neighhors of Osage Avenue, it was hecause MOVE was harassed hy the neighhors. If MOVE threatened the neighhors in Osage Avenue, it was hecause MOVE was threatened by the neighbors first. But they would not arbitrarily attack hlack folk without provocation. If I were to tell you of the many vicious, hrutal heatings, the 600 arrests, the harassment, hahy-killers, the MOVE organization has suffered since the inception of MOVE, I would he here till tomorrow.

The hullhorn. The neighbors say when MOVE used a hullhorn it was so loud it woke them up, disturbing them day and night. But I haven't slept a night through since May 13th. My peace has heen interrupted forever. But MOVE wasn't loud enough—hecause nobody heard them. And that's obvious, hecause they're gone. What people have got to understand is that loud don't necessarily mean sound. Sound can he as loud as the roaring of thunder or silent as words written on paper. Silent can he just as deadly as the cracking sound of a lightning holt. Sound means attraction, focus, attention. Loud means what you relate and respond to. Have you ever seen a person that dressed loud? You were attracted to that person hy your eyes. A person can dress loud, smell loud, or have a loud reputation. But loud don't mean nothing hut attraction, what you relate to and respond to. You think a hlind person can't see? They can see with their hands. Just like a deaf-mute hear with their eyes. I didn't know anything hefore I learned the teaching of John Africa, not a thing. But since I encountered that principle, I have learned a hell of a lot. I'm not very smart educationally, man's education, not his education. But what I know about that principle, I know. But if you think a deaf-mute can't hear, write a deaf mother a note, tell her her hahy was raped and killed, and sit back and watch her response. If she can read, you will know she heard what you said hy the tears that follow. Because she related and responded to what she heard you say on that paper. When judge Edwin Malmed sentenced my hrothers and sisters from 30 to 100 years, it rang loud in my ears. When a judge sentences anyhody to the electric chair to he electrocuted until dead, it can hust your eardrums. It can stop your heartheat. Because no matter what tone he say it in, those words are screaming at you. Turn on your gas and lay down: a silent sound communicating death. On May 13th, when Mayor Goode ordered the dropping of that bomb, it *shook the world*. Because it was heard around the world, communicating, attention-drawing. And it went around the world because everybody related to and responded to it. That's why I'm here, because Gene heard it, Frank heard it, and Joel heard it. That's why you're here, because you all heard that bomb, although you're in New York, you heard it all the way from Philadelphia, because sound don't mean nothing but communication.

Eleven MOVE members on May 13th were murdered by Mayor Wilson Goode's hit men, paid assassins, exterminators of hahies, because the neighhors of Osage Avenue went to Mayor Goode to have MOVE removed from the hlock. Five of the eleven MOVE memhers were children. Eleven innocent people gone. But the blood from these eleven victims is on the hands of those neighbors and everybody that was involved, and they won't be ahle to wash it off. What they tried to accomplish backfired. Not only is MOVE family still on Osage Avenue, but their homes were destroyed in the bargain. And when they move into those new homes, they will find out that MOVE is still there. Because our hrothers and sisters will be moving in right along with those neighbors. They will have no peace, no sleep, for even while they attempt to sleep, the cries of the babies will wake them up, the screams that can only come

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WV Photo

Reformists' token "protest" May 30—obscene alibi for Goode! Philly's "left" hypocrites show up with eleven mock coffins, after making MOVE survivors unwelcome.

Philly Inferno...

(continued from page 7)

from the excruciating pain they will hear. And it will wake them up and sit them up as the sweat rolls from their brow. They complained to Mr. Goode about MOVE and the bullhorn and had MOVE murdered. But they won't be able to complain to a living soul and have those screams stopped. Not a living soul can make those screams be silent. They pushed for it and they got it. Because the memory of MOVE will ever be present.

Wilson Goode is not exempt. He too will have no peace, he too will hear the cries. Councilman Lucien Blackwell will have no peace. Councilwoman Joan Specter will have no peace. The 14 ministers who condoned the mayor's murder will have no peace, no sleep. They can go on their knees forever, but they won't be able to pray away their acceptance of such a ludicrous, vicious and brutal attack. Gregore Sambor will have no peace. William Richmond will have no peace. Leo Brooks will have no peace. Lieutenant Frank Powell can forget about peace forever. He will dream of the bomb he released from his hands on those innocent babies, and he will wake up screaming for it to stop.

Every black politician, every black leader, and those blacks who stood around and watched, stood back and did nothing, said nothing, rejoiced, said it met with their approval, will hear the cries of those babies. They will hear every scream. They will be tormented to live in the pits of hell, dark confusion of civilization. There will be no peace in Philadelphia, because they killed the only peace they could have ever hoped to have. But John Africa said, "No matter how clean you are fashioned to be, the dirt in your past is a load none can carry." Long live John Africa!

I'm gonna sum it up here, because my time is out. I want to thank Gene, Frank, Joel and all the Spartacist party members for having me and my sister here, to get a chance to let the people know what is happening in Philadelphia. And if you don't do something about it, you only going to wake up tomorrow and find it happening right here in New York. Because a precedent has been set. And it's got to be stopped right now. Now, you got to stop it! Thank you.

Gene Herson

Gene Herson: It's very difficult to say anything after hearing about an atrocity of such gruesome human barbarism as sister LaVerne has just recounted. There's really no way that words can describe such diabolical acts or convey sufficient outrage. But a way must be found to prevent such inhuman acts

WV Photo

Gene Herson: Reagan will blow away a black to scare a white and if that doesn't work he'll blow away a white.

from ever happening again. A program must be pursued and organized around, to make sure this doesn't happen again. Comrade Kartsen talked about that program, revolutionary integrationism, working-class revolution.

I'd like to describe some of my impressions of when I was in Philadelphia and also combine that with something which deals with that program, namely the power of the working class, the role of the labor movement and the trade unions in the battle against racial oppression and in building a revolutionary party. Because it's only through that kind of organization that we're going to stop this kind of racial atrocities which are organized by the capitalists.

The first time I went down to Philadelphia it was to sell the first article we had, that said "Reagan Bombs Black Babies." Nobody could understand that at the time. It's important to put this in context. Because everybody saw this as a guy named Goode, right? It's a black guy, black mayor, everybody liked this mayor, right? In Philadelphia nobody dared say anything against it, and yet here were these white communists selling a newspaper that said "Reagan Bombs Black Babies." And the thing that really impressed me, well, there were three things. First of all was the polarization in that city. It is *hard*. It is harder than any city I have been in. Black kids would come up to myself or Joel or Ellen selling that newspaper and say, "You're against Reagan? I've never seen a white against Reagan." To them a white meant a racist. That's how hard the society is in Philadelphia. It also conveys the false trust in somebody that's black, because you see they think blacks automatically will protect them from capitalist racism.

Second thing that I noticed down there, this was a week after the bombing, was the lack of concern for MOVE by anybody, including blacks. And when I say that, I mean even if it's one out of ten blacks, I was astounded. Because after all, they had loudspeakers and bullhorns and garbage on their lawn—which, by the way, was a distortion by the capitalist press. But you've got to know how pervasive it is that it brainwashed even the blacks. Capitalism is powerful, comrades, believe it.

And then there was the site of the bombing, a middle-class neighborhood. You look all around it, manicured lawns, beautiful, painted buildings, the whole area surrounding there. And then you get to Osage. Something worse than—it looks like, in the immediate area, like Dresden after the firebombing. Nothing but piles of bricks. And underneath it are human skulls. Which the Reagan government is putting together like tinker toys, as if this was a little game. These are human beings they're putting back together again, that they took apart. It's a game, in the name of anti-communism. You've got to understand this. If you don't see it, it's hard to believe it.

Labor Must Repel the Message of Intimidation

So I went down after that, a week later. There was a call for a demonstration. I went down to help in the organization of a Spartacist mobilization on the East Coast in solidarity with the MOVE survivors. That's why we were preparing to mobilize, in solidarity, I underscore that, in solidarity with the MOVE survivors. Not the Osage atrocity in general, but the massacre and the incineration of human beings. We wanted to sear into American consciousness the historical significance of what had happened there, this holocaust. Just as we saw the same thing necessary regarding Greensboro. And when I went down there that's when I first met Louise and LaVerne and Gail. And we prepared to mobilize our total efforts on the East Coast, for a march and rally that was called by the Citizens' Committee for Humanity and Justice, for May 30th, to protest this bombing.

And as it turned out, this was organized by some liberals and so-called socialists. However, these people found MOVE distasteful. Now I bring this up because if we are going to fight the racism of capitalism, and this kind of atrocity, any obstacle in our way to destroying that capitalist system has to be exposed and politically destroyed. And the forces there, that found MOVE distasteful, that made MOVE feel unwanted at this demonstration, were the Socialist Workers Party, some liberals called the Consumer Party, and Workers World Party—the Mareyites going under other banners such as the All-Peoples Congress, People's Antiwar Mobilization. The Communist Party didn't even have the nerve to show up there, but they had the same positions. And they made MOVE feel uncomfortable to speak and MOVE did not show up. And we decided not to go, because we were going in solidarity with the victims. We weren't going there to help cover up for Goode.

So there was this continuum, where you have the capitalist system, and you have the Democratic Party, which is part of the capitalist system, and then you have the black Democrats and the trade-union bureaucrats that keep the oppressed and the working class within the capitalist system, and then you have the [left] liberals, the phrase-mongers, the demagogues like Jesse Jackson and so on. And then you end up with, because by now you've got Jesse Jackson pulling in the blacks, to tail the blacks you've got the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and so on. So you find this massive cover-up for what happened. This is one of the most despicable acts by the political left. And it made graphically clear that the illusions in capitalism, any aspect of capitalism, the Democratic Party, or anything that props it up, have to be exposed. And until that happens racism, racial oppression, working-class exploitation, despicable racist atrocities and murder and massacres will occur in this country. Believe it. Because Reagan wants to make that clear. *He wants to make it clear that he will blow away a black to scare a white and if that doesn't work he'll blow away a white.* What do you think PATCO was about? He wanted to blow away an entire union. These were white, privileged, skilled workers who backed Reagan. But he wasn't satisfied to parade them around, to say, "You see, I got support of labor." He wanted to make them an *example* because it's an example of capitalist oppression. And he needs that, he needs everybody to knuckle under so he can fight the Russkies. That's what *his program* is. And he will blow away blacks, trade unions, and the blacks will be in the forefront. Believe it. In the name of anti-communism.

This is a situation where Reagan describes terrorists and they're the victims! So he blows away some people. The more he blows them away the more he says that they're terrorists. So who could be more of a victim than these MOVE people? These eleven people, human beings. So once they're incinerated then he calls them terrorists. Meanwhile the ruling class law and order is really the terrorism. Everything is totally reversed. The front page of the *New York Times*, right? You got North Korea's terrorist, meanwhile in South Korea, the allies of the United States, you got a mafioso guy heading up the government, that just blew away the last president. I mean it's ludicrous! They voted—the whole Congress, Democrats, right?—they just voted money, end of the Clark Amendment, give UNITA, the guys who are the escorts of the South African army into Angola, they just voted to give them money. The contras, so-called freedom fighters, are the terrorists; they're giving them money. Look around the world, look around, this is what is happening. And believe me, it's going to be here at home. It *is* here at home, and it was in Philadelphia. And by the way, this Osage thing was prepared for in March with Operation Cold Turkey. Every black and Hispanic youth was ripped off the streets. Operation Cold Turkey, it was like Operation Zebra in 1974 in San Francisco. Blacks are not safe on the streets and if you're a worker and you

Gralish/Philadelphia Inquirer

Ramona Africa, sole adult MOVE survivor of Osage Avenue inferno. Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners!

want to fight back you're not safe on the streets. Well, we intend to turn that around.

Blacks cannot and will not be free in capitalist America. That's a statement of fact. No way can unions fight for workers until they are totally independent and freed from the ties to the Democratic Party. That is a statement of fact, it is the truth as I live and breathe. Trade unions are the only mass organizations of the working class in the United States. That is why they are key. But within the workers movement, we must remove our own Judases, the

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leaders of the trade-union movement. And only then can we use those unions, and the blacks can exercise power far beyond their proportions through the trade unions.

As soon as those police were around that house, the transit workers union of Philadelphia could have mobilized and surrounded that house with a black working force that would have made

WV indicts Reagan, Goode for murder. To get these articles, send $1 to Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

that bombing impossible. But the leadership of the union wouldn't do it. After the bombing, the transit workers, with the hotel workers, the hospital workers, and the city workers, all predominantly black unions, could have shut that city down. Labor could have said, "You're going to commit a holocaust? A racist massacre?—We're going to shut this city down!" But the leadership isn't there. We must replace that leadership with a revolutionary leadership of the trade unions. The unions must be transformed and then the workers can use those organizations to transform this society. And that's the only way. And it's through those transformed unions and other organizations throughout the working class that we will build a revolutionary working-class party that will fight for revolutionary integrationism, that will abolish the system of exploitation. And I submit to you that until that happens, we must be on guard and mobilize to prevent anything like this ever happening again. Thank you.

Discussion

We Will Not Forget!

Reuben (SL): Some of the speakers spoke to the absence of black outrage in Philadelphia. I think what you're seeing instead is stunned shock, which was the intention on the part of the ruling class in conducting the Philadelphia massacre, just like it was intentional over Greensboro. The message is, if you get out of line in Reagan's America, you're a dead man. Just like the same effect that the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa was supposed to have in that country. And it took the awakening of a massive trade-union movement, and the massive black proletariat, six million strong in that country, to break through the silence, the stunned shock in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre. So that today, as in the United States, in South Africa every spark of black resistance the regime is trying to drown in blood. But it takes place against the backdrop of this massive class struggle that's going on there. And in that context Mayor Goode may well contemplate the fate of the black collaborators in the townships.

We must not forget Greensboro, we must not forget Philadelphia. In the aftermath of Greensboro the Nazis and Klan tried to march on every major city in this country from San Francisco to Chicago to Detroit to Boston. And it was basically due to the work of the Spartacist League in initiating mass labor/black mobilizations that the fascists were stopped and that they were interdicted in the major urban centers of America, culminating in the very important mobilization in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. In the aftermath of Philadelphia, which was more overt and was directly state-supported, state-instituted mass terror, there will be more Philadelphias, unless the Spartacist League and our supporters and the forces that we can mobilize seize the initiative to interdict and stop this kind of holocaust that is going on to prepare this country for the next war with Russia. It took the victory of the first Civil War to begin to avenge the murder of John Brown. It will take the victory of the second civil war, a proletarian class war, to avenge all the fallen martyrs today of racist terror in this country.

LRP Disruption: "This Meeting Is a Sham"

LRP speaker: Yeah, of all the murders that were listed one was left out and it's very clear why, the Goetz murder of the blacks on the subway. Because basically the Spartacist League supported the execution of those blacks. Members of the Spartacist League at the last meeting I attended said that if they were in the same position they would have shot those blacks. They have defended Goetz and his actions. They point out the racist nature of the United States. That's true. This is a racist country and it's whipping up a war fever. But so was Nazi Germany in World War II, that didn't make Nazi Germany okay. The Soviet Union is racist also. It oppresses the minorities. You call yourselves Trotskyists. The first battle between the Trotskyists, who you say you are, and the Soviet Union was over the racial question, national oppression. The racism of the Soviet Union took the form of national oppression through forcing people to be integrated in the Soviet Union, denying all national rights, despite the constitution of the Soviet Union which granted rights to national freedom. In the United States the Spartacists have a position against the right of blacks for national liberation, the right to secede from the nation if they choose, to decide whether they want to stay or leave. You are against that. You attack nationalism. And I want to say, it's really disgusting what you've done at this meeting, because it's a sham. You oppose MOVE politically—now, you can defend someone and disagree with them politically. I think it's necessary to defend people you agree and disagree with. MOVE must be defended. But that doesn't mean that you lie by not saying what your disagreements are with them. A few years ago at your meeting you were attacking the question of black consciousness—you attacked the slogan "black is beautiful" as being anti-white. Yes. You referred to the country of Jamaica and it's in your press, you referred to the country of Jamaica as lumpen, the lumpen capital of the world. And when you're talking about the black community in the past, you emphasize the lumpenness in it.

Chairman: That's time. [LRPer goes right on talking: "Go back a few years ago..."] That's time! Sit down! You will sit down or he sat down. Sit him down. [LRPer, still arguing, finally sits.]

Ed Kartsen: Look, this is a democratic meeting, which means you have a certain time to speak, after which you cooperate and let other people speak. The Spartacist League has a unique position among organizations of allowing political opponents of whatever organization to speak. This gentleman did not identify himself, but he is a political opponent of our organization, part of the liberal left. Their politics are in deep disagreement with our positions on particularly the Soviet Union. We state this openly. MOVE members we talk to candidly. We tell them our disagreements. We recognize the *reality* of racist America. They recognize the reality of racist America. And we openly and freely discuss both our commonality, and our differences. It's something that the liberal left have a great difficulty understanding. Since they primarily conduct themselves by whitewashing the horrors and ugliness of black oppression, at the same time censoring the comments on the part of MOVE members! Of course we have disagreements. We freely discuss them because we want to deal with reality as it is.

Right of Black Self-Defense

This question of Goetz was used by all the liberals as an excuse to disarm the people of this city, to advance the anti-gun laws which keep the racist cops armed and the people of this city unarmed. That's what Goetz was all about! It would have been a lifesaver had the black community in Philly been armed and organized. This is what we are fighting for. And this is what should be the theme of this talk and the discussion. We are fighting to organize the working class and black people for the right to defend themselves against a fully armed government, which has targeted black people, the working-class movement and leftists for extermination.

U.S. government, the terror-bombers of Vietnam, now makes pre-emptive strike against opposition at home.

Day/Detroit Free Press

Alison (SL): You [the LRP] did not say *one word* in defense of the MOVE organization that's been martyred in Philadelphia! So people talked a lot tonight about searing the memory of this racist massacre into the minds of the American population! And then you have supposed socialists, like the LRP, like the Socialist Workers Party and others mentioned tonight, who want to commemorate what happened in Philly as the unfortunate destruction of property. That's what they marched for, that's what they mourned. They think it's too bad that the babies went out with the bath water. And what we were concerned with was the destruction of human life, black babies. Now LaVerne spoke about lost generations, and those babies that don't have a life anymore. And we have the example of Edmund Perry in New York. But it's not simply those who have fallen, and those who have been gunned down, and those who have been murdered by state terrorism. It's a question of a lost generation for all who are made to fear, and live in fear. And understand it—the memory that the government wants to sear into their minds is that they better not step out of line. So this Edmund Perry murder in New York, you know, racist cops have a problem, they can't tell an honor student from a mugger, because if you're black that's enough to be a criminal and be gunned down in the street. And when this happened, I thought, boy, they really got the wrong guy and maybe they're going to blow off some of the heat that's on the Koch administration right now for racist murder after racist murder in the city and hang the cops on this one. No way. Far more important to them to just grind down the black population, you know, that even if you're an honor student, stay home with your goddamn blinds down, don't you *dare* go for a walk in the park. So we've got a problem, which is victories aren't built out of a sense of hopelessness, which is felt, I think, in the population right now. So what we have to do, as a small party, is try and harness that anger that does exist and channel it politically, so that we can fight to avenge the MOVE martyrs, so that all of us can have a future.

Jim: My name is Jimmy Smith, I work in New York City transit. First of all, I'd like to thank LaVerne and Louise for coming up here, and for continuing to stand up, very courageous. Second of all, I was the one who had the privilege of raising the resolution in our union, the Transport Workers Union in New York City, just a little under a month ago, calling for a massive labor mobilization in New York City at City Hall. When I read it out, mentioning the police rampage in New York City and your situation, other members there simply recognized that yes, this had to be done, and they got up and they argued against the black trade-union bureaucrat who was the one who fought to get this motion squashed. It failed very narrowly. But as soon as we get a chance to fight for it again, we will.

Solidarity with People That Faced Cop Terror

Mary Jo: I'm a supporter of the Committee for a Fighting TWU and I'm working with the Spartacist campaign in the city. You know, in South Africa when the police open fire they don't ask for your party card. You know, they don't ask if you're a supporter of the United Democratic Front or PAC or who you are. They open fire and they open fire against children. And what we're talking about here tonight is a basic act of *solidarity with people that faced cop terror*. And to my knowledge

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Philly Inferno...

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the Spartacist League is the only group that built a meeting in this city, and *they're* the only ones that contacted me about marching in Philadelphia in solidarity with the MOVE members, to protest this outrage.

Now, the thing is that this was a message, not just to MOVE but to all of us here, and everybody and particularly black America, that if you resist us, you die. And when they started to go after MOVE, when they first came after them in '78 was when that cop got shot. They shot their own, but it doesn't matter, they wanted to lock up all the MOVE members for life for it, because they dared to resist and defend themselves against a police attack.

And they're doing it here in New York. I work out of Pitkin Avenue. Just this past week the cops pulled a 5 a.m. Gestapo raid through the housing projects in that area, and who did they go after? People who jumped turnstiles, people who beat their fare, people who smoked a little dope on the street. They didn't go after the real criminals that are peddling dope out there or anything like that. They wanted to terrorize the population. Because Koch said, "bomb Beirut," and Koch would just as soon bomb black Brooklyn, particularly if anybody has any interest in fighting against the cop terror that's going on in this city. And people are very worked up about it, particularly with the recent death of Edmund Perry. Everyhody is very on edge about what's going on here. And the list is *too long*. It's Randy Evans, it's Arthur Miller, it's Eleanor Bumpurs, it's Edmund Perry. And when people saw the headlines of *Workers Vanguard* out at work, Philadelphia was what they wanted to read about. Because they know that's where it ends. And it's been very important for the Committee [in TWU] to have raised the motions for a mobilization of labor power against the cop terror that's going on.

And if you want to talk about Bernhard Goetz, look, a lot of the furor over that was the fact that they don't want people to defend themselves, they want all power in the hands of the cops. And we say self-defense is important. We had a black brother, a transit worker beaten to death by racists in Gravesend. If the brother would have had a piece, he might be here today. Now we're trying to do something to make sure that that never happens again. So the point is Reagan said his list of outlaw nations: Cuba, the Soviet Union, North Korea. Lookit, he's also got his list of outlaw peoples, and it's all of us. He wants to make us outlaws in our own land if we dare to resist his crazy war drive and his attempt to make working people and blacks pay for the crisis of capitalism. And I think people ought to work on this campaign and build this party in order to fight that for once and all.

Chairman: All of the speakers, actually Louise is going to summarize too, all of the speakers would like summary time. [Interjections from LRPer.] I am running this meeting, you shut up! Now I'd like to introduce Louise, who will speak for a few minutes in summary.

Louise James

Louise James: I'd like to thank Gene and Frank over here, Joel and the people who had us come down from Philadelphia to speak with you. My sister LaVerne of course spoke for both herself and me. Just to address for a moment the remarks of this man up here. It's not important whether or not anybody, underscore *anybody*, agrees with the MOVE organization or its doctrine. The only thing that is important is that people rally around the *wrong* of what happened, you see. You see, communism is spelled one way. Baptist is spelled another way. Christianity is spelled still another way. MOVE is spelled a different way. Africa is spelled one way, Ameriea another, *but wrong ain't spelled but one way!* And *that* is what people have to understand. And so when we call upon people to come and stand beside us, in front of us, behind us, we are calling upon the people to stand in back of, in front of, beside the wrong—*push it away!* It would be nice for people to come from New York, I would love to see that happen. But in all honesty, and I consider myself an honest and a fair person, I cannot justifiably blame New York for not coming to Philadelphia when Philadelphians did not rally around what happened. You see, you're not supposed to ever look away from home, because charity begins at home. And when the people in Philadelphia did not find it in their hearts to be charitable enough to come and look at the disaster they themselves had created, then how could I possibly be angry with people from New York? The only thing that we can consider it as, is as a plus, a bonus, you understand that. And we are grateful to people from New York, Chicago, and the people all across this nation who came to the aid of my sister and me. LaVerne and I stood in Philadelphia for the first week and a half after this atrocity and when I tell you

WV Photo

Louise James: The only important thing is that people rally around the wrong of what happened.

that we were completely alone, I kid you not. We were completely alone. However, when we left Filthy-delphia, because that is exactly what it is, when we left that place, then we found that the nation was behind us, you see, the nation is watching our backs. LaVerne and I, I'm sure, are on the hit list of Filthy-delphia people. I'm speaking now about Mayor Goode and his administration. But we don't give a good goddamn! Because what we have to do is what we *had* to do on May 13th. That still has to be done and it's gonna get done. And it's gonna get done in spite of the fact that these people are breathing down our necks. Because you better hurry up and believe that the breath coming from Louise James and that coming from LaVerne Sims is enough to *back off* Philadelphia!

Police brutality is nothing new. What we need to understand is how to control it. When the first act of police brutality was allowed, that is when it became mass murder. You see, cancer has got to be *cut out* in its initial stages. You can't put a bandaid over it and expect it to disappear. Because it's not gonna happen. It is simply going to spread, if that little lump is allowed to germinate and fester. And it is no different with police brutality. What had to happen when that first act occurred was for people to get up! Not sit down, I mean get up and *demand* that this should never happen again. And we wouldn't be talking about young Edmund Perry, you see, but you understand that! Because there would be nothing to talk about. I am sorry that I don't have more time to address this issue, however. I am grateful that I had the time that I did have to say what I had to say. But you all come on out to Philadelphia, because we got a whole lot more to say. I thank you.

Summaries

Organize Black Workers' Power

Gene Herson: Well, as Louise has said. She's a tough act to follow. And Louise can also testify to our many fights and arguments about politics. [Louise: "friendly, friendly"] And believe me, you will not have to be black to be shot at in this country, in the final analysis. All you have to do is be for the right of defending yourself, for the right to organize, for the right to oppose oppression in this country. And that's what, by the way, this campaign, the Spartacist campaign is about. It's not to vote socialism in, it's to *organize* for the right of self-defense, for the working class to organize, and for blacks to be able to use the potential power of the working class to launch a counteroffensive against capitalism. That's what we're about, that's what the Spartacist League is about. It's no coincidence that while Reagan was in Bitburg, shortly afterward you found Osage and the bombing and the massacre of the MOVE people. That when the Ku Klux Klan wanted to march on November 27 in Washington, D.C. Reagan was hosting Botha of South Africa.

The point about MOVE and the massacre of MOVE is that they were blacks that would not eat shit from capitalism. They believed in the right of self-defense. Black Panthers believed in the right of self-defense. Anybody hear of Fred Hampton? Bobby Hutton? Dead blacks in America! Because they stood up, they knew that if they capitulated to capitalist America, they were dead, they would *never* be free. Regardless of their program, the errors, these people were dedicated to fighting for freedom. Well, no black will ever be free in capitalist America. I promise you that. And the nation is waiting and watching. And we aim to build a counteroffensive, we aim to organize the working class and to maximize the power of the most oppressed in this country, which are the blacks. And don't forget what happened to the Japanese in the concentration camps, or what happens in any war against nonwhites, such as Vietnam: My Lai, Lieutenant Calley.

This is a racist, capitalist system and the Spartacist League is counterposed to that and we believe in mobilizing the working class against it and it's through that power that blacks and the entire working class will have freedom. And we believe in an international movement. We are speaking from many places. We're talking about Sri Lanka and the oppression of Tamils. We are talking about the oppression of people in Germany. We are talking internationally, not just within the United States. And that is our banner, that's what the Spartacist League stands for.

Edward Kartsen: MOVE members living and dead are to be honored. We honor the MOVE members who came here and spoke. It's an act of courage. It's an act of courage particularly in the face of the fact that close relatives and friends were the immediate victims of bloody government atrocity. If Mayor Koch wasn't physically in Philly, you can be assured his spirit was in the helicopter when that bomb was dropped. All this talk in the papers about forensic investigation mystifies what went on. It was no virgin birth, it was no mystical Virgin Mary, it was no fantasy that went on. MOVE members were people, made up of flesh and blood. That's what they are to us, the Spartacist League. The Nazis had at least the *shame* to hide the murder that went on in the concentration camps! But not the American bourgeoisie, and not the *New York Times*, the primary American bourgeois press. All the atrocity that's fit to print. Well, we promise, we promise that our work, our successful work will result in avenging this atrocity. This is what we are dedicated to. The power of the working class must be unleashed to stop the racist atrocities carried out by the Ku Klux Klan in white robes and in blue, in the White House or not. We challenge those liberal weak-kneeds who are begging before the Democratic Party, to finally *stand up* and bring masses to the streets to stop the racist terror! Instead of looking for nit-picking points at meetings in order to justify their own cravings, social-democratic cravings for licking the ass of the Democratic Party.

As MOVE members stated, Goode was primary in all this stuff. He was prominent, he's the black front man, he's the tool of Reaganite terror. He is the prize of what the civil rights movement looked toward as the great hope in America, as black achievement through the Democratic Party. But you know, the liberal left has the same strategy. They tell the same story to black people. While they call the Spartacist League racist for recognizing the reality of horrible racist America, they are preaching the *lie* the Democratic Party has a hope, has a future for black America. Goode was the executioner. But Goode, Powell and *all* of the people who participated in this atrocity must be brought to working-class justice. That is what we are in business about. That is what we are in business to implement. Working-class justice. This country has no future outside of that. It has no future outside of rallying the power of working-class people and black people around the principles of class struggle, to finally achieve justice and the abolition of this decadent system which propagates race-terror in order to prop itself up. We stand for the building of a new civil rights movement. We stand for the building of a new working-class movement. We stand for the culmination of all the forces of the oppressed around the scientific principles of class struggle, to destroy all the decadent crap that capitalist society has propagated. That goes for the Hitler-lovers in the White House. That goes for the Goodes. The building of a working-class party to smash race-terror. Finish the Civil War! This is what the work of the Spartacist League is devoted to. We are for avenging the MOVE members who were murdered, and we honor them.

LaVerne Sims: Just very, very short. We've been in MOVE like over 12 years, and during those 12 years we were at a lot of demonstrations. And we were taught by John Africa that when a person gets up in those demonstrations and they're saying something different than what we're saying, that ofttimes they are plants. And they are planted there to cause dissension among the people who are trying to do what is right. To the [LRP] gentleman up there, you know, I can recognize the signs when I see them. And I feel as if, if you didn't want to come here to participate for right, then you should not have come at all. Because your motive is not in line with ours. I don't know your name, and the reason why I don't know your name is because you did not make yourself available to Louise and myself and to MOVE members when we needed help. Okay? Excuse me one minute, excuse me one minute. I know Joel, and I know Frank, and I know Gene and I know Debbie and I know Rachel and I know Rena. And the reason why I know them is because they were concerned enough to come to our aid and offer their assistance. I really would like to know why *you* are here. More to the point, we had a MOVE brother, so-called, who was in the MOVE organization, calling himself our brother, who turned informant against John Africa. So we already know about people and what they will and won't do. But you will not stop our line of thinking when we can recognize what people are truly trying to do, and the help that they're trying to give us. Thank you. ■

Nicaragua...

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with its aircraft carriers and battleships. But to take and hold a country will require armed men, and in preparing their contingency plans, the Pentagon will have to take into account the fact that *more than 200,000 guns have been distributed to the population so far in 1985*. At a ceremony July 13 in front of hundreds of soldiers where the promotions of more than 2,000 officers of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) were announced, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega declared that:

> "Because of its confidence in the people and in order to be better prepared against eventual direct intervention, the Revolution has turned over, in an organized way, 170,000 AKA, G-3 and other automatic rifles; 25,000 mechanical rifles popularly known as 'macho-killers' [M-44s], about 5,000 of them prepared for snipers; 40,000 BZ, PPK, M-23 and M-25 and other semi-automatic rifles and sub-machine guns; and 20,000 hunting weapons of all kinds. The Revolution has handed over more than 200,000 rifles in an organized fashion to its people in order to defend the people's interests...."

In addition to mass mobilization into the army and militia, special mobile units, anti-tank and anti-helicopter units and elite special forces units have been created in recent months, said Humberto Ortega, "to make every town in Nicaragua a genuine bastion, a genuine wall, so that an eventual intervention will be met house by house, block by block, street by street."

A message was read to the army ceremony from Father Miguel D'Escoto, Nicaragua's foreign minister and a Maryknoll priest who has been fasting for 12 days now for peace and against the state terrorism of the U.S. government. "I feel a strong desire to go into the hills to fight together with you," he told the soldiers. "This is a Christian desire and a Sandinista desire.... Forward in the battle against aggression." D'Escoto launched his fast not only in protest against the "diabolical aggressor" but also to challenge the church hierarchy. (He was removed by the Vatican from his priestly functions "for the crime of not betraying my people," and Managua's archbishop, Cardinal Obando, has been a standard-bearer of the counterrevolution.) All over Nicaragua, groups of rank-and-file Catholics have joined Padre Miguel's "Christian insurrection," fasting to protest the contras' kidnapping of teachers, the attacks on farm cooperatives, the assassination of children.

Noble as it is, this call to conscience will hardly stop the Yankee guns, as Father D'Escoto would be the first to admit. An armed people is key to the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. And the Nicaraguan people have real gains to defend. In the field of health: life expectancy has gone from 53 years in 1979 to 60 years today; infant mortality has fallen from 121 six years ago to 44 per 1,000 births in 1985; malnutrition among children has been cut in half, from 68 percent to 35 percent. In education the illiteracy rate has been slashed from 50 percent in 1979 to 13 percent. But above all there was the elimination of Somoza's National Guard, that gang of professional killers who ran the country through sheer terror. Now you can walk the streets day or night, and the police are actually polite—an unheard of thing in this region of banana republics.

Complete, Extend the Revolution!

On June 17, all of Managua gets roaring drunk to celebrate the "Day of Joy"—the night when dictator "Tachito" Somoza fled Nicaragua. For one day, a puppet "caretaker" government desperately tried to organize an "orderly transfer of power." But a mass insurrection surging out of the capital's impoverished eastern barrios frustrated this attempt to realize the State Department's pipe dream of "Somozaism without Somoza." By the time the Sandinista troops from the Southern, Northern and Northeastern fronts converged on the capital on July 19, Managua was already in the hands of the insurgents. As the mercenary Guardsmen fled in their Mercedes, Piper Cubs and pirated boats, the destruction of the dictatorship meant the demise of the entire state apparatus of Nicaraguan capitalism.

What replaced it was not "Sandino-Communism," as the Reaganites claim, but a petty-bourgeois bonapartist regime of the radical nationalist Sandinistas. The FSLN regime was based on neither the preservation of bourgeois private property nor establishing the collectivized economy of a proletarian state. From the first days of their victory, the comandantes have sought to precariously balance between the forces of imperialism and the domestic bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the mass of working people and the oppressed on the other. This program has since been sanctified in the Sandinista trinity of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment," a formula which Daniel Ortega repeated once again this July 19. An estimated 54 percent of industry is still in private hands. But neither the Nicaraguan capitalists nor their American senior partners have been much interested lately in Sandinista offers to play the game of class collaboration.

WV Photo

Sandinista army on parade, July 13: Defense Minister Humberto Ortega announced 200,000 guns in the hands of the people.

The Sandinista balancing act *cannot last*, and this is already being felt in the countryside. Last month, the agrarian reform ministry (MIDINRA) took over holdings of Enrique Bolaños, head of the COSEP employers association, near Managua, where a land-hungry peasantry has been demanding expropriation of the hacienda owners. On July 16, National Agrarian Reform Day, MIDINRA head Jaime Wheelock distributed titles to the former Bolaños lands in the department of Masaya, as well as to several other farms purchased from their owners. Comandante Wheelock, once head of the "Proletarian Tendency" of the FSLN, vociferously denied COSEP's charges of communism: "Those who say we are enemies of property are wrong. Because it's true we expropriated one, but we have created 870 new landowners."

Wheelock frankly admitted that, "Immediately after the victory the local councils took over practically all the land. And we had to advise them to return the lands... because we didn't want anarchy, we didn't want avalanches."

> "Every year, pressures mounted, until now with the trade embargo the people sense that there are no loans, no raw materials, prices are going up, there are shortages of corn, shortages of beans... and they decide they want more land.... So then we asked ourselves, who are we defending in this country? Do we defend one landowner, who is an enemy of the revolution? Or do we defend the people who are prepared to defend the revolution arms in hand?"

But even with this newfound willingness to "listen to the clamor of the people," the Sandinista regime is still trying to maintain its utopian scheme of class conciliation. An article on land reform in the north reports that even with accelerated land distribution this year only 5,000 families will have received land while there are more than 20,000 landless peasants in the region (*Barricada*, 12 July).

The petty-bourgeois Sandinistas have in fact tried to maintain their fiction of a "mixed economy," COSEP to the contrary, as long as their hold on power is not directly threatened. In practice this means propping up the remaining capitalists—hardly the program of Lenin on the eve of the October Revolution when he called for "control *over* the landowners and capitalists *by* the workers and peasants" ("The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," September 1917). But as Ronald Reagan ups the voltage, it is becoming harder and harder for the FSLN to walk the high wire without crashing to the ground. And as the local "branch office" bourgeoisie increasingly feels the effects of being cut off from their home offices in the U.S., Bolaños' threats (at a COSEP convention July 17) of "decisive battles" will move from the realm of talk to action.

All the while, the threat of direct U.S. military intervention hangs over the country like an incubus. Tanks are dug in at the approaches to major towns and cities and around key military installations. Military traffic is heavy, revolutionary vigilance around the factories and barrios is stepped up and security measures were heavy in the capital throughout the last week. The shortages and privations are taking their toll on Nicaragua's small working class, but the determination and enthusiasm of the youth who made the revolution is still there. Young soldiers and students and even an old woman in Masaya were cheerful in greeting "American enemies of the CIA." And when a dozen Soviet-made helicopters, including several of the formidable MI-24 gunships, flew in formation over Carlos Fonseca Plaza yesterday, there was a lusty cheer from the crowd.

Nicaragua is in the throes of revolution—what began as a political revolution quickly began to stir up a social revolution as well, which cannot be contained in the straitjacket of Sandinista "pluralism." Peasants demanding land, women who want the right to abortion, workers fed up with the bosses' systematic sabotage and mismanagement by FSLN administrators can't be satisfied by the attempts to appease the capitalists', the church and the White House. And sizable sectors of the middle class in Managua, who want to live like they're in Miami and won't let anything come between them and their Calvin Klein designer jeans, are becoming fed up. Internally, they have little hope of overthrowing the Sandinistas, so pervasive is the FSLN regime. They have to look to Reagan or else despair, even though an invasion could destroy them as well.

"National leadership, give us the orders" chanted the demonstrators yesterday. This slogan is a consummate expression of a *bonapartist* regime, which places itself *above* the workers and oppressed. But it also expresses the Nicaraguan masses' will to fight, if only someone would point the way. No less than in 1979, when Wheelock ordered peasants to give back the land, the Sandinista leaders are *holding back* revolutionary struggle. A genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party is needed in Nicaragua to provide the kind of leadership the Bolsheviks gave in 1917. In Nicaragua just as in Russia, if not more so, *internationalism* will be key. A nationalist regime, no matter how radical, cannot revolutionize the working masses against the hostile U.S. puppet regimes which surround Nicaragua on the Central American isthmus.

The touchstone for internationalism in Nicaragua is El Salvador, and El Salvador is the subject almost never mentioned by the Sandinistas. In days of travel only one faded slogan was seen on a wall calling for support to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents. But while Ortega simply told the crowd that Nicaragua has nothing to do with terrorism, one worker interviewed by *Barricada* said, "the Salvadoran patriots should keep on killing Yankees, even if it's used as a pretext to invade us, because we're going to kill them here, too." Hinting at a revolutionary war throughout Central America *after* the U.S. invades, as FSLN leaders occasionally do, is *too late*. An internationalist leadership could have set the whole region aflame with revolution following the triumph in 1979—thus depriving the Yankees of their bases in Honduras and elsewhere which they are now using as a staging ground for attacking Nicaragua.

Managua was crawling with American "friends of Nicaragua" last week. But the "solidarity" milieu has been notably silent at home in the face of the U.S. trade boycott and Congressional votes for "contra" aid. The reason is not hard to find: the Democrats, who previously criticized Reagan's policy as "counterproductive," have swung over to full-fledged support for the administration following Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow in April. The FSLN has noticed the shift as well: one Sandinista spokesman complained that all the "solidarity" groups ever asked was, "Is Nicaragua getting Soviet aid?" Comandante Bayardo Arce said it's time to stop talking about empty "solidarity" and start talking about a "convergence of interests" in defending the revolution. But they won't have much luck with their fair-weather "nonaligned" friends who boycotted the sixth anniversary (not one head of state or social-democratic luminary attended).

The Spartacist League calls on American workers, minorities, youth and all opponents of imperialism to defend Nicaragua against imperialist aggression. The Spartacus Youth League recently undertook an urgent fund appeal in response to the U.S. trade embargo, saying "Now more than ever Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from arms to medicine to spare parts." This campaign has had an enthusiastic reception, raising thousands of dollars in the space of a few weeks, every penny of it going to Nicaragua. Spartacist supporters in Nicaragua for the July 19 celebrations found that people loved the SYL button, "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" and showed a heartfelt appreciation for acts of genuine solidarity in times when the going gets rough. For our part, as Trotskyists we consider it our revolutionary duty to take a stand for Nicaragua, the No. 1 target of the U.S.' anti-Soviet "anti-terrorist" war drive today.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Nicaragua Defies Reagan

MANAGUA, July 20—More than 500,000 people streamed into the Carlos Fonseca Plaza yesterday to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the revolution which toppled a bloody dictatorship that had ruled Nicaragua as its private fiefdom for almost half a century after being installed by the United States. Responding to the speech by Daniel Ortega, president of Nicaragua and leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the crowd chanted the slogan which can be seen throughout the country: "*Nicaragua victoriosa, ni se vende, ni se rinde*" (Victorious Nicaragua won't sell out and won't give up). When the threat of a U.S. invasion was mentioned, hundreds of thousands of voices roared back, "*No pasarán*" (They shall not pass) and "*Aquí, allá, el yanqui morirá*" (Here, there, the Yankees will die).

The crowd was one of the largest in the Nicaraguan capital since the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty by a popular insurrection led by the FSLN. If the joy of victory was worn down after four years of a terrorist war by the CIA's "contra" mercenaries and brutal economic strangulation culminating in the U.S. trade boycott, the determination to fight to defend *their* revolution was as clear as ever. But there is a sense of loss of direction in the country. If a U.S. invasion comes, they know what to do. In poor barrios you can see hand-scrawled signs like, "Yankee son of a bitch, we're waiting for you" and "The gringos and the reactionaries will die.

WV Photo

"We Won't Sell Out, We Won't Give Up! Nicaragua Will Be Reagan's Grave!" Half a million Nicaraguans in Managua's Carlos Fonseca Plaza celebrate sixth anniversary of their revolution, July 19.

Nicaragua will be Reagan's grave." But what is to be done now, they ask, except wait?

In recent weeks, Reagan has been escalating his attacks on the Sandinista regime, accusing Nicaragua of being part of a band of "outlaw terrorist states." On the eve of the July 19 celebrations, Washington delivered a secret diplomatic note to Managua threatening reprisals against Nicaragua if more U.S. soldiers are killed anywhere in Central America. After reading this insolent note to the crowd gathered in Carlos Fonseca Plaza, Ortega declared: "Nicaragua has neither practiced terrorism, nor supports terrorism, nor has it been involved in any terrorist activity. Who blew up the fuel tanks in Corinto?" he asked rhetorically. The Nicaraguans? "Who mined the Nicaraguan ports? Who bombed Sandino Airport? Who published the CIA murder manual? So who are the terrorists?"

Defend Nicaragua!

Last month the press was full of articles about U.S. preparations for direct military intervention in Central America. According to the *New York Times* (4 June), a leading Pentagon expert "asserted that the Nicaraguan people would rise up in support of an American invasion...." They may be sorely surprised. Speaking to some of the hundreds of thousands who gathered in the plaza to celebrate the victory over Somoza, the FSLN newspaper *Barricada* (20 July) asked peasants from the northern war zone about the claim by a leading U.S. intelligence official that an invasion of Nicaragua would be like "falling off a log." They replied, "Let them try it. Let's see if they have balls like us!"

The Nicaraguan people also have guns. Tiny Nicaragua can never match the firepower of the Yankee colossus

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Support Spartacist Party Campaign!

In Managua, Nicaragua on July 19 Spartacist Party candidate for Mayor of New York Marjorie Stamberg attended a giant rally celebrating the sixth anniversary of the revolution which smashed the Somoza dictatorship. Here in New York City, petitioners for Stamberg and Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Manhattan Borough President, are bringing the program of working-class internationalism to labor, minorities and the poor, from the streets of Harlem to downtown Brooklyn. Anti-imperialism abroad, they say, means class struggle at home.

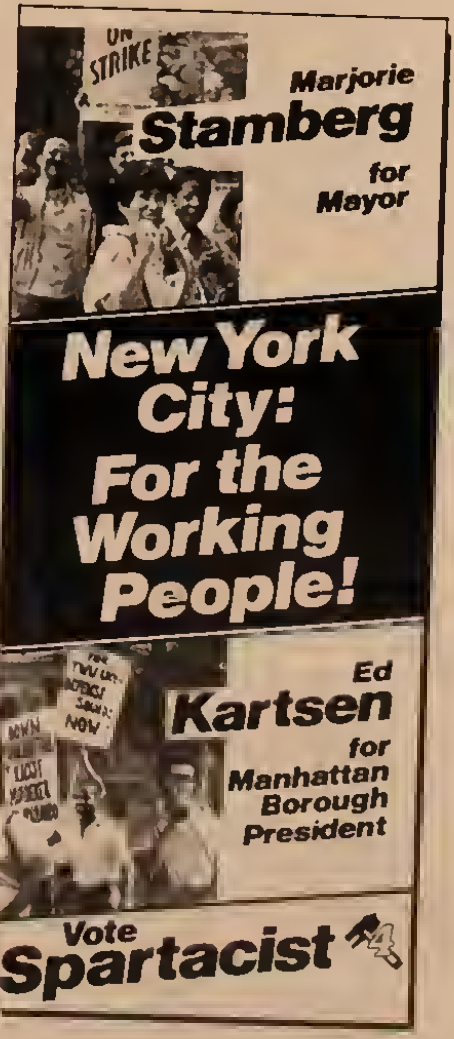
The Stamberg/Kartsen campaign offers a platform of revolutionary struggle for working people who want to fight back against the terrorism of Reagan's America. The bombing of black babies in Philadelphia and the wanton cop terror in New York are a sample of what Reagan (backed by the Democrats, who voted for millions in aid to the CIA's killer "contras") has in store for Nicaragua. The Spartacist candidates say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! For labor political strikes against imperialist war! And this call is hitting home in NYC. On July 20 a postal letter carrier walked up to one of our petitioners, looked at the name Spartacist and handed him $5.00. "Send this to Nicaragua," he said, recognizing us as the people raising funds to defend besieged Nicaragua in defiance of Reagan's embargo.

It also takes money to get out the message of the working people's candidates at home. *Capitalist politicians like racist mayor Koch get big bucks from Wall Street, the slumlords and kill-crazy cops. Stamberg/Kartsen depend on you.* Election law requires reporting names of people who contribute over $99. So because our party does not disclose names of individual contributors, we will not accept donations over $99. Trade unions and other organizations, however, are more than welcome to donate larger amounts.

If you like what the Stamberg/Kartsen campaign has to say, get involved! Send your contributions to: Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, c/o Box 444, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. And stop by our campaign headquarters at 41 Warren St. in lower Manhattan, Monday through Thursday, 5-8 p.m. or Saturday, 1-5 p.m., or call (212) 267-1025.

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg with members of the Sandinista People's Militia in Managua, July 19. The sign reads: "Victorious Nicaragua Won't Sell Out, Won't Give Up."



WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 385 | 9 August 1985

South African Black Miners Challenge Regime

Apartheid State of Terror

Selwyn Tait

Reuters

Mass turnouts at funerals defy state of emergency. Racist police terror has killed over 500 blacks during the past year.

AUGUST 5—They come in convoys of two dozen cops and soldiers in armored cars and on horseback, armed with shotguns and automatic weapons. They break down doors in the middle of the night and drag black township dwellers out of their shacks. They set up roadblocks and drag blacks off buses in broad daylight. After two weeks of the apartheid butchers' "state of emergency," imposed in the highly industrialized Transvaal around Johannesburg and in the Eastern Cape around the auto center of Port Elizabeth, at least 1,400 blacks have been subject to indefinite detention for which there are no charges, no bail, no access to lawyers or family. It is a detention in which many will suffer the same fate as Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko, tortured and murdered in police custody in 1977.

Over 500 black people have been killed since the anti-apartheid revolt began last fall. And since the "emergency" at least 24 more blacks have been murdered, often by death squads tied to the military. Among their victims was prominent black civil rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge, the Natal provincial treasurer of the country's largest anti-apartheid formation, the United Democratic Front (UDF). In its frenzy to crush every manifestation of resistance to apartheid, the regime has threatened to starve out black townships engaged in boycotting white businesses by forcibly closing down black shops. It has even tried to strip the victims of apartheid terror of a last shred of dignity by banning outdoor funerals, which had been the sole "legal" occasions where mass anti-apartheid protest could take place.

For now, these savage measures have not quelled protest in the areas affected by the "emergency" and have fueled protest outside those areas, especially

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On British, Australian Docks

Labor Action Against Apartheid!

While the U.S. Congress, the French government and other imperialists move to impose token sanctions against their South African ally, hoping to save face for "free world" democracy, workers in Australia and Britain have taken matters into their own hands by "hot-cargoing" ships and cargo from and to South Africa.

In Sydney, Australia maritime and waterfront unions applied "rolling bans" to the *Safocean Mildura*, a Nedlloyd Lines ship which regularly links Australia to South Africa, when the ship docked there in late July (Australian *Daily Commercial News*, 30 July). The Waterside Workers Federation (longshoremen) kicked off the ban with a 24-hour action which stopped cargo handling. This was followed by stoppages by tugboat workers, seamen, watchmen and other workers in different unions. When the ship arrived in Melbourne, August 1, it was again met with rolling bans that are continuing until the *Mildura* is due to leave port August 7. However, in between the stoppages, the South African cargo was worked—the actual effect of the bans was to delay the ship.

In Melbourne, August 6 a picket was held to support the maritime unions' action. The rally attracted some 70-80 people, including waterside workers, representatives of the South African ANC and Namibian SWAPO, as well as a contingent from the Spartacist League

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Spartacist League Suit: A Gratifying Victory

Marxists vs. FBI Repression

SEE PAGE EIGHT

CP Pushes Anti-Japanese Poison, Again

Remember Hiroshima, U.S. A-Bomb Holocaust!

Forty years ago, on August 6 and 9, 1945, the U.S. unleashed the world's first nuclear holocaust over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This final bloody act concluding what the U.S. claimed was the great "war for democracy" revealed the true savage face of American capitalism at war. Tens of thousands of helpless citizens were burned alive in raging firestorms as a human testing ground to prove to American imperialism's opponents—especially the Soviet Union—that the U.S. would stop at *nothing* to maintain world domination. Meanwhile, Japanese Americans at home were imprisoned for four years in freezing, hellhole concentration camps throughout the West, their homes and property stolen, insulting "loyalty" oaths forced on them, their lives irreparably damaged. As we have said at previous Hiroshima Day commemorations, "To remember is not enough!"—for new holocausts are being prepared by this monstrous ruling class.

Anti-Japanese hysteria is in the air again, as lately some captains of American industry (mainly those like Chrysler's Iacocca who've run their plants into the ground) have discovered another *truly* "evil empire" in "Japan, Inc." whose great crime appears to be making better, cheaper products we'd all rather have. The Sunday *New York Times Magazine* (28 July) declared war on Japan last week in a visceral ("I bristled at the sight of them") shriek of bloodthirsty nostalgia for the days when the U.S. really had reduced Japan to smoking rubble. Under the scare title, "The Danger From Japan," Theodore H. White snarls that the Japanese treat us like some "colonial nation." White recalls fondly how "Hitachi, now an electronics exporter, was blasted to bits by our bombers in the last two weeks of the war," but warns sternly, "Hitachi is now on the counterattack, its tone martial again." (In other words, Japan is winning the war for the semiconductor market, chips down.)

US Army

U.S. imperialists A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki (above) in effort to intimidate the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party U.S.A. has fallen in step right behind this racist anti-Japanese hysteria, again. "Imperial Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor was indeed an act of infamy, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt termed it," began last month's two-part *World Magazine* (*Daily World*, 18 and 25 July) article on WW II in the Pacific. The piece concluded, in its *only* mention of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki holocaust, with the bland statement that, "Many have argued that the use of the atomic bomb was not morally or militarily justified." Well, the CP certainly wasn't one of them. At the time it gloried in the monstrous A-bombing as part of the "old one-two" punch of the "Allies" (see cartoon below).

CP author Conrad Komorowski retails the U.S. rulers' cover stories for the bombing, stating "the U.S. military was of the opinion that Japan could not be defeated before 1947 or 1948." In fact, as "revisionist" historians have demonstrated, Washington *knew* Japan was ready to surrender. Recently, two researchers using previously classified U.S. war documents revealed that the Joint Chiefs of Staff thought a possible invasion would be "relatively inexpensive" (UPI, 1 August). Even General Eisenhower was appalled at the A-bombing, and thought it was unnecessary. According to atomic scientist Leo Szilard, U.S. secretary of state Byrne's justification was that "our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable" (Gar Alperovitz, "Hiroshima Remembered: The U.S. Was Wrong," *New York Times*, 4 August).

At home, the Communist Party criminally abandoned its own Japanese American members after Pearl Harbor in a disgusting act of betrayal. This vile act was ultimately the result of the CP's slavish loyalty to its "own" bourgeoisie. To be sure, some decades after the fact, the CP did offer a public self-criticism, of sorts, of its action. In a buried aside in a book review in *World Magazine* (*Daily World*, 1 January 1972), Albert J. Lima wrote: "the U.S. Army decided to round up all people of Japanese ancestry and to herd them into concentration camps on the West Coast.... Under a slogan of 'unity' in the struggle against fascism and Japanese imperialism, the Party allowed this act to go unchallenged, decided to drop Japanese from membership, and allowed their members to go to concentration camps."

Komorowski's shameless praise of "anti-fascist unity" against Japan reveals this "self-criticism" as a sham. Highlighting the "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor, the Stalinists today are trying to slide right back into the mainstream of American imperialist chauvinism and trade war hysteria. Japan was *driven* to Pearl Harbor by a decade of protectionism and economic sanctions directed against the Japanese "trade menace" as it was called in the 1930s. In July 1941 (six months *before* Pearl Harbor) the U.S., British and Dutch embargoed Japan's oil supply, without which it could not survive. The eminent British military historian B.H. Liddell Hart wrote:

> "Although Japan had stayed out of the war hitherto, the steps which Roosevelt and Churchill took in July to cut off her economic resources were bound to make her strike back in the only way possible for her—by force of arms."
>
> —*History of the Second World War* (1970)

Once again, combating the Japanese "trade menace" has become a major battle cry of American imperialism. And leading the pack are the AFL-CIO bureaucrats and Roosevelt's epigones in the Democratic Party. Walter Mondale

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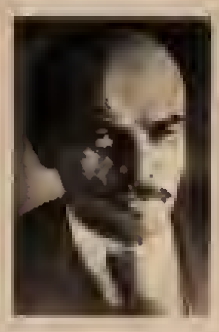
TROTSKY

James P. Cannon on Hiroshima and Nagasaki Holocaust



LENIN

On 22 August 1945, at a meeting originally scheduled as a memorial meeting for Leon Trotsky, James P. Cannon, principal leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, denounced the heinous atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

In two calculated blows, with two atomic bombs, American imperialism killed or injured half a million human beings. The young and the old, the child in the cradle and the aged and infirm, the newly married, the well and the sick, men, women, and children—they all had to die in two blows because of a quarrel between the imperialists of Wall Street and a similar gang in Japan....

Long ago the revolutionary Marxists said that the alternative facing humanity was either socialism or a new barbarism, that capitalism threatens to go down in ruins and drag civilization with it. But in the light of what has been developed in this war and is projected for the future, I think we can say now that the alternative can be made even more precise: The alternative facing mankind is socialism or annihilation!...

We believe that the people of the world will waken to this frightful alternative and act in time to save themselves.... On the one side the peoples of the world, transformed into the colonial slaves of Wall Street, will rebel against the imperialist master, as the conquered provinces rose against imperial Rome. Simultaneously with that uprising, and coordinating our struggle with it, we, the Trotskyist party, will lead the workers and plebeians of America in a revolutionary attack against our main enemy and the main enemy of mankind, the imperialists of the United States.

—James P. Cannon, "The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" (August 1945)

—10 August 1945 **Daily Worker**

1945: American Stalinists applaud Hiroshima atrocity (right). 1985: CP still inciting anti-Japanese chauvinism (below).

By Conrad Komorowksi

Imperial Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor was indeed an act of infamy, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt termed it. The bombing was carried out by stealth, without declaration of war, and even while drawn-out negotiations on U.S.-Japanese relations were being conducted in Washington. It was an outright act of aggression by militaristic Japan.

Although many in U.S. ruling circles ha[ve] talked about the "Japanese menace," and th[e] government had tried to limit Japanese military

—18 July 1985 **DAILY WORLD**

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 385 **9 August 1985**

Unions Must Lead the Fight—

Defend Norfolk Busing!

Labor prominent as 10,000 march to defend school busing in Norfolk, 1983.

Norfolk, Virginia is at the cutting edge of the fight to defend school integration in Reagan's America. In February 1983, the Norfolk School Board voted to wipe out the city's successful busing program, in effect since 1971, in favor of so-called "neighborhood schools." In the late 1950s, Norfolk was the spearhead of segregationist massive resistance. When the state of Virginia closed down the entire Norfolk school system rather than integrate it, white parents were only too happy to put their kids on buses to lily-white private schools. They weren't praising the virtues of "neighborhood schools" then! School busing represented a basic democratic gain over the "separate and unequal" Jim Crow system—it must be defended and extended throughout the Tidewater area, including Virginia Beach!

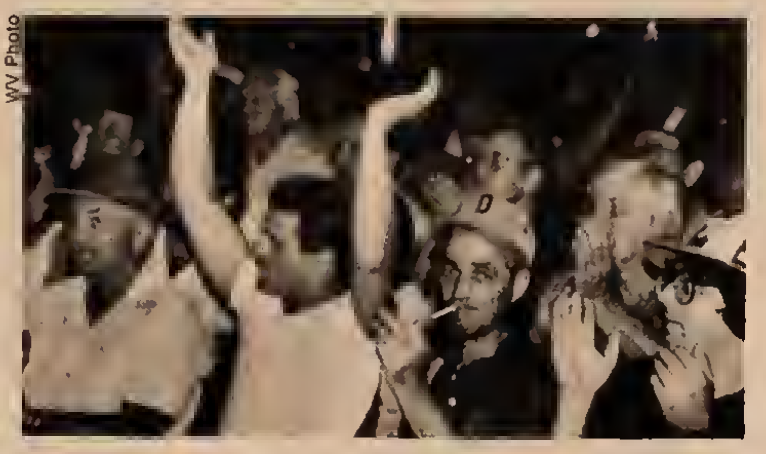
Under the School Board's current proposal, supported by Reagan's Justice Department, almost a third of the elementary schools would be 97-100 percent black, while a fifth would be overwhelmingly white. The plan is now before the U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals, but right-wing anti-busing forces led by the Norfolk Tea Party are demanding that the Board immediately implement the segregationist scheme. Racist forces are gathering steam, and racial tensions are being inflamed. Speaking to the School Board, Rev. Anthony Paige of the moderate, pro-busing Norfolk Coalition for Quality Public Education said, "If you implement this plan today or at any time in the future, you're going to touch off a racial war that is going to destroy this community" (Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, 19 July).

The racist forces must be stopped by mobilizing the power of the Tidewater labor movement, the beachhead of union power in the "right-to-work" South, to take the lead in the fight for busing. No faith must be placed in the capitalist politicians or the capitalist courts, which since the death of the 1960s civil rights movement have reversed almost every gain of that struggle. In May 1983, some 10,000 black workers and youth, with a contingent of 200 unionists from the International Longshoremen's Association, took to the streets to defend busing. Democratic Party hustler Jesse Jackson flew into town to *head off* this powerful labor-led action. "I am not in town marching for desegregation," he said frankly. "I am marching for the voter registration boost."

As the Tidewater unions march this Labor Day, they must put defense of school integration in the forefront of the struggle to defend all working people, strengthening labor in its fight to organize the South. ■

Screw the Steel Bosses and Bankers—No Givebacks!

W-P Strike: A Battle Steel Workers Must Win!



Cleveland, July 31: Steel workers and other unionists rally to support W-P strike.

CLEVELAND—Twenty-five years of class peace in the steel industry went out the window as determined Wheeling-Pittsburgh steel workers set up picket lines two weeks ago. When Reagan's courts voided the contract and the W-P bosses dictated *pay and benefit cuts amounting to $7,000 per man*, they'd had enough. "We want to be orderly, but if scabs cross our line, we're going to bust their faces," said United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1187 president Galvie Gardener (*Pittsburgh Press*, 22 July). As U.S. Steel chairman David Roderick talks about matching whatever cuts Wheeling-Pitt succeeds in squeezing out, angry steel workers at other plants facing takeaways are demanding strike action. "We have now begun the basic steel wars of 1986," a USWA negotiator remarked as the strike began.

The Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike is a key test for labor, and not just for steel workers. The bosses' *Business Week* (5 August) calls it a "watershed strike" whose outcome "will set the industry's course for a long time to come." They note menacingly: "The outcome will also affect labor relations nationwide and the use of bankruptcy laws to void labor contracts." Labor had better win this one.

W-P management has made it clear it's pulling out all the stops. After provoking the strike by unilaterally slashing wages and benefits, they then canceled the workers' medical insurance. Now they're withholding payments into the pension fund and sending out threatening letters telling retirees that their pensions are in jeopardy. But the USWA misleaders are so used to closed-door deals with the bosses they don't even know how to play this kind of hardball. They continue to seek a "compromise" on the amount of cuts they will take rather than challenge the steel bosses' union-busting takeback drive head-on.

Union members at Wheeling-Pitt had already given about $600 million in concessions to the company, making the USWA the company's largest creditor—but, of course, the only debt recognized by the company is the one to the banks and stockholders. As one striker aptly put it, another round of givebacks and conditions would be about the same as when his father worked under the "open shop" and you had to give the foreman apples to get a day's pay.

Throughout the country, hard-nosed bosses, hopped up by Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, are relentlessly pursuing their takeaway assault. Strikes have fallen to an 18-year low, as mainline "business unionism" throws in the towel. But with their backs to the wall, embattled West Virginia and Kentucky coal miners, shipyard workers in Maine, Teamster car haulers and Western Union workers are fighting back. And with class-struggle leadership and tactics, the tables *can* be turned on the bosses.

In Cleveland, when USWA District 31 director Frank Valenta called a solidarity rally July 31, he got more than he bargained for. Nearly 500 steel workers crowded into District 31 headquarters, heartily cheering any union bureaucrat who spoke with a semblance of militancy. Valenta called the rally to publicize a campaign for worker donations of a dollar a day for the W-P strikers, but many were itching to go beyond this symbolic show of support.

As the proceedings drew to a close, Valenta sought to get people to rise and sing "Solidarity Forever." At this point, an informal, integrated group of militants scattered around the room got restless. "We don't want to sing, we want to strike!" said one. Others shouted, "This is bullshit! What about a strike, Frank?" and "Shut 'em all down!" Valenta moved to drown out these militants by striking up the small oompah band to get the music going. At a press conference he insisted the USWA was not "strike happy."

"Solidarity Forever," the old Wobbly anthem, was not about telegrams from Democratic Party politicians or hot air speeches by the union brass—it was about mass picket lines, sympathy strikes, hot-cargoing, sit-down strikes and other class-struggle *actions* which fuse the working class into a mighty fist to smash the bosses. That's what's needed to win. For starters the tens of thousands of steel workers facing company takeaway demands, as at LTV, should be called out on strike! Let's see those several hundred thousand USWA members in action for a change—send half of them down to the W-P picket lines, and the rest can go have a chat with David Roderick. You can bet the takeback-crazy bosses would start backing down in a hurry.

Some well-placed actions by Teamsters and railroad workers to halt any movement of steel would go a long way toward winning what the steel workers need, and pave the way for the rest of American labor. And if the company attempts to carry out its threats of liquidating its assets, the workers ought to seize the plants and lock out the bosses (and the bankers). But this would take a class-struggle leadership prepared to take on the capitalist government. Instead the union tops join the companies in calling for import controls, and "dissident" USWA bureaucrats like Ron Wiesen are if anything even more disgusting in spreading anti-Japanese protectionist poison. Come election time they all herd the members into the anti-union Democratic Party.

Don't forget, it was Arizona's Democratic governor Bruce Babbit who called out the National Guard to bust up USWA copper miners at Phelps Dodge. And the brutal deindustrialization that has turned the Midwest into a giant "rust bowl," costing half of all steel workers their jobs, is a by-product of the war drive, supported by both capitalist parties, that is sucking every available resource into "Sunbelt" war industries. There is no solution to the decay of American steel under capitalism—the bosses have looted the aging plants because profits are higher elsewhere. Only a workers government, which throws the capitalist class on the slag heap and institutes a planned economy, can put an end to the ravages of unemployment and the boom-bust cycle that has turned Youngstown into a ghost town and devastated the Mon Valley far worse than any tornado. ■

How to bust the union-busters. Get yours now!

Viet Contras Terrorize SWP

OAKLAND—For the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Trotskyism is officially *passé*. But Trotsky could have been describing the SWP when he wrote of the German social democrats' appeal to the capitalist government against fascist attacks in the '30s: "...these Marxists from the *Vorwaerts* yelp for the night watchman to come to their aid, saying 'Help, State, intervene!' (*Staat, greif zu!*)" (*What Next?*, January 1932). In the face of a concerted attack by gangs of fascistic Vietnamese émigrés centered on San Jose, California, the SWP has been calling for a "hroad campaign" to pressure "city officials of San Jose [to] act to protect the democratic rights of the socialists there and all other opponents of U.S. foreign policy" (*Militant*, 10 May). Rather than calling for *workers defense guards*, the SWP's answer was to organize a June 28 "Speak Out for Democratic Rights" to demand that "city officials take action." Yet, lo and behold, the cops side with the fascist attackers, helping them to terrorize the "peaceful, legal" reformists.

Recent SWP meetings on Vietnam in the Bay Area, New York and St. Paul have been the target of violent attacks by gangs of Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries. On April 27 a mob of Viet "contras" besieged an SWP forum on Vietnam in San Jose, California. The next day they returned at the time of the SWP's weekly branch meeting, very nearly lynching SWPers and smashing windows. (It seems to be an SWP org rule that branches must have plate-glass windows in their headquarters.) A leaflet by the SWP's youth group in San Jose described the April 28 attack:

> "Over 200 of these thugs trapped 17 socialists in their offices. The mob charged the entrance several times attempting to batter down the door. A projectile crashed through the office window narrowly missing one of the people inside. After repeated calls to the police, the socialists were evacuated in patrol cars. The police made no arrests during these events and in fact, cooperated with these thugs by allowing them to search the offices 'for Vietnamese communists'."

An April 30 SWP forum in New York was attacked by Vietnamese *gusanos* wielding chains, bottles, sharpened sticks and other deadly weapons. One SWP "usher" was cut on the head by a metal cane. SWP forums in San Francisco on May 21 and Oakland on May 22 were the objects of violent "counter-demonstrations" by Viet rightists who tried to break up the events, throwing eggs and metal objects while screaming "Kill the communists!" and, incredibly, "Get out of America—Go home!"

In each case the cops ignored SWP pleas for protection, giving free rein to the rightist thugs to attack forum participants and passers-by. An SWP "Fact Sheet on Oakland Police Conduct at May 22 Forum..." bears witness to the fact that the cops set the SWP up, noting that they promised a "display of uniformed police" to stand "between the rightist Vietnamese and the forum's marshals," "cooperation on the part of the police," and "on-the-spot liaison between the police and the marshals at the bookstore," hut "none of these commitments were lived up to by the Oakland police." Standing by as the thugs threw eggs and pieces of metal and struck a forum-goer with a stick, the cops only intervened to stop bullhorns from being used after the SWP "responded" to 45 minutes of amplified chants of "Communists out of Oakland!" with the pathetic pacifist bleat, "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador!"

WV Photo

Oakland, May 22—Vietnamese fascists, screaming "Kill the communists," hurled metal objects at SWP forum.

The attacks by the Viet contras threaten the entire left and labor movement. As we wrote in "Viet Fascists Rampage in Australia, U.S." (*WV* No. 380, 31 May):

> "In defending the triumph of social revolution in Indochina, the workers movement internationally must firmly put the imprint of its proletarian hoots on the necks of these defeated émigré counterrevolutionaries whenever they raise their bloody heads."

The Spartacists fight for *trade-union mobilizations* to use the muscle of the organized labor movement to defend left meetings from these kill-crazy contras. An example of what's needed was a May 17 "Solidarity with Vietnam" meeting in Sydney, Australia where over 250 mainly maritime unionists showed up prepared to defend the gathering against the rightist thugs. At the San Francisco and Oakland SWP forums, beefed-up *WV* sales teams of experienced union militants helped defend the meetings. We say: let the Vietnamese equivalents of the Ku Klux Klan face the kind of Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982.

As demonstrated yet again by the police response to the SWP's pleas for protection, reliance on the capitalist government, the murderers of two million Vietnamese, is *suicidal reformism*. Trotsky could have told the SWP that, but you can't teach old lessons to "new realities" reformists. The SWP's response to the cops' complicity with the Vietnamese contras' attacks has been to "deepen" its appeals to the bourgeois state and give them a "theoretical" foundation. The SWP's May 10 editorial assures *Militant* readers that the Vietnamese rightists'

> "...recent attacks are not part of a generalized increase in public mobilizations and extralegal violence by rightist forces.... The government has felt pressure recently to rein in other ultraright and terrorist groups. Such organizations are not growing.... It's in this context that a broad campaign to counter the rightist Vietnamese gangs is both urgent and possible."

So they think Reagan's on the warpath against the far right—what a self-deluding hallucination!

The SWP earnestly believes that it will get the defense it indignantly points out it is constitutionally entitled to. How? Through the judicious application of "pressure" on the government that hails U.S. aggression in Vietnam as a "noble cause," backs death squads and contra mercenary killers in Central America, shields Taiwanese and Vietnamese rightist hit squads in the U.S., salutes the SS at Bitburg and bombs black babies in Philadelphia! Reagan stands by his butchers, not least the defeated Vietnamese torturers and pimps who seek to avenge their humiliating rout by the Viet Cong. And it is the Democrats who do the dirty work on the local level (witness Philly's mayor Goode). But of course it was the SWP that during the Vietnam War coined slogans like "Bring Our Boys Home from Vietnam and Send Them to Mississippi," and which during the Boston busing crisis called on Gerald Ford to send in federal troops to "defend" black schoolchildren from racist mobs. The SWP is still waiting for its "Watersuit" to result in the federal courts giving it a license to practice reformism.

In line with their drive to "force San Jose officials" to "defend the socialists' democratic rights" the SWP launched an appeal to "Defend the right to discuss U.S. foreign policy!"

The Viet contras had accused the SWP of holding "a celebration...of the 10th anniversary of the communist takeover of South Vietnam," but San Jose SWP leader Lynda Joyce, according to the bourgeois press, retorted that "the Socialists held workshops on the 'lessons to be learned from the war,' but denied holding a celebration" of the 30 April 1975 liberation of Saigon. She added plaintively, "But even if we were celebrating, does that give them the right to attack us?" (*San Jose Mercury News*, 30 April).

A considerable number of Bay Area union officials and community activists issued statements against the Viet contras' assaults on the SWP. Among them were various Asian American groups acutely conscious of how the Vietnamese fascists' murderous attacks could trigger a "yellow peril" backlash against all Asians. They recalled the murders last year by Viet rightists of California physics professor Edward Cooperman, known for his efforts to aid the reconstruction of war-ravaged Indochina, and of Vietnamese patriot Pham Thi Luu and the near-fatal wounding of her husband Nguyen Van Luy. The terrorists who perpetrated these crimes were not "boat people" but vicious warlords, landlords and drug traffickers run out of their own country because they were American puppets.

The most far-sighted Asian Americans must see that they have an urgent interest in stopping the Vietnamese contra killers. Anti-Asian racism runs deep in the U.S., particularly on the West Coast, going back to the lynchings of Chinese immigrants in the 19th century and the racist "internment" of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II. Vietnamese fishermen, Korean shopkeepers, as well as long-established Japanese and Chinese, are perilously at risk in the present chauvinist atmosphere. Those who came to this country for economic betterment must look to socialists and labor to make common cause against the war criminals trained, aided and abetted, and still protected by the U.S. government. And the unions must be won to the fight against poisonous protectionism fostered by bosses like Chrysler's Iacocca who seek to boost their profits with flag-waving chauvinist appeals.

Rather than push for a militant mobilization of the Bay Area's integrated, powerful labor movement to crush the rightists' attacks, the SWP cowers in pitiful legalistic petitioning. This display of weakness and cowardice can only embolden the Viet fascists, and endangers the entire left. In the 1930s the Great Depression spawned numerous fascist bands and ultraright demagogues such as Jersey City mayor Frank ("I am the law") Hague. James P. Cannon, founder of the then-revolutionary Trotskyist SWP, answered the bleatings of the reformists of the day, today resurrected by Jack Barnes & Co.:

> "Fascism fears no 'scandal' and is not to be bluffed. It has to be beaten down.
>
> "It is not sufficient to denounce Hague as a violator of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. These documents are sacred only for the dupes of capitalist propaganda, not for the real masters themselves. The workers in reality have only such rights as they are ready and able to defend with their own strength. Everything else under the subject of democratic rights is a lie. Hague, the authentic American fascist, answers all palaver with brutal force. For their part, the magnates of industry and finance, alarmed by labor's aggressiveness of the past few years, cannot fail to notice with satisfaction that all the arguments in court and all the pious sermons and editorials about the Constitution carry little weight against the fists and clubs of Hague's hoodlums. Force is the argument of the advance guard of American fascism. Woe to the workers of America if they do not learn in time to talk the same language!"
>
> —*Socialist Appeal*, 9 July 1938 ■

Hiroshima...

(continued from page 2)

told a union convention that it would take the U.S. Army to sell cars in Japan. Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill, speaking in Detroit a few years ago, boasted: "If I were President...I'd fix the Japanese like they've never been fixed." Considering his fellow Democrat Harry Truman dropped two A-bombs on the Japanese, that is one hell of a threat.

This hysteria has had its poisonous effect on the American working class, who have been sold the racist lie that the Japanese, and not their own capitalist bosses, are responsible for the decayed state of American industry. In the unions, the CP falls in line behind deadly protectionist schemes; it is the Trotskyists, supporters of the Spartacist League, who fight for the interests of the international working class, calling for a break from the partner parties of austerity, racism and war. During World War II our forebears, the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, themselves facing prosecution for their principled opposition to the imperialist war, defended the Japanese Americans. Today, opposing the bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union, we say "The main enemy is at home!" It will take international socialist revolution to create a world in which there will be no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis. We look forward to the day when we can all enjoy American jazz on Mitsubishi stereo TVs while sipping Stolichnaya vodka. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated September 6.

Democrats Rally to Reagan's Terror International

In early June right-wing Republican drugstore millionaire and anti-Communist wacko Lewis Lehrman organized a meeting of assorted mercenaries and counterrevolutionary killers from around the world in the village of Jamba in southern Angola. Pledging death to "Soviet imperialism," Daddy Warbucks Lehrman raised arms with South Africa's Angolan puppet Jonas Savimbi, Nicaraguan "contra" Adolfo Calero and an Afghan Islamic fanatic. Ronald Reagan sent along a letter to the contra confab proclaiming, "Their goals are our goals" (*Newsweek*, 17 June).

A month later the Democrats in Congress were trying to out-Reagan Reagan, voting big war bucks for the real U.S.-backed terrorist international for which Lehrman played master of ceremonies in southern Angola. First, they reversed themselves on aid to the CIA's Nicaraguan terrorists. Then they voted millions for the Afghan and Cambodian contras. And for good measure, they repealed the nine-year ban (the Clark Amendment) on funding Savimbi's UNITA in Angola. Naturally, Republicans chortled that the Democrats have now embraced the so-called "Reagan doctrine" of support to anti-Soviet "resistance movements"—that is, counterrevolutionary terrorists—around the world.

The theory behind the "Reagan doctrine" has been stated baldly by veteran Cold War ideologue Sidney Hook. In an introduction to a book purporting to document Soviet involvement in Grenada, and thus supposedly justify Reagan's rape of the tiny black West Indian island, Hook argues that social revolution is caused *not* by hideous oppression, squalor, misery and degradation but rather by the actions of radical agitators. The conclusion is obvious: wipe out the reds, and U.S. imperialism can supposedly preside forever over a world of hideous oppression, exploitation, misery and degradation.

UPI

LeMoyne/Newsweek

Left: Afghan mujahadeen "freedom fighter" shoots schoolteacher for teaching young girls to read. Right: Nicaraguan contras—sadistic killers, torturers and rapists.

That, of course, is precisely the aim of Reagan's terrorist international. From mining Nicaraguan harbors to organizing car-bombing in Beirut. Yet this campaign of international terrorism has been carried out in the name of fighting ... "international terrorism." From day one in the White House this has been the Reagan gang's main battle cry. Witness Reagan's ranting diatribe before the American Bar Association accusing North Korea, Iran, Libya, Cuba and Nicaragua of being a "new, international version of Murder Inc." and a terrorist confederation of "outlaw states run by the strangest collection of misfits, Looney Tunes and squalid criminals since the advent of the Third Reich" (*New York Times*, 9 July). Quite a mouthful coming from the man who embraced the Third Reich's SS terrorists at Bitburg; whose CIA used Nazi torture experts to train the secret police of "moderately authoritarian" butchers like Pinochet and Somoza, anti-Communist dictators who killed tens of thousands of their own countrymen; and whose predecessors used the real Murder Inc. in repeated attempts to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro! Castro appropriately called the maker of that speech "the worst terrorist in the history of mankind." He added: "This Reagan is a madman, an imbecile, a hum."

The Contra Democrats

It was the Democrats under Carter/Mondale who paved the way for the terror presidency. Remember, it was Jimmy Carter who declared Cold War II when the Russians intervened against the Islamic counterrevolution in Afghanistan. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Dr. Strangelove then resident in the White House basement, actually journeyed to the Khyber Pass and waving a machine gun incited the Afghan Islamic mujahadeen: "That land over there is yours and you will go back one day because your cause is right and God is on your side." Likewise, it was under Carter/Mondale and the Democratic-controlled Congress that funding of the Cambodian counterrevolutionaries began.

Gorrell/Richmond News Leader

In recent weeks Congressional Democrats have voted funds for anti-Communist terrorists from Southeast Asia to Central America.

The *New York Times* (14 July) attributes the present contra aid votes to a new mood of "'Machismo' on Capitol Hill." It points out that at least a dozen times Congressmen invoked the image of Sylvester Stallone's Rambo, an ex-Green Beret who goes back and single-handedly ravages Vietnam. Let some real ex-Green Beret try it! But Congressional Democrats have not been suddenly swept up by Rambo fever of newfound enthusiasm for anti-Communist terrorists. The Democratic-controlled House voted for every hill to "covertly" fund the Nicaraguan contras up to early 1984 when they were embarrassed by the CIA's mining of Corinto and Puerto Sandino harbors. And during last year's presidential elections Mondale called for *quarantining* Nicaragua, thus anticipating Reagan's economic warfare.

There has *always* been a *bipartisan* consensus within the American ruling class to wage at least a "cold" war against the Soviet Union and to suppress revolutions around the world, despite sometimes sharp differences on how this is to be done. As the present Cold War escalates these differences have progressively narrowed. "It's Time for the Democrats to Be Tough-Minded" is the title of a piece by liberal New York Congressman Stephen Solarz in the *New York Times* (20 June) op-ed page. He decries that the Democrats are now seen as soft on Russia, "despite our long and honorable tradition of anti-Communism." And he reaffirms, "it is the Soviet Union that poses the most serious threat to our values and interests."

As a spokesman for the American ruling class, Solarz is dead right. It is the industrial and military power of the Soviet Union, despite its nationalistic and bureaucratic leadership, which stands in the way of U.S. imperialism's most vital interest—to dominate and exploit the world. And this is no new passion of the Democrats. Only fear of war with Russia kept liberal hero John F. Kennedy from sending his Marines and Green Berets in to overthrow Castro's Cuba and kept the Pentagon from nuking Vietnam back into the stone age.

In language indistinguishable from the Reagan gang, Solarz calls for:

> "... resisting Communist expansionism in the third world by providing arms and aid to non-Communist forces, such as those in Afghanistan and Cambodia, resisting Communist invasion and occupation of their countries."

This liberal Democrat hails the Afghan and Cambodian counterrevolutionaries for waging "wars of national liberation."

In reality, the Afghan "freedom fighters" are a melange of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs fighting to restore mass illiteracy, the bride price and the enslavement of women. And while boasting to their American patrons that they are killing Russians by the carload, most Afghan mujahadeen do not and dare not get within hundreds of miles of any Soviet forces. The *hundreds of millions* of dollars Washington is sending them every year, supposedly to fight in Afghanistan, is really going into unnumbered Swiss bank accounts.

As for the Cambodian contras fighting the Vietnamese, they consist of the followers of Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann, who during the Vietnam War secretly connived with the Nixon administration to organize the mass terror bombing of their *own* country. Washington's other Cambodian terrorist is the genocidal maniac Pol Pot, whom the U.S. is backing mainly through its ally China. Pol Pot turned Cambodia into a giant concentration camp, killing two to three million of his *own* people. When the Vietnamese drove out Pol Pot in 1979 and occupied the country, they *saved* the Cambodian people.

In addition to funding the Nicaraguan, Afghan and Cambodian contras, Congressional Democrats on July 11 repealed the 1975 Clark Amendment which prohibited funding South African puppet Jonas Savimbi. When the Portuguese colonialists pulled out of Angola in 1975, Washington encouraged South Africa to invade the country and crush the nationalist MPLA regime in Luanda. Savimbi offered up his forces as mercenaries for the apartheid regime. The white-supremacist army was stopped only by the massive introduction of Cuban troops backed and armed by the Soviet Union. At this point Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wanted to escalate the war in Angola, but the majority of the American ruling class feared another Vietnam, that is, a *losing* colonial military adventure. Hence the Clark Amendment.

Since their defeat a decade ago the South African army and Savimbi's

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Apartheid Terror...

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the major urban centers of Cape Town and Durban. One day after the funeral ban was announced more than 8,000 blacks attended a funeral in Tumahole township, just outside the "emergency" area. Then, at a funeral in a black settlement near Port Elizabeth, 1,500 blacks surged through the streets chanting slogans for the African National Congress (ANC), the oldest and most prominent black African nationalist organization. The ANC is not only banned—merely expressing support for or having ANC literature carries severe penalties. In Cape Town and Durban tens of thousands of black and coloured (mixed-race) students boycotted classes to protest Botha's jackboot regulations. On July 31 thousands of university students—black, Indian and white—singing freedom songs and chanting pro-ANC slogans converged on the University of Durban to protest the "state of emergency."

AP

Black gold miners, key value producers for apartheid capitalism, vote August 25 strike call.

Now Botha's "state of emergency" is being challenged by the most powerful section of South Africa's black proletariat, the 550,000 gold miners who produce half the country's foreign-exchange earnings. Even before the "emergency," black miners were headed for a major showdown. Yesterday Cyril Ramaphosa, leader of the black National Union of Mineworkers, called for an industrywide strike on August 25. No less important, the union also delivered a *political ultimatum* to the regime, saying it would instruct its members to boycott all white businesses in or near mining towns unless the "state of emergency" is lifted within 72 hours. And if Botha carries out his threat to expel 200,000 foreign miners in response to Western sanctions, the NUM declared, "our union would immediately call a national strike of all miners and stop all the mines until he reverses all action he may have taken."

Workers throughout the world must rally to the courageous black South African gold miners. For international labor action to defend the black, coloured and Asian masses in South Africa! Down with the "state of emergency"! Free Nelson Mandela and all victims of apartheid terror!

South Africa is the largest gold producer in the "free world." The threat of class struggle in the Witwatersrand mines is making waves in the international capitalist economy and the press. South African gold stocks fell 20 percent in a few weeks as foreign investors have dumped billions of dollars worth and reinvested in Canadian and Australian gold.

If gold is the key link between the South African apartheid state and world capitalism, it is also the key link internally between South African capitalism and the apartheid slave labor institutions. From the discovery of diamonds in the 1860s and especially gold in the 1880s, the development of the mining industry, initially under British imperialism, created the racist "migrant" labor system. A massive pool of superexploited, unskilled black labor, stripped of every civil and human right, was created through the colonial subjugation of neighboring black states and blacks in South Africa. South African blacks were made "foreigners" in their own country, relegated to the scattered parcels of the poorest land occupying 13 percent of the country, the bantustans, their movement outside the bantustans regulated by the hated "pass laws."

The rise of the National Union of Mineworkers, as well as a labor shortage, has compelled the apartheid bosses to gradually increase black miners' wages. But the NUM has only begun to touch the issue central to apartheid in the mines: the issue of "migrant" labor. By law, 97 percent of the black labor force in the mines must be recruited from either the bantustans or "independent" black states like Lesotho and Botswana. Militants can thus be deported en masse back to these hideously impoverished areas where thousands more are waiting to take their jobs. When 42,000 miners downed tools last spring at the world's largest gold mine, Vaal Reefs, management deported over 14,000 strikers. Only half got their jobs back when the NUM interceded. But the courage and combativity of these miners remains unbroken, as demonstrated by the wildcats that swept the gold mines around Johannesburg in anticipation of the industrywide showdown this month.

What Is To Be Done?

The last time that these draconian "emergency" measures were introduced in South Africa was 25 years ago, in the aftermath of the massacre of 69 unarmed blacks protesting the hated pass laws in the township of Sharpeville. A 156-day "state of emergency" was used to jail more than 11,000 black activists. Every major anti-apartheid organization, including the ANC and Stalinist Communist Party, was driven underground as their leaders were killed, imprisoned or forced into exile. Black resistance to white racist rule was broken for a decade. But the anti-apartheid revolt today is both wider and more militant than the protests of the 1950s.

A new generation of black youth is not content to remain within the confines of the "nonviolent" civil disobedience tactics that dominated those protests as they did the American civil rights movement of the same period. This generation is conscious of the humiliation of mighty America by Vietnam, the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, and the turning back of the South African military in Angola by Cuban troops. Most important in the present wave of anti-apartheid struggle has been the growth and organization of the six-million-strong black working class.

For months South Africa's black nationalist leadership has myopically viewed the massive, mounting unrest in the black townships as the beginning of the end for apartheid. At a press conference in late June ANC leader Oliver Tambo triumphally declared: "They [the black masses] are creating the conditions for the escalation of our attack leading towards the situation where it will be possible for us to overthrow the apartheid regime" (*Guardian* [New York], 24 July). Under the slogan, "Make South Africa ungovernable, make the apartheid system unworkable," the ANC is little short of calling for an insurrection. But a decisive military confrontation at this time along national lines will be a disaster for the black masses.

If the ANC and many leftists blindly believe that "the end of apartheid is near," much of the American liberal bourgeoisie has come to view South Africa with despair. Witness the *New York Times* (28 July) editorial:

> "South Africa is headed for a historic clash, pitting the white Afrikaner, newly rich, against the black African, newly roused; pitting the most modern weapons against the most powerful ideas....
> "The world has implored Pretoria to let apartheid end by emancipation rather than revolution. But the Afrikaners will not emancipate and mean to fight, for generations, to defeat revolution....
> "A monumental tragedy is at hand, and there is not much that good people elsewhere can do to prevent it."

The same issue of the *Times* has a piece on the op-ed page by a former civil rights lawyer from Mississippi, Bartle Bull, entitled "There Is No South African Solution." He states quite rightly:

> "The struggle is not over how to mitigate the horrors of apartheid. The struggle is over the power to rule the country....
> "Faced with these unpleasant realities, our calls for reform have little meaning. There is no possibility of peaceful devolution to a constitutional, democratic, fair government."

We Marxists, too, recognize that there can be no gradual dismantling of the apartheid state, i.e., white capitalist rule. We have also pointed out that the present balance of forces militarily is highly unfavorable to the unarmed black masses. Four months ago we soberly warned:

> "Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation any more. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got. The coasts are secure, there is a belt of cowed black African states to the north, and the struggle is along white-vs.-black national lines. So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down. The danger is of a pointless bloodbath...."
>
> —"South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April

Many liberals now throw up their hands over South Africa and counsel despair and quiescence, or empty moralistic gestures. For there is no bourgeois-democratic solution to the conflicts raging in that country. One man, one vote would deprive the whites not only of political power but of their economic dominance. There is, however, a progressive solution, but it must break through the framework of capitalism and nationalism. In South Africa there is a black proletariat with a growing sense of its power. The *class* principle can prevail.

But economic mobilization is not sufficient, and insofar as black workers are being mobilized politically, it is as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. What is needed is the organization of South African black labor for its own *class* rule, a black-centered workers government, through forging a multiracial Leninist-Trotskyist party. Instead of the mass starvation and intertribal civil war which has devastated "independent" neocolonial black Africa, proletarian class rule in South Africa will open the way to socialist construction, in which whites will have a necessary place. And it will be the motor force for genuine national emancipation and social revolution throughout the desperately oppressed African continent.

Apartheid Terror and Imperialist Hypocrisy

Practically every Western capital has recalled its ambassador to Pretoria, and the UN Security Council passed a French-Danish resolution for voluntary sanctions, with the U.S. and Britain abstaining. France has banned new investment in South Africa. And the U.S. Congress, including the Republican-controlled Senate, is talking about imposing mild economic sanctions.

The apartheid terror state is universally hated by the workers and the colonial slaves of the world who see in it the mirror of their own exploitation and degradation. That is why NATO powers must posture against their racist allies in Pretoria in order to retain domestic support for the imperialist "free world," to which South Africa is integral, against the Soviet bloc. Given the possibility of a *proletarian* victory coming out of a social upheaval in South Africa, these imperialists fear not only for the stability of their investments, but for the powerful impact such a social revolution would have on their "own" working classes, particularly the strategically concentrated black proletariat in the U.S. The real ally of the South African black masses is workers solidarity and international proletarian class struggle. ■

Labor Against Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

of Australia and New Zealand. The SL banner read: "Black Workers Must Take the Lead! Smash Apartheid Slavery! Unions Black [refuse to work] All South African Cargo!" A Spartacist sign proclaimed, "Hold the *Mildura* to Ransom—Freedom for Nelson Mandela, Black Union Leaders, All Anti-Apartheid Leaders."

In Britain, Southampton dockers intervened at the last minute to prevent the loading of a sophisticated computerized milling machine onto a South Africa-bound ship. The machine had been sold by a British firm to a subsidiary of the South African Armaments Corporation, which produces and maintains South African military aircraft. The dockers' Transport and General Workers Union, the National Union of Seamen and two civil service unions spent "three days of frantic detective work" tracking down the shipment (London *Guardian*, 31 July).

The blatant violation by Thatcher and Reagan of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa demonstrates the dangerous futility of reliance on the bosses' government and the UN to pressure their South African racist friends, as well as the urgent need for international labor solidarity action in this hour of crisis. Such direct action would strike a blow at the racists, and strengthen and encourage the South African black proletariat, the engine of the South African revolution. But so far effective international proletarian solidarity has been sabotaged by the various national labor bureaucracies, who want to avoid at all costs a sharp confrontation with their "own" bourgeoisie.

Even the actions in Britain and Australia have been constrained by the labor fakers. The British action centered on a single machine—the maritime unions picked it out because its export violates the UN embargo, so they thought they could get away with their "blacking" (hot-cargoing) action without being prosecuted under the Thatcher government's anti-union laws. Yet South Africa is Britain's twelfth largest export market, and according to the London *Financial Times* (2 August), Britain plays "a major role in strategic areas of the South African economy—

Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!

Under Fire in Estelí

ESTELI, Nicaragua, August 5—In the last week, the CIA's counterrevolutionary mercenaries staged one of their largest raids in four years of terrorist activity, focusing their drive on the area around this northern Nicaraguan city. In an ambush late last month the contras killed nine civilians, including eight women who were on trucks carrying families to visit their sons at the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) school of Mulukuku in Matagalpa province. Then, Sunday before last, 29 soldiers were killed in an ambush just outside of Esteli, leading to a battle with helicopters and heavy artillery. On Monday the contras blew holes in two bridges on the Pan-American highway north of Esteli. On Wednesday they damaged another highway bridge in the Sebaco valley to the south. And on Thursday they drove into the center of La Trinidad, opening fire on the militia headquarters and police station, before being expelled by EPS troops.

The attack on La Trinidad cut Esteli off from Managua for a couple days. But the army's response was impressive. There was a huge amount of air action, and for the first time the Soviet MI-24 helicopter gunships were reportedly used in action. You could hear bombs dropping and mortars firing against the contras a few kilometers outside the city. Esteli itself was put on full alert, and people were busily digging trenches, not because they expected an attack, but just in case. A 10 p.m. curfew was imposed, vigilance was stepped up and people were ordered to report to their reserve battalions. The mopping-up operation was pretty much over by the weekend, and on Sunday (August 3) there was a big demonstration of several thousand people in the center of town. They showed off 33 contras who had been captured, scores of rifles, Claymore mines and knapsacks "made in USA" and the like.

People commented that the contras botched their attempts to blow up the bridges by placing the charges at the strongest points, so all they accomplished was to punch some holes. They seem more interested in showing that they're using the money they're getting from the U.S., now that Congress turned the spigot on again. What the contras are good at is running, because they are all hyped up on cocaine and speed—a lot of drugs. A number of the mercenaries have been caught trying to sneak into town to get food, set booby traps and so on. Even if they are unarmed and wearing civilian clothes, you can tell them apart because they have nice American army boots. And the population is armed, people walking everywhere with their Kalashnikov assault rifles. The contras would be crazy to try to take Esteli itself. This town has a reputation as a bastion of the revolution and it's proud of it.

People talk of "three times heroic Esteli," referring to the fact that during 1978-79 they rose up repeatedly against Somoza's dictatorship, even though his Guardsmen and air force reduced the city to rubble. In September '78, Esteli insurrected together with León, Chinandega and Masaya. Armed only with hunting rifles, pistols, machetes and Molotov cocktails, the *muchachos* (kids) forced the local Guard detachments to hole up in their barracks and wait for reinforcement. Somoza's mercenaries with American Sherman tanks and Israeli push-pull planes crushed each city. But they reserved a special fury for stubborn Estelí, which held out till the last. In April 1979, Esteli anticipated the final offensive and rose up alone; it took a week for the Guard to crush the resistance. Now there's a lot of talk about returning to the spirit of '79.

Susan Meiselas

Heroic Estelí: Sandinista fighter throwing Molotov cocktail at National Guard headquarters during the final offensive, July 1979.

There are estimates of 2,000 contras in the general area and 800 in the immediate vicinity of Esteli. At a Managua press conference July 17, EPS commander Hugo Torres estimated a total of 9,000 contra troops, only 3,500 of them inside the country at the time. So this crew was infiltrated over the border from Honduras in the last two weeks. They have been taking heavy losses: Torres reported some 2,300 contras killed so far this year. "They don't constitute a strategic threat to the revolution," he reported, "except within the framework of a direct Yankee intervention." And on August 1, the Nicaraguan defense ministry placed the armed forces on maximum alert as the U.S. nuclear aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* and eight accompanying warships cruised off the Caribbean coast.

Meanwhile, the CIA contra terrorists bleed the country attempting to provoke a wider war, and to squeeze the economy. In the attack on La Trinidad they tried to burn down grain silos (in the name of "democracy"). This sabotage and the trade embargo decreed by Reagan have definitely had an effect. Food prices are continuing to rise as a result of the elimination of subsidies, and today in one of the markets in Esteli they weren't even selling beans.

The very real threat of U.S. invasion makes the Spartacist League call to "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" even more urgent. The working people of Nicaragua must expropriate the bourgeoisie to mobilize all its resources for defense. And they must link up with the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas, fighting barely 200 miles to the west. Above all, American workers and students must fight the Yankee war machine on the home front, opposing both Democrats and Republicans, the partner parties of U.S. imperialism and godfathers of the Somozaist contras. Heroic Esteli must be an inspiration to us all. ■

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fuel, military equipment and computers." Similarly the Australian union tops have tried to limit their actions to dovetail with calls on the capitalist Labor Party government to ban trade with South Africa.

Meanwhile, on August 2 the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, protested the arrival of 40,000 tons of South African coal at the port of Rouen. The rally in front of the ship *Galion* underlined the need for working-class solidarity with the embattled black masses. The LTF contacted the principal port unions before the protest, but the Stalinist leadership of the CGT, France's main labor federation, limits their "solidarity" to calls for sanctions by the Mitterrand government. An LTF speaker declared: "It's not divestment by Mitterrand and Botha's buddies—who only demand that the exploitation be a little more discreet—that's going to help South African blacks, but rather trade-union action, to show that the working classes of other countries won't tolerate the repression of their brothers."

In the U.S., the criminal role of the labor traitors has been even more obvious: *no* action whatsoever has taken place despite the presence of large numbers of black workers in such strategic unions as the International Longshoremen's Association and other industrial unions. Lane Kirkland's AFL-CIO is too consumed with propping up the CIA/Vatican Solidarnosc "union" in Poland to lift a finger for the black proletariat in South Africa, and East Coast dock union leaders prefer to hot-cargo "Communist" shipping.

In the so-called "progressive" International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the West Coast, militant Stan Gow raised a motion at a July 25 Local 10 executive board meeting to "not work any ships carrying cargo to and from South Africa" as a protest against the state of emergency. However, the same gang that sabotaged last December's action against a South African ship in San Francisco moved in to do the job again. Gow's motion was immediately ruled out of order by local president Larry Wing, who cited a standing injunction against the local for the December action. Like a broken record, Leo Robinson, a well-known supporter of the Communist Party's *People's World*, chimed in to back up the no-action position of the bureaucracy, raising the spectre of court fines "bankrupting" the union. So while the black masses are being shot down by the apartheid butchers, these fakers tremble over a six-month-old injunction.

Instead of labor action, the reformists tell the workers to crawl to the bosses government to "outlaw investing abroad," as the CP's Draft Trade Union Program puts it (*Daily World*, 30 July). This is class betrayal, just another way of saying "buy American." United Mine Workers leader Richard Trumka has picked up a similar flag-waving theme—after getting himself arrested as a cheap gesture in a token anti-apartheid demonstration—by asking the Reagan government for a permanent ban on importing South African coal. The "anti-apartheid" rhetoric is just a cover for appealing to the American bosses for a protectionist program to rob South African black workers of jobs.

In fact, Appalachian miners in the U.S. and black miners in South Africa are exploited by the same capitalist interests, like Fluor Corporation which owns union-busting Massey Coal here and union-busting Sasol there. It would be appropriate for the UMWA to send direct material and financial aid to assist the class struggle of their brothers in South Africa. Certainly the donation by the impoverished South African black mine workers union to the British miners gave an important boost to the desperate 1984-85 coal miners strike against Thatcher.

In New York City, Central Labor Council head Harry Van Arsdale and a coalition of trade unions, capitalist and reformist politicians, anti-apartheid and religious groups have called a rally for August 13 at the United Nations against Botha's state of emergency. A major demand of this coalition is that Reagan and Britain's Thatcher reverse their veto of a UN resolution for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. In other words, they are begging these two racist imperialist governments to conduct a trade war against their apartheid junior partner! In contrast, Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist candidate for New York City mayor, stated:

> "It is the international working class which is the real ally of the enslaved black masses in South Africa. There is a crying need for New York City labor and minorities to mobilize against racist police terror, not just in the South African black townships but also right here in the main streets of America's ghettos. Koch's racist cops did not need a 'state of emergency' to beat to death black artist Michael Stewart, or to shoot down black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs because she was behind on her rent. They didn't need a 'state of emergency' to firebomb black babies and burn down a black neighborhood in Philly. *The New York unions sponsoring the August 13 rally could shut this city down with a one-day political protest strike.* And they should. From Soweto and Port Elizabeth to Harlem and Philadelphia, labor must mobilize its power against racist police terror."

WV Photo

Bay Area longshore union militants picket Nedlloyd Kimberley carrying South African cargo in November 1984.

In this hour when the South African apartheid rulers think they can move with impunity against the black masses, the international proletariat must act. Screw the bosses' laws! American workers should stage a Boston Tea Party with the South African blood cargo! For a labor boycott of arms to the apartheid dictatorship! And at this crucial juncture, international labor solidarity action can have a powerful political impact in shaping the struggle in South Africa along *class* lines. ■

SL Suit: A Gratifying Victory

MARXISTS vs. FBI REPRESSION

We print below in edited form a speech given by the Spartacist League general counsel, comrade Rachel Wolkenstein, assessing the SL's victory against Reagan's FBI. The speech was given during April and May in New York, San Francisco, Boston and Washington.

On 20 October 1983 the SL had filed suit against the FBI's new "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," charging they equate Marxist political opposition to the government with criminal "terrorism." The FBI has had us under its microscope for 25 years, spending millions employing on us the techniques politely termed "surveillance." The SL legal complaint charged that the FBI has "investigated" the SL and our predecessors, the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party, since the Russian Revolution without even finding any evidence of violent criminal activity. The suit challenged the legal basis of "thought crime" laws like the Smith Act, the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO "neutralization" of the Black Panthers, and the new Guidelines which aim to set up the government's perceived political opponents for naked, bloody "anti-terrorist" state violence. In settling the suit on 30 November 1984 the FBI agreed to retract their long-standing set-up "definition" of the SL and substitute a statement defining us as what we are: a Marxist political organization. The FBI claims the SL is not now being subjected to a "domestic security" "investigation."

The *New York Times*, while churning out hundreds of pages retailing Reaganite fantasies about Bulgarian schemes to murder the pope, refused to cover our suit, the first successful legal challenge to the Guidelines. But our fight got a real response from those who have fought state persecution. Civil libertarians and attorneys extended their congratulations; at Wolkenstein's S.F. forum May 10 the guest speaker was Howard Moore, who was Angela Davis' attorney. Also aware of the importance of our case were black activists like Robert F. Williams, forced to flee the country in the early 1960s for organizing armed self-defense of blacks in North Carolina, and Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael). A message from Communist Workers Party leader Nelson Johnson, a survivor of the 1979 Greensboro, North Carolina massacre of five CWP supporters, noted:

> "...our party was [the] victim of five brutal daylight murders by the combined forces of the Klan, Nazis, Greensboro police, agents of the FBI and agents of the [Firearms Bureau]. These murders could not have occurred without the aid of government intelligence."

The press portrayed the fascist murder conspiracy in Greensboro as a "shootout" between "extremists." As if to underline the point, a few days after the forum, the Philadelphia cops carried out their grisly execution by aerial bombardment and fiery holocaust, massacring at least eleven members of the black MOVE commune, including babies. This racist crime, imprinted with the insignia of Reagan's America, was coordinated with the FBI; the stooge mayor, black Democrat Wilson Goode, claimed his victims were "urban guerrillas."

The government's "anti-terrorism" campaign means preparing new dirty wars abroad by intimidating the populace with displays of state terror at home. At the New York forum April 26 guest speaker Conrad Lynn, veteran civil rights attorney, linked Reagan's war on workers and the oppressed at home to the obscene embracing of apartheid butchers in South Africa and Nazi mass murderers at Bitburg. As Conrad aptly put it, "Reagan and Kirkpatrick and their ilk have their blood brothers in Germany." Now Reagan has proclaimed an international

WV Photo

Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein.

hit list of "outlaw nations," targets for U.S. imperialist adventures.

As comrade Wolkenstein noted, we've had more than our share of legal defense cases. Not because we've wanted them, and certainly not because we've got illusions in what can be won in the courtroom, but because we have done our duty as Marxist revolutionists while other leftists cowered under the pressures of bourgeois reaction and Cold War. It's not with any sense of satisfaction that we observe that the SL has led the only successful mass demonstrations of opposition to resurgent Klan terror in this country. In the face of outright provocation by the Reaganites, determined hostility to our efforts from the local Democrats, and the default of the larger "left" groups, the SL's strategy of labor-based mass mobilizations has stopped fascist terror parades in their tracks.

By standing up against intimidation, the SL has become a prime target for repression. Our lawsuit in defense of our right to organize a workers party lends a measure of protection to us and to those who have fought alongside us. By challenging the criminalization of dissent, we struck a modest blow against a vicious capitalist government's campaign of preemptive state terror against those who might make "trouble." Every striker, every anti-apartheid activist or opponent of imperialist war, every academic Marxist professor, and everyone who might want to fight against racism and oppression has a stake in our victory.

The Spartacist League vs. the Director of the FBI and the Attorney General of the United States of America: On November 30 last year we won a victory settlement against the FBI, wherein they conceded the basic claim of our lawsuit, that Marxists are not terrorists, that the Spartacist League is what it says it is: a Marxist political organization.

In the process of working on the lawsuit, I met with the Assistant U.S. Attorney who worked on the case. He had just had a day-long meeting with FBI agents who had spent considerable time in Washington combing through the thousands upon thousands of pages of surveillance reports, documents and press of the Spartacist League that they had gathered in over 20 years. And he said he was extremely impressed by our legal history.

They had reviewed the SL's libel suit against the *Washington Times*, the Moonies' newspaper in Washington, D.C. which had accused the Spartacist League of provoking violence against the police during the anti-Klan demonstration that we initiated November 27, 1982. The Moonie newspaper retracted by issuing a statement that they no

FBI Retracts Its "Definition" Slander

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1965 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time or violations of other Federal or etate laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U.S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

This is the former FBI definition of the Spartacist League used for 20 years, which used classic witchhunt language, claiming that the SL "does not *openly* advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government *at this time*" [emphasis added], falsely attributing to the organization a conspiratorial commitment to the violent overthrow of the U.S. government.

The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.

The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

In settlement of the Spartacist League's lawsuit, the FBI agrees to change its definition of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League to exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization. Thereby the FBI concedes the central claim of the SL's lawsuit, that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise.

longer claimed that we provoked violence, and they printed a statement by us on what happened on that day.

And they looked at Spartacist League vs. George Deukmejian, then attorney general of the State of California. Well, we won a victory there, too: in just six months the attorney general's Organized Crime Bureau removed the Spartacist League from a list of "left-wing terrorist" organizations.

And they saw Jane Margolis vs. the Secret Service, where a trade-union supporter of the Spartacist League in the Communications Workers of America sued the Secret Service after they dragged her off the floor of her union convention as if she was some kind of threat to the life of then-President Carter, who was speaking there. And she won that lawsuit, received a monetary settlement and an apology from the Secret Service.

And they saw the case of the State of California against Richard Bradley, and saw that we had won when we proudly defended Richard Bradley for twice taking down the Confederate flag which had been flying over the San Francisco Civic Center.

And they noted the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two CWA strikers who had defended their picket line and their strike against racist assault, and saw that those people were vigorously defended and did not go to jail.

And they noted also retractions by the San Francisco *Chronicle* and the New York *Daily News* against libelous statements preceding the Democratic National Convention where it had been alleged that the Spartacist League was a group to be watched for in terms of violence at that convention.

WV Photo

Veteran civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn addresses NYC forum on SL suit against FBI.

And the Assistant Attorney said to me, "You know, your organization really takes extreme efforts to fight against any attempt to label it as a violent, terrorist organization." In fact we had so many lawsuits going when we started the FBI suit that we thought, well, all we have to do is sue the Catholic church and the Mafia. But what's impressive are the cumulative victories that we have achieved in our struggle to maintain our legality in the United States.

The questions posed tonight are: how was it that an orthodox Marxist organization like the Spartacist League—an organization that's way out there in our defense of the gains of the Russian October Revolution, that recognizes that this state is a capitalist state hostile to communist organizations, that the courts are not neutral and certainly not favorable to avowed Marxists, and that has no illusions that we would be able to stop the FBI from investigating us—how is it that a Marxist organization can score modest legal victories against the government? Why was it that we filed these lawsuits, what legal strategy did we employ, and most importantly, why and what did we win?

Our victories are all the more remarkable because they take place primarily in the Reagan years. In fact, the FBI settlement took place just a few short weeks after Reagan's victory in an election where it seems like never before did so many people vote against their own obvious self-interests. Now, this administration is so arrogant that it in fact thought that it could go and place wreaths at the graves of the SS at Bitburg without there being any reaction. But the demonstrations [around South Africa] and the furor created by Bitburg were not going on when we filed our lawsuit.

Why We Sued the FBI

In 1983 when the new terrorism guidelines were promulgated, we were looking at the Reagan years, and the basis laid for reaction in this country by Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" drive. The attempt to lead this country into war requires an overcoming of the "Vietnam syndrome." The defeat of U.S. forces is something alive and well in the consciousness of the American people. And that coupled with the post-Watergate exposures of the FBI and of government surveillance of millions of Americans created a climate of disbelief and cynicism that the administration needs to overcome. The "American century" had lasted but a few years, from the end of World War II to 1971—short-lived.

This Cold War period is not the McCarthy period which followed World War II. Then the working class accepted and believed rather totally in the aims of the United States government. This period is not one where the attitude of the working class towards communism is one of paralyzed disinterest or wholesale acceptance of the "red menace" myth.

The gearing up for repression of dissent in this period started with the smashing of PATCO [striking air controllers], sending a message to the labor movement: the unleashing of the fascist racist terrorists of the KKK and Nazis; and the calls for a counterrevolution in civil rights and civil liberties. And the government has been seeking a legal mandate for a new red-hunt—an attempt to regiment through fear of the Soviet Union, fear of terrorism, fear of the state itself. The code word for this new red-hunt has been "terrorist." Well, to be a "terrorist" is something much more than simply being a red—and being a red in the '50s was quite a bit: it meant being drummed out of jobs, being ostracized, virtually going politically underground. It meant people didn't buy communist newspapers. But to be a "terrorist" is something else again. It means that you're an *outlaw* of society, somebody for whom democratic rights have no meaning and no application. You're somebody whom the cops have a reason and an excuse to shoot down. Somebody whom the naked power of the state is supposed to go after.

We term this "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," because it's a combination of the McCarthyism of the earlier Cold War period with the violence inherent in the response to "terrorism." And whereas in the '60s "counterintelligence" operations were carried out against the left and black movement in secrecy, the Reagan anti-terrorist red-hunt is right out in center stage.

We looked a lot at what happened to other organizations—particularly to the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party, which espoused revolutionary rhetoric—in its best period opposing the pacifism of Martin Luther King and calling for self-defense of blacks against the Klan and government terror—was subjected to draconian extermination policies by the government. I think everyone in this room knows about the murder of Black Panther Party member Fred Hampton in Chicago, with the conspiracy and cooperation of the FBI and the local red squads. People here should know that Geronimo Pratt, a Black Panther, has spent some 15 years

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We Beat Back "Terrorist" Smears
Fight the New McCarthyism!

The SL has a proud record of fighting this dangerous new red-hunt. In self-defense we have battled the attempt to falsely brand us as terrorists, outlaws to be shot first and questioned later. Under the banner: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" we have been in the forefront against the Cold War witch-hunt. Our suit against the sinister FBI Guidelines was part of our continuing battle to defend ourselves and all those targeted by the new McCarthyism.

WV Photo

Moonies Retract Libel That Kills

Letters

The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

...stration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day. .

The Washington Times

WV Photo

Deukmejian Retracts "Terrorist" Smear

State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
Attorney General

(916) 322-2430

December 14, 1981

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th NW
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

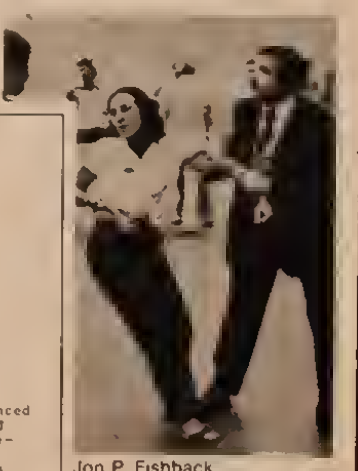
Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California . . . 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES A. GRUBB
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence

Secret Service Apologizes to Jane Margolis



Jon P. Fishback

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223

Ms. Jane Margolis
475 Alvarado Street, #3
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention
Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,

Myron I. Weinstein
Deputy Director

Marxists vs. FBI...

(continued from page 9)

in jail, half of that in solitary confinement—as a result of the government vendetta against him. The government feared the possibility of a truly revolutionary black movement, and of blacks and whites, communists, together.

So we looked at the Panther experience, and we made a resolution: we do not intend to be nameless, faceless, blown away in the dead of night! And so we have fought consistently against the "terrorist" label, against the slightest imputation that the Spartacist League or its members or supporters are terrorists or violence-mongers.

The first shots of the Cold War period were not simply figurative. They were the gunning down of Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro in 1979, aided and abetted by local, state and federal police agencies. Greensboro was brought to us by the Democrats. And what Greensboro was intended to be in America in 1979 was what Sharpeville was to South Africa in 1960: a massacre which intimidates into silence an entire political generation.

Emboldened by Greensboro, the fascist murderers announced that they were going to take their cross-burnings and bombings into urban centers, beginning with the so-called celebration of the massacre one week later in labor/black Detroit. And beginning with Detroit, the Spartacist League has initiated mass mobilizations centered on black unionists and youth, which have successfully interdicted the fascist threat in major urban centers. The Washington mobilization in November 1982 was the largest anti-fascist action in this country since the Socialist Workers Party organized tens of thousands [against the Nazis] at Madison Square Garden in 1939. Our labor/black mobilizations—modest victories indeed—nonetheless prevented Greensboro from becoming the American Sharpeville.

In March 1983, the government announced new "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," combining the Racketeering Act with the old domestic security investigations, providing a renewed basis for prosecuting leftists on vast conspiracy charges, taking away financial resources, utilizing informers, wiretaps, mail covers. These new guidelines were to give them a legal mandate for their covert actions and most importantly, by defining their targets as

UPI

FBI's campaign of racist terror decimated militant Black Panther Party in late 1960s-early 1970s.

terrorist organizations, laid the basis for using the naked power of the state against them.

Well, when we heard the announcement of these guidelines, we knew there was something we had to do. Because we were way up front. We were known on the Russian question, we had been singled out and threatened by the *Wall Street Journal* for our demonstration against [Polish] Solidarność. We were known for our slogan, "Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador!" And we had just led the successful Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in the nation's capital, where masses of black people marched under a red leadership. And we knew that we, our supporters and all those who might join with us or read our press were targets.

That this was not some imaginary worry of ours was amply demonstrated by the attorney general's introduction to the new guidelines. Let me read you part:

> "The new approach, combining both organized crime and domestic security investigations in a single set of guidelines, should make it easier for your agents to focus their intelligence efforts on those criminal enterprises which threaten our people to obtain ideological goals."

What does this mean, "ideological goals"? That means that anybody who stands in opposition to this government, not only those who advocate Marxism or socialist revolution, but anyone who stands in opposition on any question of foreign policy or domestic policy could potentially be deemed a "terrorist."

And we stand for: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" We stand in the tradition of James P. Cannon, founding leader of American Trotskyism, who when he was in the early Communist Party fought for a legal party, against undergroundism, in the face of the red scare in the early 1920s.

So we knew we needed to challenge these guidelines. We were bold. We said what is, and declared our history. The legal complaint began by stating:

> "[These new guidelines] recast the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League as violent criminal enterprises and terrorist outlaws on the basis of their exercise of constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. [The purpose of these guidelines is] the criminalization of political opposition and the targeting of these Marxist political organizations for government surveillance, disruption, harassment, suppression, infiltration, prosecution and physical attack."

We challenged the pretext for this recasting of Marxists into terrorists:

> "The FBI's justification for this massive political intelligence investigation is the premise that Marxist political organizations are a threat to the national security; dangerous because of a purported strategic commitment to violence; an alleged adherence to the violent overthrow of the government and use of violence to achieve political goals.
>
> "The entire history of the aforesaid Marxist organizations in the United States is absent of any criminal activity. The Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance for over sixty years, the Socialist Workers Party for over forty years and the Spartacist League for twenty years. There have been no prosecutions of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party or the Spartacist League, or members thereof, for violent crime or terrorism.... Thus, the continuing investigation of these Marxist organizations is based not on conduct, but ideology."

We challenged the government's "definition" of us which claimed that we advocate the violent overthrow of the government, that we are conspiratorial putschists—and we won. In a little more than a year, we had an agreement from the FBI that conceded the central point of our lawsuit. They withdrew their 20-year description of the Spartacist League and replaced it by our description of ourselves: *a Marxist political organization*, listing the organizations that we are derived from, our history, and asserting that the FBI did investigate us for some 20 years, and that there were no criminal prosecutions.

In settling this case we had no illusions that the government's secret police will stop their harassment or their investigation of us. And we don't pretend to know what import or interpretation the FBI attaches to its agreement. But we have their statement in the context of this lawsuit that we are not terrorists, something they must overcome in any attempt to use the legal process or force of the state against us.

The State Is Not Neutral

We've won so many lawsuits—I listed some of them—that sometimes we joke and say, "We've got to *lose* one or two of them, because otherwise the youth in our organization will never believe what we have to say about the state and the courts."

Well, why is it that we won? What policy do we follow when we go into the courts? Our legal defense strategy emanates from our Marxist understanding of the state. *No one expects as little from the bourgeois courts and has achieved as much from legal defense work as we have.* We haven't gone into these lawsuits hoping to get an endorsement of our revolutionary politics. And that comes from our understanding of the state.

In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx said that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle, and pointed to the fact that the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. In writing *State and Revolution* in 1917, Lenin turned to Frederick Engels and quoted from *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*:

> "The state is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without.... Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state."

And Lenin talked about those reformists who believe that one can reform

An FOIA file as released to the SL: "Freedom of Information," FBI-style.

and work within the organs of the bourgeois state, and he said:

> "...what is overlooked or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing *above* society... it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, *but also without the destruction* of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this 'alienation'."

Similarly, the question of law and the courts. The legal system has a class content to it. It is a predominant vehicle for upholding the hegemony of the ruling class. There must be the appearance, though there is no reality, that the law applies equally and evenhandedly to the totality of society. Ultimately the law reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie, though it does also have an active component that impacts back on the material conditions of society. So you won't see a one-on-one reflection between the economic interests of the ruling class and the legal system. But ultimately it reflects the interests of the dominant class.

Another way of explaining this—we can talk about bourgeois democracy, understanding that it is *bourgeois* democracy, and divide it into three types of rights: the basic rights of the capitalist class, property rights; what we know as civil liberties and civil rights; and then labor rights.

The first rights are those special rights

WV Photos

SL/SYL marches under its own colors. We are the party of the Russian Revolution.

which enforce bourgeois property relations. They include the right to hold private property, to own the basic means of production, the right to employ wage labor, the right to monopolize for the sake of private property, the right of individuals and private corporations to control the media. In order to change those property rights, there would have to be a defeat of the class that is the dominant class, the ruling class, and that cannot happen without a revolution.

The United States has had two bourgeois revolutions, the first being the American Revolution, which represented the consolidation of the emerging American bourgeoisie in severing themselves from the fetters of the British capitalist class. But it wasn't really until the Civil War that the American bourgeoisie, in their fight against the slave system, consolidated their power in this country. There had to be a fight between those systems, and ultimately wage labor—Marx referred to it as "free labor" in contradistinction to slave labor—could not exist in this country without the smashing of slave labor. The slaveholders in the Civil War fought to the death in order to defend their property relations. In fact with the defeat of Reconstruction they have maintained a certain amount of power in this country, but not on the basis that they had before—not on the basis of slavocracy.

It's the intransigence of Marxists to bourgeois property relations that is perceived as a threat by the capitalist class and government. The capitalists responded to the Russian Revolution, when capitalism was for the first time destroyed, with waves of intensive repression.

Limits of Bourgeois Legality

The "violent overthrow of the U.S. government" has been the pretext for repression against leftists. Marxists have no abstract position on the question of violence per se. In a famous statement from *Capital*, Marx said that force is the midwife of every society pregnant with a new one. Social violence is endemic in a decaying society, but it's also the inherent force of the state—*this* state—in defending what it perceives to be its class interests. The capitalist state promulgates violence to defend what is no longer defensible—defending a decaying and rotten system that means hunger, exploitation, unemployment, racial oppression, war and the threat of nuclear holocaust. It's this government that has committed itself to overthrowing by any means necessary the government in Nicaragua. It's this government that wants to resurrect the Nazis in Bitburg. It's this government that talks about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade fighting on the "wrong side" of the Spanish Civil War. It's this government that's creating Star Wars weapons, that supports apartheid slavery, that bombs schoolchildren, that supports the murder of the CWPers in Greenshoro, that executed the Black Panther Party members.

Often one has no choice in the course of the struggle for revolutionary change but to defend oneself. Because it's the ruling class and the state that will take violent action against those it perceives as a threat. Or one can look to the example of the Russian Duma prior to the revolution, where opponents of the tsar had become significant; the Bolsheviks participated in the Duma. And when the tsar decided that the forces in the Duma were too much of a threat, he simply disbanded it, and arrested the Bolsheviks and others.

WV Photos

27 November 1982: Washington cops were deployed to "protect" KKK provocation. When government decided not to try getting Klan past 5,000 labor/black demonstrators and pulled cops out (at right), thousands surged chanting into the street.

Marxists are not conspiratorial putschists. When we learned of the FBI's description of us—"not openly advocat[ing] the violent overthrow of the U.S. government at this time"—we made our fundamental statement on this question:

> "If not 'openly' then presumably covertly. That the FBI, the truly secret arm of the ruling class responsible for massive, organized violence worldwide, should mount such an attack on the 'dangerous' thought of Marxists is more than an irony—it is historical perversity. In fact, the capitalist government is not 'overthrown' violently or non-violently. The historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to 'overthrow' and surely not this government in its present form. The choices posed will most probably be between the democratic soviets of the working class and a tottering bonapartist dictatorship led by some retread of General MacArthur, General Haig, Jeane Kirkpatrick or the like. Any organization that fits the FBI's conspiratorial definition would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths."

And we stand by that today.

Civil rights and liberties: what are they under bourgeois democracy? People may know of the Reconstruction amendments, the 13th, 14th, 15th Amendments, where, in the wake of the Civil War, slavery was declared illegal and it was acknowledged for the first time that people born on the soil of the United States are U.S. citizens. Though these purported to be a statement that everybody has a right to vote, women remained explicitly disenfranchised until the adoption of the 20th Amendment 50 years later. For black men and women this right was not definitely secured by the Civil War nor by the struggles since. People should recall the poll tax and the persecution of blacks trying to exercise their right to vote—this was a major battleground of the civil rights movement and continues today.

What about the First Amendment, that so-called linchpin of all our democratic rights? Well, the first big red scare of this country took place during World War I and with the success of the Russian Revolution. The espionage law was passed and some 2,000 Americans were arrested and convicted for protesting the entry of the U.S. into World War I. Until this time the First Amendment had never been used in this country as a defense against anything. Well, what happened?

Every prosecution was upheld. The standard that one hears about in history classes—you have the right to speak and say what you want so long as it doesn't create a "clear and present danger"—was formulated in these cases to hold that all these people prosecuted *had* created a clear and present danger.

UPI

During 1920s International Labor Defense built mass campaign attempting to save victimized anarchist militants Nicola Sacco (right) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Eugene Debs, the Socialist leader, was prosecuted for creating insubordination in the armed forces, on the basis of a speech in which he denounced the war as a capitalist plot and supported his fellow Socialists who had been convicted of resisting the draft. The most extreme statement in his speech was: "You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder." For that he was given a ten-year sentence, and the Supreme Court, invoking "clear and present danger," upheld the conviction. That's something about the First Amendment.

In preparation for World War II, the Smith Act was passed. And the first victims of the Smith Act were the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and their supporters in the Teamsters union who had run a successful, militant strike in Minneapolis, and posed the only class opposition to World War II. They were charged with advocating the violent overthrow of the government. Outrageously, the Communist Party supported this victimization. The Socialist Workers Party leaders and Minneapolis trade unionists went to jail. And when the Smith Act, along with the Internal Security and Subversive Activities Control Acts, was used against the Communist Party in the Cold War period, the Supreme Court upheld these laws and denied that the First Amendment or Fifth Amendment were protection against them. These "thought crime" laws are still on the books. In fact, what our FBI suit is fighting is the attempt to resurrect laws such as the Smith Act, as well as the attempt to pin the "terrorist" label on people.

Similarly, regarding COINTELPRO, or government "surveillance"—what protections does the First Amendment afford Americans? Despite all the litigation in the post-Watergate period, the courts have basically held that the FBI can conduct surveillance, can have informers in this room or in a political organization, can do mail covers, wiretaps, burglaries (so long as the person who's helping conduct it is a member-agent of an organization), can maintain files on people. There's virtually no First Amendment protection against the dirty work of the government secret police. Civil liberties as we know them are precarious, and have in fact a limited focus.

The last part of the rights I'm talking about are really not bourgeois democratic rights at all, but proletarian rights or labor rights: the right to picket, the right to strike. And their historical origins are found in the independent struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its state. They are *wrested* from the bourgeoisie and maintained only by the independent action of the proletariat.

How We Stopped the Klan

There's a story I can tell you, which is sort of a microcosm of the relationship between democratic rights and the independent action of labor, blacks and minorities. Consider the preparation, planning and execution of the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. November 27, 1982. A black Southern city, the nation's capital, and the Klan was planning to have its first demonstration there since the '20s. We felt with all our heart that this should

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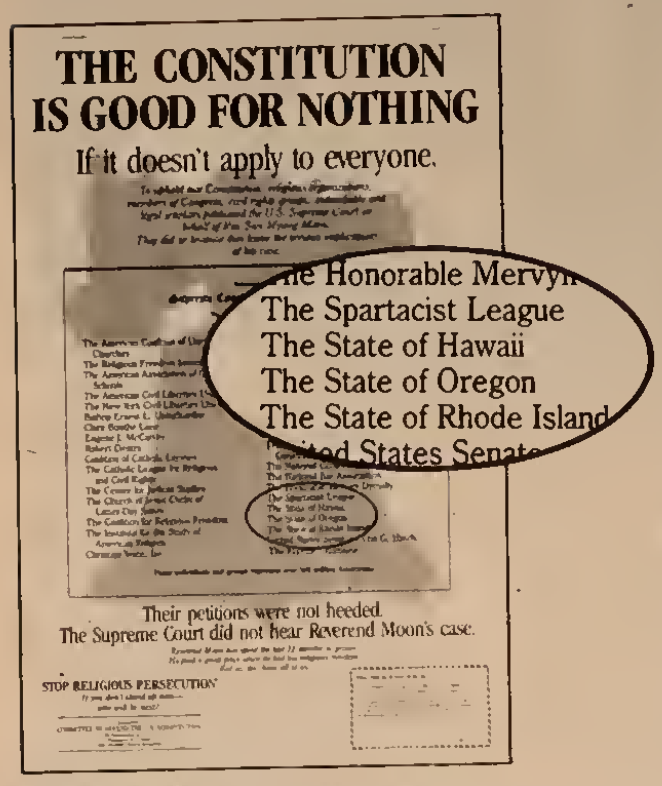
Pioneer

Leaders of Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters jailed for principled internationalist stance during World War II.

Amicus Brief on Sale

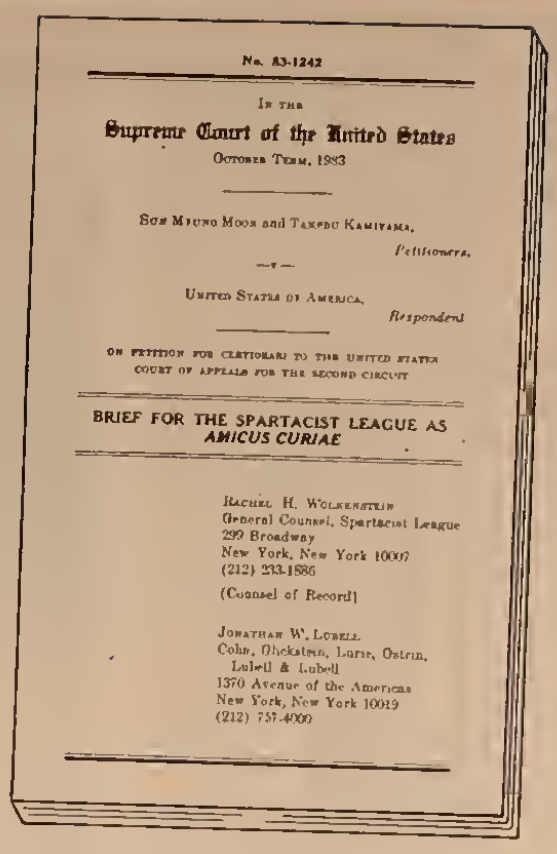
In 1982 Sun Myung Moon, head of the "Unification Church," was convicted of tax evasion and fraud through the legal device of the government declaring that assets held by Moon for his group were taxable personal property. In the fall of 1983 the Spartacist League submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief against the prosecution, joining numerous religious groups, civil liberties organizations and bourgeois political figures who view this precedent as a blow against freedom of religious worship and freedom of association. The Supreme Court refused to review the case.



Moon's full-page ad stressed diversity of those who filed amicus briefs charging his prosecution threatens freedom of association, separation of church and state.

Moon is an extreme right-wing ideologue and financier of counterrevolutionary terror around the world. We have ourselves tangled with the Moonies both in court and on particular college campuses where they have combined with more native reactionaries seeking to physically shut down some Spartacist event. Nonetheless the Moon tax case raises the ugly spectre of government intrusion into constitutionally protected activities (see *WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983). Moon's a Korean who says he's god, thereby deeply offending Christian America, so the government tax man denies the Moonies the protections afforded religious organizations. And by treating unincorporated associations as legal nonentities, the Moon prosecution threatens established associational rights of voluntary groups organized for every kind of non-commercial purpose, from the religious to the political to the recreational.

The Moonies' most powerful argument was the diversity of groups submitting *amicus* briefs in this case—hence the ads last month listing "...the Spartacist League, the State of Hawaii, the State of Oregon...." Now you can get a copy of the actual 22-page legal brief filed by the SL with the Supreme Court. This document, citing the salient cases from *Serbian Eastern Orthodox Diocese v. Milivojevich* to *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee*, should be of interest to legal defense professionals and those concerned with civil liberties in America today. Get your copy.


No. 83-1242

IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1983

SUN MYUNG MOON and TAKESHI KAMIYAMA,
Petitioners,
—v—
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Respondent

ON PETITION FOR CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AS *AMICUS CURIAE*

RACHEL H. WOLKENSTEIN
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Marxists vs. FBI...

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not happen. But we could not substitute for the masses of workers and blacks in this country. So we put out a call to labor organizations and black organizations. Within a very short period of time, over 70 trade-union officials and black organizations had endorsed the call for a labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan. And when we had that, we felt we were in a position to go and try and get a permit. We wanted to be where the Klan was going to start its march, right near the Capitol building. We were not going to let them spew race-terror, violence, murder.

We had to go to the Capitol police, because they oversee the area right near the Capitol building on Constitution Avenue where the Klan was going to march. We went in to see the police with our list of these 70-plus union officials, black officials, people from the Washington, D.C. and Tidewater area primarily. And because we had the mass support that we did, they entertained our application. And we were told: no problem, simply an administrative procedure.

Lo and behold, there was a problem. So we started knocking on doors of every Senator and Congressman that we could find, and complained. We had the backing of labor in the Washington, D.C. area for this demonstration. And we called on those people who had signed the call to also make phone calls and create pressure for a permit.

We knew that we could not call people to a militant demonstration without there being the protection for their exercise of democratic rights. We were not going to set people up for the police and Reagan's administration. The attorney general himself had called on the populace of the D.C. area to let the Klan march. And there were a lot of black Democrats and preachers who also thought that the Klan should be allowed to march, and they would have some sort of sing-in someplace later, elsewhere in the city.

Well, we got our permit because we were able to mobilize the forces of trade-unionists and blacks, who demanded their right to have this demonstration. Once we got that, we put out half a million flyers, posters, placards calling for people to protest against the Klan marching in Washington, D.C.

The day before the demonstration, a couple of us went to see the police, a courtesy call. A sergeant from the Metropolitan police told us: "We have storm fences along Constitution Avenue. And we're going to have many tens if not hundreds of police. And nobody is supposed to come through this line of police to where you're going to be. We're going to have other police in vans and on horses a block away. And furthermore, if anyone sets foot into Constitution Avenue, one toe off the mall, they'll be sorry."

We figured we were being threatened. So then we went to see the Capitol police. And we had the soft cop there, a very genteel man, with grey hair, tall. Southern drawl. And he said, "We're worried. We're concerned—for you. We heard that there's a group that's planning on creating violence at this demonstration. So, maybe you don't want to do this." We said, "No, we'll go ahead and we don't expect there to be any problems." The demonstration was being threatened with being sealed off, and set up for police violence. And in the face of these police threats, again all the trade-union supporters of this demonstration were called, and they called the city officials and the police and said, "We intend to exercise our democratic right. We intend to be there."

And in New York City, at a caucus meeting of all the people who were planning on going down to Washington, D.C. on buses, the national chairman of the Spartacist League told it like it was: that we had been threatened by the police, what we had done, that we didn't know what was going to happen the next morning. We had an obligation to those people who were participating to let them know what they were facing.

Well, the next morning there were 5,000 blacks and trade unionists from the Tidewater/Washington, D.C. area at this demonstration. The cops were lined up two deep all along Constitution Avenue. But it didn't appear as if they were going to make any overt move at that point.

Well, a lighter moment. The Capitol police official I mentioned before and his attorney came into the demonstration, and they said, "I notice you're selling papers here. You're not allowed to peddle on Federal property here. You've got to stop doing that." So we argued, making repeated references to the First Amendment. Finally I said, "Well, officer, we have about 50 people who'll be willing to be arrested to test this question. They'll be distributing the paper, and you can bring some uniformed policemen into this mall with 5,000 militant blacks and trade unionists expressing their opposition to the Klan, and we'll test this out. We'll go peaceably, no problem." And I said, "It's going to make my reputation for me as a lawyer...."

Their lawyer said, "OK, get them ready, we'll do it." But this police captain looked around and he heard the chants against the Klan and he saw the determination of that crowd. He thought a bit about bringing in the cops. And he said, "Uh, we'll think about this, and we'll get back to you." We never saw them again.

But the real story is that *we stopped the Klan*. The police and the city fathers decided they'd be better off after all whisking the Klan away to Lafayette Park in protected vans. When people heard the Klan had been stopped, they were overjoyed. But they wanted to check for themselves. And they spilled into Constitution Avenue, right over those fences, right in between the cops. And the cops just walked away.

And people charged up Constitution Avenue to Capitol Hill, to see if the Klan was still there. And then they also marched over a mile and a half to Lafayette Park. And they marched without a permit at that point, without being stopped by the cops, without any problems whatsoever, because there were 5,000 militant labor, black people in the city of Washington, D.C. who were *determined* to stop the Klan. That's the real story. It gives you some insight into the relationship between democratic rights and the power of labor/black action.

In 1981 SL/SYL campaign forced California attorney general Deukmejian to retract his "terrorist" smear against our party.

Why Did We Win?

All right, a question. Why did we win our suit against the FBI? One way we can talk about what we did is in contrast to the Socialist Workers Party. We reject both conspiratorial putschism and reformist legalism. We didn't go into those courts expecting an endorsement of our politics. Nor did we have any illusion that we could actually stop the police from conducting surveillance or harassment.

The Socialist Workers Party had a different approach. They filed a lawsuit in 1973 against the FBI to try to get it to stop harassment, surveillance, burglaries, etc., of their organization. The SWP sought basically a "right to revolution" (even though they had nothing to do with revolution at that point). They wanted a stamp of approval for their program, a franchise as

the social-democratic socialists in the United States. They renounced the Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union. They fingered to the government members of an expelled faction called the Internationalist Tendency—they gave their names to the government as proof that these people, who were alleged to be guerrillaists, had been purged from the organization.

And they also gave the government every bit of information they were asked for in "discovery"—the names of members, finances, everything. They had a full-blown trial in front of a judge, concluded *four years ago*, and there's been no decision from the court. Evidently the government still considers the social-democratic SWP to be a violent, terrorist group.

So we do not confuse a victory in form with a victory in substance. We're proud of ourselves. We got the most that one could reasonably get from a bourgeois court. And in contrast to that, the SWP case is likely to become a perfect failure.

So why did we win? We can only speculate. First of all, maybe it's the "discovery" question. In the course of these suits we have the right to find out certain things from the government. Maybe there's something so hidden, so clearly illegal, that the government has done to us and they're afraid that in the course of our trying this suit, it would come out. Because sometimes judges are somewhat independent and get pissed off at being lied to by the FBI.

Another reason: our openness. It's hard to label us conspiratorial. We're out front on the Russian question. We're known for our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. We're known for our "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!" Our opposition to Solidarnosc. We're known for our immediate exposure of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 as a provocation by the U.S. government. We quote Daniel Patrick Moynihan's comments about us in 1972 when he spoke at Harvard University. The Spartacus Youth League was handing out a flyer there, and Moynihan observed that the Spartacus Youth League "sails under their own colors." He quoted from a statement of the SYL:

> "...to develop young radicals into lifetime communist militants, and to build a socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles with a revolutionary program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky."

And Moynihan concluded, "It is doubtless perverse to do so, but I happen to find that an honorable statement of purpose."

Well, why else did we win? These are, again, speculations. We're old-fashioned Marxists. We're manifestly not terrorists. And this is well documented in the FBI's own files. Now we have about 4,000 pages of the files maintained on the Spartacist League—probably just a small fraction of what they have. There's the example of our chapter in New Orleans in the late '60s which had working relations with the militants of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Deacons for Defense and Justice. Of about five people in our New Orleans local, three of them were police agents. Nonetheless, on our account the Louisiana state government went out and staged its own version of a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing and published a report on the Spartacist League. And all they could get from their own agents is the following:

> "...I would reiterate that they have never espoused to me the immediate violent overthrow of the government. I think that has to be made clear."

This is in our files. It's proof that the FBI's targeting of us is based on their hostility to Marxist politics and not on any belief that we engage in violent action.

Well, another reason that we may have gotten this settlement is that the government may be thinking of using something more sinister against us, like declaring us a target for "foreign intelligence" surveillance. The foreign intelligence guidelines are so broad, and give the government so much room for maneuver, that the *guidelines* themselves are classified—Congress can't get them. Maybe the FBI has some dim understanding that we are internationalists and concerned about questions in Latin America and South Africa and in Britain, and know that we suggest that our members travel far and wide, including to places such as the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Nicaragua, and therefore deem us to be a "foreign intelligence" threat of some sort.

These are all speculations. Nonetheless, our gains are very real from winning this lawsuit. It's something that helps take away justification for any sort of preemptive violent measures against us or our supporters. And it helps defeat the campaign of fear of working with Marxists or communist organizations in this country.

A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

Facing prison following the Smith Act prosecution, James Cannon said that a good half of the objective of persecutions by the government is to terrorize you. The Supreme Court has quoted FBI documents setting forth their objectives, including to enhance paranoia, to get a point across that there's an FBI agent behind every mailbox. We'll try to be careful, but not afraid. The then-revolutionary SWP's response to the Smith Act indictments was to run in elections, propagandize their political positions and their opposition to the impending world war.

So we've helped spike the fear the FBI tries to create. We've helped give not only members and supporters, but also ex-members and parents of members some sense that there is a level of real protection for people to struggle alongside us. A workers party has the right to organize—that's what we got. And we got something else—we were able to revive the working-class tradition of having membership cards. The Spartacist League has issued membership cards in the wake of this lawsuit victory, which is a way of saying that we're proud of being card-carrying communists.

The back of the card has a woodcut of the Titan Prometheus, Marx's favorite god, who stole fire from the gods and gave it to humans, thereby inaugurating the basis for human civilization and the beginning of the ability of mankind to overcome nature. Also on the back of the card is a statement of Trotsky that's in our founding declaration as well:

> "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International."

We'll continue to fight the new McCarthyism with every legal and political means at our disposal. When the working class and the oppressed of this country are ready to move, when the decaying, blundering, lying, incompetent ruling class is challenged by massive struggle on behalf of a rational economy and an end to the constant threat of nuclear Armageddon, it will not be because some small group of Bolshevik propagandists conspired to make it happen. It will happen because the condition of dying capitalism will have made it a historic necessity, consciously understood by large sections of the population. We had better be there when it does, providing, as the Bolsheviks did in war-ravaged Russia in 1917, the critical element of organized leadership. We are a very precious commodity, in its infancy. Like the Bolshevik party for Russia, the SL may be America's last, best hope. ■

Peters/NY Times

Right-wing millionaire nut Lewis Lehrman (second from right) hosts confab of Reagan's terrorist international in southern Angola.

Terror International...

(continued from page 5)

ragtag forces have ravaged much of Angola, killing hundreds, driving thousands from their homes and destroying millions of dollars worth of property. And if it were not for the 20,000 Cuban troops, the South Africans would march right into Luanda and install Savimbi in the presidential palace. Now, as part of the global U.S. offensive against the Soviet Union, the Democratic-controlled House has opened the way to directly funding this enemy of the liberation of black Africa.

While U.S. imperialism is organizing counterrevolutionary terror from Southeast Asia to southern Africa, nowhere is the effort greater and more immediate than against Nicaragua. The Reagan gang calls it "perception management." What this means is pistol whipping, terrorizing and jerking around the radical-nationalist Sandinista government until they make a slip and the U.S. can bring them to their knees or *smash* them. The Reaganites believe that if they just make more and more contra incursions, build more bases in Honduras, escalate the economic sanctions, the Sandinistas will crack. And if that doesn't work, they're finalizing their plans for full-scale direct U.S. intervention.

Rad-lib activists and much of the American left, as well as the Sandinistas themselves, have looked toward and appealed to the Democratic Party opposition to control and moderate Reagan. But now the Democrats have voted aid to the contras, that bunch of sadistic murderers, torturers and rapists, and endorsed Reagan's economic warfare against Nicaragua. So why have the Democrats now openly embraced Reagan's terror international?

Pro-Democratic liberals and reformists who claim to be pro-Sandinista argue, often hysterically, that the Nicaraguan Revolution has nothing to do with the Cold War. It is, they contend, a purely national event arising out of the oppressed social conditions of Central America. But the U.S. ruling class, Republican and Democratic alike, have turned Central America into the front line of the Cold War. It was Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega's visit to Moscow this spring which served as a pretext for a number of Democratic Congressmen to reverse themselves and vote money for the contras. Defense of Nicaragua requires and deserves the full backing of the Soviet Union, its allies and all opponents of imperialism. For if Reagan succeeds in overthrowing the Nicaraguan Revolution it will enormously embolden U.S. imperialism in its drive toward World War III.

Global Contra Aid: The Road to War

A lot of white Americans in theater audiences may applaud the antics of Sylvester Stallone's Rambo on the screen, where the body count is 400 to 2. But American youth are not itching to go down to the jungles of Central America or anywhere else to fight the reds. And parents surely don't want to sacrifice their sons in another Vietnam. The contras are losers. In four years of civil war they have not taken and held a single Nicaraguan town. Reagan cannot overturn the Nicaraguan Revolution without invading that country. This, however, would risk an explosive reaction on the home front and possibly on the battle front as well, since a disproportionate number of U.S. combat troops are black and Hispanic youth who mainly hate and fear everything Reagan stands for.

The Reagan gang has always believed, and now the Democrats seem to also, that somehow they can destroy the Soviet Union on the cheap, and not a single white middle-class American will have to die. Even the massive arms buildup was to be financed by black welfare mothers, on the one hand, and German and Japanese bankers on the other. The money just voted for the contras around the world is part of this strategy of global counterrevolution on the cheap. The contra terrorists can't win. *But their actions can lead to a direct military confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.*

When the American cabinet is sitting around trying to see if Reagan's awake, they don't think they can just push the button and somehow the Russian missiles have a no-go for white middle-class American persons. They're not that psychotic. But they do think if they continue the escalation—politically, economically, militarily—they can win. They think: keep pressing, keep squeezing, grind, grind, grind, and when the pressure gets high enough the Russians will chicken out and the U.S. will prevail. This is arguably a mistake. Try it out on Marshal Ogarkov.

Hitler already tried it, and lost. The Nazi invasion of Russia, which was turned back only at the cost of 20 million lives, still dominates the political consciousness of the Soviet masses. So when Reagan honored the SS war criminals at Bitburg, he inflamed the deepest feelings and will to resist among the Soviet workers and peasants. American militarism and global terrorism is not likely to cow the Soviet people or even the Kremlin bureaucratic leadership, which is very conciliatory indeed.

U.S. imperialism is bent on bloodying and provoking the Soviet Union and its allies in Southeast Asia, in Afghanistan, in southern Africa, in Central America. It's all part of a war drive, and that's how we're going to get a war if this is not stopped. We had better stop it now, while we can! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

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Black Journalists Fete Mayor Goode: Front Man for Reagan's Racist Terror

BALTIMORE—Speaking before the National Association of Black Journalists here, Philadelphia mayor Goode cynically described the "basic principles" behind his May 13 slaughter of the black MOVE group. "I wanted to have a plan that would have as its basic goal the preservation of life... we wanted to be especially concerned about the children." So in order to "preserve life" Goode approved the police bombing of the West Philly commune, creating a hellish inferno that incinerated at least eleven black people, including five children, while cops pinned MOVE members inside the house with 10,000 rounds of gunfire!

"I am also convinced that what happened was an accident," Goode added. The only "accident" is that two people actually survived the holocaust. Now even the Philadelphia fire marshal's report admits: "The effects of the subsequent detonation initiated a fire on the MOVE roof that resulted in 11 deaths, two injuries..." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 August). To prove his determination, Mayor Wilson ("I'd do it again") Goode announced at the Baltimore convention his intention to shut off water to two more MOVE homes, citing them for housing code violations.

We may never know how many black people perished in the Osage Avenue inferno, because Goode & Co. made damn sure the blaze would rage long enough to leave no traces. Painting the back-to-nature sect as some sort of crazed, Shi'ite-type terrorists "bent on violent confrontation," Goode grotesquely blamed MOVE for the murder of their own children. The city sought to "pick up the children... prior to any kind of movement against the house," he told the meeting—i.e., they planned to *kidnap* the black kids, then slaughter their parents! And the cops' story about gunfire from the MOVE house preventing firemen from battling the blaze has been exposed as a lie by the firefighters' own accounts.

WV Photo

DiMarco/Time

Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode defends firebombing of MOVE, cold-blooded murder of black children.

The Association of Black Journalists' obscene invitation to the Philadelphia murder mayor to keynote their convention reflected the black bourgeois establishment's line that Goode was "just doing his job." A panel of reporters bought his lie that the bombing and burning was a police matter outside his control. Similarly, in a visit to the "city of brotherly love" following the MOVE massacre, Jesse Jackson "said Goode's integrity was not at question. He did not criticize the Mayor for what happened, but reserved his criticism for the police handling of the incident" (*Philadelphia Tribune*, 7 June). But Goode's smug account made it clear that the firebombing of MOVE was deliberate, calculated mass murder.

"For some of us, at least, the system works," Goode crowed in Baltimore. "I was able, as a son of a sharecropper, to go to a city and become its mayor." Great, so the "hands that picked cotton" now drop bombs on black babies! Declaring himself for "the enhancement of life" and the "building of neighborhoods" (!) he proclaimed: "I don't apologize for being an African American." What this red-white-and-blue rhetoric means is he's proud to be an overseer on Ronald Reagan's plantation. For the terrorist conspiracy that produced the Philly massacre extends from the police chief and the mayor to the FBI (which reviewed the plans the day before the bombing), Justice Department head Meese (who praised Goode's action as a "good example") and the White House.

Reagan needs black front men to carry out his program of wanton state terror against black people. Even some of the bought-off black journalists in Baltimore recognized that Goode was able to get away with what arch-racist mayor Rizzo couldn't. But killer Goode might cast a glance at South Africa, where black cops and other collaborators with the blood-soaked white supremacist regime are being dealt with summarily by the enraged black masses. A revolutionary workers government, representing the decent people of this country and fighting for all victims of racist terror, will pronounce revolutionary justice against these murderers. Honor the MOVE martyrs! Free all MOVE prisoners! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Spartacists Slam Brooklyn D.A. Cover-Up of Lynch Mob Murder

Spartacist Party Campaign Committee Press Release

23 July 1985

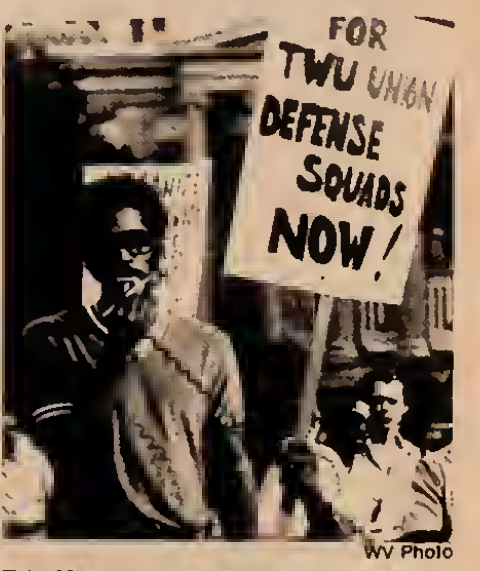
My union brother Willie Turks was murdered by a racist gang in Gravesend in 1982, and two coworkers brutally beaten, near the Coney Island transit shop where he worked. Now Brooklyn D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman claims justice was done, bragging about her "vigorous prosecution" of the killers in a letter to the *City Sun* (July 17-23). This is a despicable cover-up, for justice was *not* done!

The courts treated the racist punk murderers with kid gloves. Gino Bova, who bashed Willie Turks' brains out, will be out of jail after only five years, after being acquitted of murder by a virtually all-white jury, convicted only of manslaughter (like it was an accident)! Mormando, who pulled Turks out of the car, got only a few months real time for "assault." As a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100, I actively organized the demonstration of 100 transit workers and supporters at the Brooklyn Supreme Court on July 20, 1983, expressing our outrage at the court's racist slap-on-the-wrist sentence for Mormando. Now Holtzman brags Joseph Powell got "up to nine years in prison." In fact, the D.A.'s office made a *plea bargain* with Powell, dropping murder charges. This isn't "vigorous prosecution," it's a vicious slap in the face to the victims of racist terror!

"Law-and-order liberal" Holtzman's office couldn't even find Powell for two years—and what about the other racist punks in the 25-strong lynch mob that murdered Turks? They aren't even looking for them. Compare that to the computer mass operation last month where 200 cops swept through Brownsville housing projects in a pre-dawn Gestapo raid, rounding up 160 black residents and dragging them to court for her assistant D.A.s to "process" on petty charges.

The so-called "investigation" into the killing of Michael Stewart by transit cops in 1983 has been a whitewash from Day One. More than 40 witnesses saw at least eleven cops kick and bludgeon Stewart to death, but only three will stand trial, and not for murder but criminally negligent homicide and even lesser counts. All these racist killers should be locked up in Attica and throw away the key! But the capitalist courts and Koch's killer cops will never deliver justice for blacks in this racist society.

When brother Willie Turks was murdered, I and other transit workers raised the call for the union's 33,000 members to patrol Gravesend in flatbed trucks to stop the racist lynch mobs. The independent power of labor and blacks can stop the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms! The liberals prattle about gun control, which means only the criminals and the racist cops have the arms. Marjorie Stamberg and I, as Spartacist Party candidates for mayor and Manhattan borough president, say that Willie Turks might be alive today if he had a piece. Gun control kills blacks—everybody has the right to defend himself! We are fighting for labor/minority mobilizations to stop racist attacks and for integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women. We are fighting for a society where a black man can walk down any street any time to buy a bagel without fearing for his life. We say it's time to finish the Civil War—black liberation through socialist revolution! Then and only then will working-class justice be done to avenge the racist murder of Willie Turks.



WV Photo

Ed Kartsen demands justice for murdered transit union brother Willie Turks.

Edward Kartsen
Spartacist Party candidate for
Manhattan Borough President

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Witnesses Expose Brutal Cop Murder

Vengeance for Michael Stewart!

The New York City "justice" system is trying to murder Michael Stewart all over again!

On July 18, six of the eleven white transit cops who beat 25-year-old black artist Michael Stewart to death almost two years ago went on "trial" in State Supreme Court. The original slap-on-the-wrist manslaughter indictments were long ago dropped by Mayor Koch's Manhattan district attorney, Robert Morgenthau. Now, three of the killers-in-blue are facing the obscenely trivial charges of reckless endangerment, assault and criminally negligent homicide—in other words, failure to protect Stewart from the cops' own murderous attack! Six cops are also charged with perjury in the cover-up surrounding the case. The trial, an attempt to placate the growing public outcry, is a racist sham. As Stewart family attorney Michael Warren told *WV*, it's "a joint effort by the prosecutor and the defense attorney to ultimately exonerate the six officers on trial. It's a charade."

Michael Stewart was arrested and beaten unconscious in the early morning hours of 15 September 1983, for allegedly scrawling graffiti on a subway wall near Union Square. The D.A. admitted that *40* witnesses saw the cops kicking and bludgeoning their victim. Stewart was in police custody for about an hour. When they brought him to Bellevue Hospital, hogtied and handcuffed, his ankles bound together and with more than 60 wounds on his body, he was already brain dead. He remained in a coma and died 13 days later. The massive cover-up, which continues today in court, was begun.

Chief medical examiner Elliot Gross, Koch's Dr. Mengele, who is currently facing eleven counts of gross incompetence or negligence from the state health board, secretly removed Stewart's eyes, since the massive hemorrhaging indicated that he had been strangled. Gross's report stated that Stewart died of "cardiac arrest," i.e., he died when his heart stopped beating. Three cops were indicted for manslaughter, not murder. But when a dedicated grand juror, schoolteacher Ronald Fields, began a real investigation and charged that Morgenthau's office was protecting the police, the D.A. threw out the charges! Now the cops' lawyers are trying to turn the dead victim into a criminal.

Amsterdam News — Michael Warren

Michael Stewart lies dying after savage beating by New York cops.

In an important early moment in the trial, it was revealed that Stewart was with a young white woman that night, Patricia Pesce, and they kissed goodnight on the subway steps only moments before he was attacked. Determined to discredit Miss Pesce's devastating testimony, Morgenthau's legal hatchet men have viciously insulted her on the stand. Moreover, the prosecutors refused to let her review her earlier testimony to the grand jury. As her lawyer, Louis Clayton Jones, said, "It was then that we started to think seriously that Pesce was being set up for a perjury indictment. Why else would the prosecutor refuse Pesce permission to refresh her memory on things she said almost a year before?" (*City Sun*, 31 July).

The testimony of Robert Rodriguez, a former auxiliary policeman who was wrapping bagels at a nearby Blimpie's restaurant, blew the lid off Morgenthau's cover-up. For the first time the public heard the horrifying blow-by-blow account of the murder. Rodriguez said he saw a transit officer emerge from the subway with a prisoner handcuffed from behind:

> "'And suddenly,' the witness said 'he grabbed the prisoner by surprise and then threw him down to the concrete cement floor. The transit police officer then threw himself on top of the prisoner....
>
> "'Then this big transit officer took over,' Mr. Rodriguez testified. 'He grabbed the prisoner, turned him over. He slapped the prisoner. Then he kneeled down and picked him up by the chest, like he was taking a real look at him.
>
> "'He pulled him towards him. They were face to face. And then he let him go. His head hit the concrete'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 30 July

Rodriguez testified that at one point, five cops surrounded Stewart and kicked him so hard his body "ricocheted." *Then* they took him to the transit cop station in Union Square, where, out on the street, they beat him so savagely that 27 students in a nearby dorm were awakened by his screams at about 3:10 a.m.

Rodriguez's testimony also served as a powerful indictment of the D.A.'s office. After he made his original statement regarding the lethal beating of Stewart, one prosecutor told him "to take a vacation until this whole thing blows over." Rodriguez told the prosecutors assigned to the case: "Listen and listen good, I don't want any cover-up." Rodriguez said initially he wanted "leniency" for the transit cops who killed Stewart, but that now "I want blood in this thing."

Michael's parents, Carrie and Millard Stewart, a retired NYC transit worker, have filed a $30 million lawsuit against the TA cops and a $10 million suit against Elliot Gross; and they deserve every penny. But there is no justice in the bosses' courts. Despite the mountains of lies and the enormity of the cover-up, millions of New Yorkers know what really happened to Michael Stewart on the morning of 15 September 1983—Koch, Gross, Morgenthau and the NYPD can't wash the blood from their hands! Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen have put the struggle to stop the racist cop terror at the center of their campaign. "New York City: For the Working People!" Stamberg and Kartsen say: Put the lynch mob killers-in-blue in Attica and throw away the key! The working class in power must avenge Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry, Eleanor Bumpurs and all the victims of Koch's killer cops! ■

Cop Terror...

(continued from page 16)

All this is part of a war drive, the attempt to restore the strength of U.S. imperialism following its debacle in Vietnam. The American ruling class wants to restructure the world so that it can find itself happy, comfortable and secure against its enemies—from the Soviet Union to blacks and labor at home. But Reagan and his front man in New York, Edward I. Koch, are not all-powerful—there's another pole in this country, that of the oppressed, the ground down, the exploited millions. And they don't believe in an "American dream" today. That's why, despite all the anti-communist "new patriotism" rhetoric, we do not see a McCarthyite witchhunt atmosphere in this country.

The Spartacist campaign seeks to mobilize the masses of this city *in struggle* to stop the racist terrorists in white sheets or blue uniforms, to take back the "givebacks," to say no to the rent gougers and real estate robber barons. We say, "America needs its financial and political capital, and New York can't run without black transit workers, Hispanic hotel workers, hospital workers—the whole powerful integrated city union movement.... We need a labor- and minority-led fight for a *workers government* which will seize all major industry without compensation and institute a planned socialist economy. New York City: For the working people! Vote Spartacist! Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor! Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President!" ■

Boenzi/NY Times

Yuppie candidate Carol Bellamy (right) tries to out-Koch Koch. Herman Farrell (left) ran as Koch's spoiler to split black/Hispanic vote.

Ted Cowell

KOCH'S COSSACKS RAMPAGE AGAIN: Twenty people were injured, two seriously, Saturday, August 3 as NYC mounted and foot police charged a thousand-strong Haitian demonstration in midtown Manhattan. The attack took place as the protest, called in response to the latest bloody crackdown by Haitian strongman Jean-Claude Duvalier, paused in front of the Haitian consulate on 42nd Street. Whether it's against Harlem residents protesting a hospital closing, black and Hispanic hotel workers on strike or refugees from U.S.-allied dictatorships, Koch's rent-a-cossacks are guns for hire. Smash cop terror with labor/black mobilizations!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Campaign in NYC Elections

Stop Racist Cop Terror!

Black youth gunned down by the cops in Harlem, racist police roundups of hundreds in Brooklyn, "torture precincts" in Queens: the wave of racist cop terror gripping New York City is *the* issue in this election year. Yet *none* of the bourgeois candidates, including the black Democrats, will touch this "hot potato." Spartacist supporters out gathering petition signatures report our campaign to "Kick Out Koch! Stop Racist Cop Terror!" has touched a real chord in this city. Black New Yorkers and all decent people in this city are outraged as new grisly details emerge daily in the belated trial of (some of) the transit police lynch mob that murdered young black artist Michael Stewart. And they still haven't got rid of New York coroner Dr. Elliot Gross the ghoul, specialist in eyeball-gouging and cadaver-switching.

UPI

AP

Koch's cossacks enforce killer cutbacks on black ghetto, such as closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital in 1979.

While Koch gleefully counts up the notches on the NYPD's service revolvers, Democratic challenger Carol Bellamy calls for *more* transit police...so there will be *more* Michael Stewarts bludgeoned to death in the name of fighting "quality of life crimes." The bourgeois pols try to take the heat off the cops and blame the victims, but Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg for mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president say, "When the cops are terrorizing the population, who's going to protect society from the cops?" Stamberg and Kartsen call for integrated, armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women, to stop the racist terrorists, in and out of uniform. "Everyone has the right to defend himself!" the Spartacist candidates say, "Gun control kills blacks! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks!"

WV Photo

Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen petitioning at Borough of Manhattan Community College.

The so-called "epidemic" of police brutality in New York City has captured international notice. The liberal *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (23 June) headlines, "A creeping madness in the New York precincts," while the conservative British *Economist* (1 June) asks, "Are New York's 'finest' no better than common criminals?" They point to the cops' "blue wall of silence" against charges of police brutality, and lecture about "cops running amok." But the killers-in-blue are taking their cue straight from the top. NYC mayor Ed Koch came to office in 1977-78 pushing the death penalty and joining in the cops' "Fear City" hysteria campaign. And when Koch praises the police hit squad that blew away Bronx black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs (who owed $387.40 in back rent) for just doing their job, who's surprised that 10,000 of these gun-toting, uniformed thugs should surround the Bronx courthouse protesting slap-on-the-wrist indictments of their buddies.

Now another commission has accused New York's cover-up coroner Gross of gross malfeasance. Last April Koch's whitewash Liman Commission alibied "New York's own" Dr. Mengele, excusing his systematic refusal to classify the deaths of victims of the rampant cop terror as homicide because it was "standard practice." Which of course it is—the NYPD kills, then the D.A. and coroner cover up the crime. New York governor Cuomo, however, is concerned that this official Murder Inc. could touch off a riot. But even though the state board charged Gross with eleven counts of incompetence and negligence, they refused to release details of the charges, saying they might damage his credibility in the Michael Stewart case. Damn right, his credibility is damaged. Gross's lies have kept these killers out of jail, but the jury is not supposed to know the truth because it would undermine the sanctity of the state.

So what about the "alternatives" to Koch? This year's mud-slinging, all-sides-squalid Democratic primary race can match anything Boss Tweed ever pulled. Democratic City Council president Bellamy is trying to out-Koch Koch, campaigning on a racist "crime-stoppers" shopping list as long as your arm. She wants a thousand more cops on the subway trains, triple the transit cop/dog teams, more cops in the cruisers, life imprisonment without parole and abolition of the Parole Board. Bellamy and Koch both call for special kangaroo courts in the subways, so they can nab turnstile jumpers, try them on the spot and ship them off to Rikers Island. Spartacist candidates Stamberg and Kartsen have an answer to turnstile jumping: get rid of the turnstiles, make the subways free for the people.

Meanwhile, obscure black machine politician "Denny" Farrell suddenly throws in for the mayoral primary. The Harlem "gang of four" (Rangel, Paterson, Dinkins, Farrell), in exchange for some pork barrel perks and expectations that their man David Dinkins will take over Percy Sutton's old bailiwick as Manhattan borough president, broke up any chance of a united black/Hispanic coalition around the popular former deputy mayor Herman Badillo. Was anybody really surprised to learn that spoiler Farrell's signatures were gathered by Koch people, or that his top money men are also contributing to the mayor's campaign? So Bellamy, in a dirty maneuver, challenges Farrell's petitions, knocking the only black out of the Democratic Party primary; whereupon supreme hypocrite Koch denounces this undemocratic move, cynically posing as champion of the black people.

This year the Communist Party is not even running in its own name. Instead CP mayoral candidate Jarvis Tyner is heading a "People Before Profits" ticket, calling for "democratization of the police by instituting civilian control." But it's no more possible to "democratize" the police, whose job is to keep the oppressed and exploited in line, than it is to get the capitalists to put anything before their profits. Back in 1964 when massive rent strikes swept Harlem and the NYC police launched bloody cop riots against blacks, the liberals and their CP camp followers tried to defuse the exploding social struggle with calls for "civilian review boards." The Spartacist League called for the organization of the ghetto into block committees and tenant councils, laying the basis for defense patrols to protect the community against the cops. "Such patrols," we wrote, "are the embryo of that workers militia which will defend the coming American Revolution."

Police brutality is basic to capitalist "law and order," but it escalated in New York under Koch and his predecessor Beame. This wave of repression accompanied the bank-engineered "Big MAC" fiscal crisis which slammed massive cutbacks in social services and union wages down the throats of New Yorkers. A sign at Sydenham Hospital (1979) protesting "Koch's Killer Kuts" caught the racist character of the cutback drive. The budget ax that came down on New York was the cutting edge of the drive to shore up American capitalism by dismantling the social welfare programs that had been built up out of the New Deal. "Reaganomics," this calculated policy of eliminating financial reformism for the masses, was begun by the Democrats. Already it is showing up in the vital statistics: life expectancy is down, infant mortality is up. And now they want to slash the budget for the Atlanta Center for Disease Control—typhoid, AIDS, TB, all left to run uncontrolled.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 386 — 6 September 1985

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

South African Powder Keg

SEPTEMBER 3—One year ago today the black townships around South Africa's cities erupted in fury against the brutal apartheid slavery they have endured for decades. As the waves of black revolt surged from one end of the country to the other, virtually every sector of the urbanized oppressed non-white population has been drawn in. Beginning with youth in the industrial centers of the Vaal triangle it spread to workers throughout the Witwatersrand mining region, to "coloured" (mixed-race) squatters near Cape Town, to the cities of the eastern Cape and now Durban. As the flames died down in one area, they would burst forth in another. And the answer of the white supremacist regime of South Africa's *Führer* P.W. Botha was always the same: *sjamboks* (whips) and bullets. In 12 months well over 700 blacks have been murdered by the apartheid security forces, some scores of government collaborators in the townships have been eliminated and a handful of whites killed.

AFP

Rollo/Newsweek, Campbell/Time

Reagan backs "free world" ally Botha and his apartheid police state. Cape Town, August 28: March to Pollsmoor Prison demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela broken up by cops.

Repression has not stopped revolt. But the white supremacist regime has the military means and the determination to crush that revolt by massacring blacks, not merely by the dozens, but by the thousands. The townships and compounds where blacks are concentrated are built so that they can easily be sealed off and bombed and napalmed into submission. As *Business Week* (26 August) recently wrote: "The betting is that they [South African whites] can put down any violent frontal assault for the foreseeable future because they still have the guns." But this organ of American capitalism ran the prediction under the headline: "What Pretoria Fears More Than Rioting in the Streets"—i.e., the muscle of South Africa's six million-strong black proletariat. Except for the two-day general strike last November in the Transvaal and episodic skirmishes with the apartheid bosses, that proletariat as a class has not been mobilized in the present anti-apartheid revolt. But it

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Save Moloise! Free Mandela!

U.S. Democratic Party Is No Friend of Black Freedom

Black resistance to apartheid slavery in South Africa has electrified black America as nothing else has since the civil rights movement a generation ago. It has revived mass student protest for the first time since the Vietnam War. In Reagan's America black workers and youth see in apartheid a magnified mirror image of their own oppression. But those whose task it is to keep labor and the oppressed in line for American capitalism—the Democrats and their fake-left brokers—are working overtime to prevent active sympathy with the combative black masses abroad from spreading into a fight against racist oppression and exploitation *at home*.

In New York City, where racist mayor Koch incites cop roundups, torture and wanton police killings, the union tops felt compelled to call the first mass anti-apartheid protest initiated by organized labor August 13. Despite official lethargy on the issue, contingents from particularly those unions and community groups embracing blacks and other minorities—hospital, garment, transit and municipal workers—packed solid a block on 42nd Street. It was a spirited and determined turnout of labor/black New York whose mood was in sharp contrast to the Democratic Party politicians who came out to get their names in the paper and denounce racism thousands of miles away in order to

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WV Photo

Free Moloise—Hang Botha! Spartacist League contingent marches in New York, August 20.

Letter from AZAPO

Frank Talk
Dormerton [South Africa]
29 June 1985

Workers Vanguard
New York, NY

Dear sir:

Thank you for your letter dated 8 June 1985. We have entered you on our mailing list on an exchange basis.

I did browse thru some of your articles. Considering your ideological perspective, it is inevitable that we will disagree on the national question in Azania as also on the role of whites.

I must point out, however, that I was extremely disappointed to find that you use the argument that AZAPO holds Mozambique as a model to label the movement as hoping for a "new class" dictatorship. I have not been able to trace any policy or statement which lauds FRELIMO and especially after Nkomati, Machel is hardly considered a revolutionary by the Black Consciousness Movement.

Yours faithfully
I. Moosa
AZAPO Publicity Secretary

WV replies: It does appear that we erred in stating "AZAPO holds up Mozambique as a model." We mistakenly ascribed to AZAPO the views presented by radical black nationalist intellectual Neville Alexander at the 1983 founding conference of the National Forum, a loose grouping of black consciousness and radical black nationalist formations in which AZAPO plays a prominent role. However, our more general political conclusion was fundamentally correct: "AZAPO and more radical nationalists want to displace the Harry Oppenheimers [leading South African capitalist] with a petty-bourgeois elite that aspires to exploit its *own* proletariat" ("Black Masses Battle Apartheid Repression," *WV* No. 375, 22 March 1985).

This is confirmed by a recent issue of *Frank Talk* (November/December 1984), the official publication of AZAPO, which reprints with only a passing sympathetic comment a substantial speech by Dr. Herbert Ushewokunze entitled "Zimbabwe: Problems and Prospects of Socialist Development." However, Dr. Ushewokunze happens to be Minister of Home Affairs (i.e., the top cop) in Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) government. A neo-colonial regime brokered by the British, based on the majority Shona tribe, the ZANU government has carried out bloody genocidal terror against the minority Matabele, imposed on Zimbabwean workers slave-labor legislation and acted as the guarantor for imperialist investment and its white capitalist class. In fact the underlying theme of Ushewokunze's speech is contained in his quote from the ZANU manifesto: "Private enterprise will have to continue until circumstances are ripe for socialist change"—i.e., he is really talking about *capitalist* development.

There is no qualitative difference between ZANU and Mozambique's FRELIMO, although it should be pointed out that Mozambique's struggle for independence culminated originally in a far more radical break with the colonial power, Portugal, than did Zimbabwe's with the white supremacist regime of Ian Smith. We gave *unconditional* (irrespective of their political leaderships) *military* support to both movements in the wars they fought against colonialism and white supremacy. Given their non-proletarian class character we however gave *no political* support to these movements, warning that these petty-bourgeois nationalists (whatever their "socialist" rhetoric) cannot go beyond anti-working-class bonapartist despotisms. FRELIMO and Machel had the same *political* identity before as after the Nkomati accords, where they were forced to become Pretoria's policemen in repressing the African National Congress (ANC) anti-apartheid guerrillas.

AZAPO

AZAPO Congress in Cape Town in December 1984.

We solidarized with AZAPO when it protested the visit of U.S. imperialist politician Edward Kennedy to South Africa earlier this year and threatened to give the Democratic Party's black frontman Jesse Jackson the same treatment. At the same time we must point out that the same issue of *Frank Talk* which carries the Ushewokunze speech also carries an anti-Semitic diatribe by the sinister American black demagogue Louis Farrakhan. In December 1964, two months before Malcolm X was murdered, Farrakhan said Malcolm was "worthy of death." Last year he stumped for Jackson, who was simply a stalking horse for Walter Mondale of the same imperialist Democratic Party that Kennedy belongs to. After Mondale's defeat, Farrakhan proclaimed he was "happy Mr. Reagan won" and cheered Reagan's slashing of social welfare programs for blacks as an opportunity to "prove that black people can make it without a handout" (quoted in *Chicago Tribune*, 12 November 1984)!

The only road to socialism in the desperately oppressed and impoverished region dominated by South African imperialism is the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution: the mobilization of South Africa's six-million-strong black proletariat to fight for its own class dictatorship under the leadership of an internationalist, multiracial vanguard party. For a black-centered workers republic as part of the socialist federation of southern Africa! ■

Der Spiegel

South African führer P.W. Botha and Mozambique's Samora Machel at signing of Nkomati accord, March 1984.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Trotsky on Proletarian Political Revolution

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, analyzed the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin and the necessity for the workers to restore Soviet democracy to defend the gains of October.

The proletariat of a backward country was fated to accomplish the first socialist revolution. For this historic privilege, it must, according to all evidences, pay with a second supplementary revolution—against bureaucratic absolutism....

It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of Soviet parties, beginning with the party of Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions. The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of the toilers. Free discussion of economic problems will decrease the overhead expense of bureaucratic mistakes and zigzags.... The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticize, make mistakes, and grow up. Science and art will be freed of their chains. And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 386 **6 September 1985**

EMERGENCY DEMONSTRATION!

Stop the Hanging!

Save Benjamin Moloise—Anti-Apartheid Fighter!

Saturday, September 7, 12 noon
South African Airways, 360 Post (Union Square)
Sponsored by Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense
For more information: (415) 863-6963, 835-1535

SAN FRANCISCO

Spartacist Candidates on NYC Ballot

From Soweto to Harlem: Smash Racist Terror!

Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg for New York City mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president are on the ballot in the NYC elections, November 5. We went into the petition campaign well aware that the whole system of bourgeois election law is, as one NYC union leader put it, "to keep the ins in and the outs out." So from July 9 to August 20, scores of campaign workers pounded the streets, amassing more than two and a half times the number of signatures required for filing. More than 20,000 Spartacist Party nominating signatures were filed for Stamberg for mayor (7,500 were required), and over 12,000 signatures were submitted for Kartsen's race for borough president (5,000 names required).

Usually, left parties gather signatures on a purely democratic basis—"help put an independent on the ballot." But we determined to run a bright red campaign from day one. So armed with brochures and petitions bearing our distinctive hammer-and-four symbol, we spread out through the black and Hispanic ghettos with the message: "A vote for Spartacist is a vote for the program of workers power—from South Africa to the U.S.!" At subway stops, supermarkets, housing projects and street fairs our teams found that the revolutionary candidates drew more interest than the pale pink reformists. The Spartacist Party got 3,000 more signatures than the Communist Party's Jarvis Tyner, running on the "People Before Profits" slate, and over 9,000 more than Andrea Gonzalez, mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen at anti-apartheid demonstration at UN, August 13. Tens of thousands of NYC protesters don't want hot air and Koch's crocodile tears, but labor/black action to stop racist terror from New York to South Africa.

WV Photo

Campaigning on Avenue D on the Lower East Side.

"Nobody but us has been talking about the real issue in this campaign: rampaging cop terror," said Stamberg. "The cover-up in the Michael Stewart case is a system, from the cops' 'blue wall of silence' to D.A. Morgenthau to Koch's Dr. Mengele coroner, Elliot Gross. We say jail the killer cops and mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks. And we found a tremendous response during the petitioning," Kartsen noted. "The Democrats have been busy stabbing each other in the back in a squalid primary fight. Like the spectacle of Bellamy going after Farrell, the only [Democratic] minority candidate for mayor, while racist pig Ed Koch weeps crocodile tears for his spoiler. We say, down with the Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of the ruling class—build a fighting workers party!"

Dirty clubhouse politics may be a Tammany Hall tradition, but this year even the *New York Times* (25 August) was bemoaning "the spectacle of citywide candidates being thrown off the Sept. 10 [Democratic Party] primary ballot in wholesale lots." At one point, 122 separate petition challenges were before the courts, on the most penny-ante bases imaginable. With Yuppie contender Carol Bellamy leading the pack, they tried to knock off the only black in the Democratic mayoral primary, and *all* the Hispanic candidates for city council president. As the city council race turned into "the battle of the millionaires," the dogfight inside the Democratic Party machine displayed the whole racist capitalist nature of the bourgeois elections.

We centered our petition drive on Harlem, the Lower East Side and downtown Brooklyn. Over and over, people would take a brochure and then double back to sign and to talk when they saw the pictures of Edmund Perry, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs and our vow: "Avenge victims of the racist cops!" We met family and neighbors of the victims, and found that our call to "Kick Out Koch! Dump Trump! Stop Racist Cop Terror!" expressed an overwhelming and urgent popular desire. Spartacist League supporters have also been attending daily the whitewash "trial" of the NY transit cops who killed young black artist Stewart two years ago. This case, and the cynical cover-up orchestrated by city officials, has become the focus of outrage against cop brutality in New York.

Demanding "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!" the SL is calling for a protest October 3 when the state Department of Health opens hearings on charges of gross incompetence and negligence by Koch's cover-up coroner. The call for the demonstration states: "Gross is far worse than incompetent.... He is a criminal who belongs behind bars no less than the transit cops who beat Michael Stewart to death, the SWAT unit who killed Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, the sickos at the Queens 'stun gun' torture precinct."

At a candidates night in Bedford-Stuyvesant, August 14, Marjorie called for labor/black defense and integrated armed workers defense squads against racist terror. She said that the ruling class unleashes the cops as part of the capitalist onslaught against America's "inner cities":

> "This present escalation of police brutality really started back in 1976, when the so-called 'epileptic' policeman, Robert Torsney, shot down Randy Evans in Brooklyn. It was no accident that in New York at the same time you had the 'Big MAC' cutbacks of everything: the schools, the fire stations, the libraries; tuition at City College was imposed. Because it's a national policy, it's coming straight down from the top. They have to use the stick now, they don't have any more carrot. There's going to be cutbacks, they're going to finance a war with this, they're going to take it out on our backs with the police terror. That's why we're saying, you need revolutionary solutions here."

The desperate housing squeeze in New York was highlighted during the late August Lottomania, when Brooklyn computer consultant Joe Moore, who won $13.6 million, commented, "I can afford to live in Manhattan now." On the Lower East Side, we got hundreds of signatures on Avenue D where our call, "Homeless should seize Trump City!" touched a chord as residents are organizing tenants councils, squatters villages and tent cities. Delia Torres has been living in a tent on a razed lot, under the city's threat of imminent bulldozing. Speaking with Stamberg, recently returned from Nicaragua's celebration of the sixth anniversary of the revolution which overthrew dictator Somoza, Torres said of Reagan's war moves in Central America: "That's right, they're chasing them with tanks down there and chasing me with bulldozers up here."

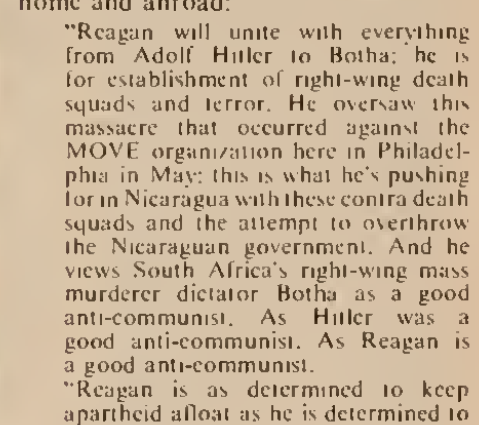
In Brooklyn, several transit workers signed because they knew Ed Kartsen from their union and respected what he stood for. Kartsen, a former candidate for president of TWU Local 100, fought to mobilize all 33,000 transit workers in integrated defense squads to patrol the Brooklyn neighborhood of Gravesend when their union brother Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist mob there in 1982. As racist cop terror has reached epidemic levels over the last year, many blacks in New York City have made the link between the war on the ghettos here and the murderous repression by Reagan's ally Botha in South Africa. At the August 13 anti-apartheid demonstration at the UN, the Spartacist candidates raised the call: "Soweto to Harlem—Smash Racist Terror! NYC Labor: For a One-Day Protest Strike!" and "Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!"

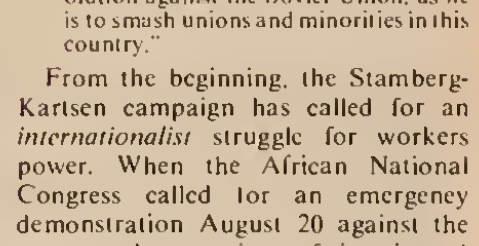
Taping a show for United Nations radio August 28, to be broadcast direct to South Africa, Ed Kartsen connected the fight against racist oppression at home and abroad:

> "Reagan will unite with everything from Adolf Hitler to Botha; he is for establishment of right-wing death squads and terror. He oversaw this massacre that occurred against the MOVE organization here in Philadelphia in May; this is what he's pushing for in Nicaragua with these contra death squads and the attempt to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. And he views South Africa's right-wing mass murderer dictator Botha as a good anti-communist. As Hitler was a good anti-communist. As Reagan is a good anti-communist.
>
> "Reagan is as determined to keep apartheid afloat as he is determined to smash the Nicaraguan Revolution, as he is determined to conduct counterrevolution against the Soviet Union, as he is to smash unions and minorities in this country."

From the beginning, the Stamberg-Kartsen campaign has called for an *internationalist* struggle for workers power. When the African National Congress called for an emergency demonstration August 20 against the announced execution of imprisoned ANC militant Benjamin Moloise, the Spartacist League mobilized on short notice, in New York and across the country. And in Brooklyn on August 31, the Spartacist mayoral candidate spoke from the platform of a demonstration protesting the vicious NYC police attack on a march of Haitian refugees earlier this month. She noted the racist nature of U.S. immigration policies. While Polish anti-Communists or

continued on page 6





WV Photo

Triggerman-flingerman cop Sullivan. The cop who blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs last October is still "on the job." That's him (top left), spying on demonstrators, atop the police surveillance truck at the August 13 anti-apartheid demonstration!

S.F. Swastika Cops

SAN FRANCISCO—In a grotesque provocation against an anti-apartheid protest here August 20, SF police brazenly flaunted the Nazi swastika, symbol of racist genocide. The demonstration outside the South African Airways office in Union Square was called by the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense to protest the threatened hanging of Benjamin Moloise, a militant of the African National Congress. Parked next to the demo, SFPD cops in police van W591 prominently displayed a Nazi navy poster of a large swastika flag and the slogan "*Einsatz*" (action). (The "*Einsatzgruppen*" were the sadistic SS killer squads set up to exterminate Jews and communists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as part of Hitler's "final solution.") This blatant appeal for fascist terror was snapped by a *WV* photographer, and the photo distributed (along with a declaration by the SL exposing this racist atrocity) to the San Francisco media and mayor's office.

Spartacist League spokesman Al Nelson stated in the SL's August 21 press release: "This is Bitburg west! The cops showed up at the Spartacist anti-apartheid demonstration with a swastika to solidarize with the pro-Nazi Afrikaner nationalists, who now rule South Africa.... [This] ought to send a chill up the spine of every decent person in this city. How many hundreds of cops knew that swastika was there? Not every cop is a Nazi but not one protested.... Toleration of these actions indicates that this is de facto low-level pragmatic department policy. It exposes, condemns and invalidates the entire San Francisco police department.... And what is Mayor Feinstein going to do about her Nazi-loving cops? For starters she can fire every cop involved."

The SL's exposure of this scandal, picked up by the *San Francisco Examiner*, *San Jose Mercury News*, the University of California at Berkeley's *Daily Californian* and KRON-TV, among others, "created a furor at City Hall and in the Jewish community, prompting blistering criticisms of the beleaguered department," as the *Examiner* (22 August) reported. "Swastika in police van: S.F. cops in big trouble," announced one headline. Everyone from B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Community Relations Council to SF supervisor Richard Hongisto—"liberal" former sheriff notorious for smashing down the International Hotel doors to evict elderly Asian tenants—and Mayor Dianne Feinstein professed outrage. The anti-apartheid *Biko Plaza News* at the Berkeley campus, at least, caught the point, headlining the SL press release, "S.F.P.D. Fly Their Colors."

The "furor" in the media and at City Hall, however, has been over how to trivialize the deadly intent clearly expressed by the cops. The *Examiner* first ran the photo (crediting *Workers Vanguard*) carefully cropping out the cop and badge number; then the next day they removed the *WV* credit and any reference to the Spartacist League, and in a later edition cut the photo altogether. The pro-Feinstein *Chronicle*, after first refusing to cover the story, did run a small item the second day, without photo or mention of the SL. Mayor Feinstein, a "law and order" Democrat who likes to pose in police jumpsuits, told the press repeatedly that the incident "once again illustrates bad judgment" and was "plain stupid"—but "very minor." What would she call Auschwitz—*extremely* bad judgment?

These cops exercised plenty of judgment: they identify with the Nazis' *Einsatzgruppen*, and they made a calculated point of bringing the swastika to our demo against apartheid murder. It was a bald threat against everyone protesting racism abroad or at home. Precisely because the incident speaks volumes about the reality of police racism, the bourgeois press tried to play down the intimate connection between the anti-apartheid protest and the cops' swastika display. KRON-TV (owned by the SF *Chronicle*), for example, covered the shocking story of the Nazi poster completely separate from its coverage of the anti-apartheid demonstration, making it appear the two were separate events.

Police officials of course have joined Feinstein's pooh-poohing of the incident: police chief Con Murphy called the swastika display "in very poor taste and unprofessional," but "stopped short...of saying the action warranted dismissal" (*Examiner*, 23 August). The cops' whitewash machine is in full gear. The police crime lab has "confiscated" the poster, as if high-tech criminalistics were required to get to the bottom of things (or maybe they want it for their own wall). Central Station captain Gray doesn't think the officers in the van were responsible, while deputy chief George Eimil backs up this absurd lie, blustering, "As soon as we find out who did this, we'll cut his balls off" (*Examiner*, 22 August).

But the SFPD's humbling efforts to cover up the obvious—explaining the van was used "24 hours a day" (so that's why nobody noticed it?), or that "we have a lot of very young officers who may not realize what that flag represents"—only open up more cans of worms. Cop John Clemensen, photographed sitting next to the poster, was described as a "family-type guy—older and more mature," and "not known to collect Nazi memorabilia" (*Examiner*, 21 August). Just how many cops *are* known to collect Nazi memorabilia? As ex-sheriff Hongisto noted, "We've got a city with a Jewish mayor and a Police Department running around putting up Nazi slogans" (*Examiner*, 22 August).

For some years now the SF police have been acting as a law unto themselves, with bonapartist contempt for civilian control. This latest scandal comes on top of a string of cop atrocities. Among the most notorious: **May 1979**, cops riot against gays, busting bars and cracking heads, when ex-cop Dan White gets a slap-on-the-wrist conviction for murdering Mayor George Moscone and gay supervisor Harvey Milk. **September 1981**, police assault picketers and bystanders at an anti-Duarte protest at the Jack Tar Hotel. **July 1984**, cops run wild against rad-lib demonstrators pressuring the Democratic convention after Feinstein and Reagan turn the convention site into a virtual armed camp. **September 1984**, cops hold patrons at gunpoint at posh Lord Jim's, a bar frequented by attorneys. **November 1984**, cops beat demonstrators and smash TV cameras at a protest against war chief Weinberger. And in **February-March 1985** the cops bust porn movie star Marilyn Chambers, arrest prominent columnist Warren Hinckle at the *Chronicle* building after he mocked the Chambers arrest in his column, and take over a fifth grade class at the black Taylor Elementary School in a SWAT-style "exercise," waving guns and terrorizing children and teachers.

The cops have a particular reason to hate the Spartacist League, too. As SL spokesman Nelson told the press, the cops came to the SL demonstration with their swastika in part "because they hate us for being reds and for tearing down the racist Confederate flag from San Francisco Civic Center last year. When the cops took Ritchie Bradley in for tearing down the Confederate flag they had a photo of Richmond's KKK-'Cowboy' cops [posing with a Confederate flag] hanging on the wall in Northern Station." The Spartacist League also initiated the successful April 1980 ANCAN labor/black demonstration of 1,200 that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in SF Civic Center.

This is not a case of a few "rogue cops run amok," and the pattern of cop terror is not isolated to San Francisco. They're taking their cues straight from the White House. With the preferred candidate of the Ku Klux Klan laying wreaths at Nazi graves while beating the anti-Soviet war drums, racist terrorists are increasingly raising their heads across America. The firebombing of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia, murdering at least eleven black men, women and children, was Reagan's "Bitburg East." SL spokesman Nelson stated:

> "The cops are not just reveling in the regalia of the Third Reich. Their swastika is a warning to every Jew, black, Hispanic and Asian, to every gay, to every red and trade unionist.... The cops are the armed fist of this racist capitalist system, and we have no illusions the police forces can be reformed into liberal humanitarians. It will take a socialist revolution to rid this country of the violence-crazed police force, which is also a prime recruiting ground for fascist terror groups."

The furor in South Africa and abroad over apartheid boss Botha's threat to kill Moloise brought about a last-minute stay of execution, but his fate and that of many others still hangs in the balance. In conjunction with the SL, the Bay Area League for Social Defense has issued an appeal stating: "The Nazi-loving cops have been dealt a blow.... For our part we must now redouble our efforts to save Benjamin Moloise. Join us in organizing a massive labor/black-centered demonstration on September 7." For more information, contact the Labor Black League at (415) 835-1535 or (415) 863-6964. ■

WV Photo

WV photographer snapped evidence of SF cops' Nazi poster; Examiner downplayed scandal by cropping cop out of picture.

San Francisco Examiner
21 August 1985

Mayor upset by Nazi poster seen in police van at apartheid protest

By Lance Williams
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

San Francisco Police began to investigate today how a swastika-adorned Nazi war poster came to be tacked up inside a police patrol wagon, an incident Mayor Feinstein called "plain stupid."

Lt. John Carlin said two sergeants from the department's management control division came to Central Station this morning looking for the wagon and the poster, which were seen and photographed yesterday afternoon at an anti-apartheid demonstration held by the Spartacus League outside the office of South Africa Airways downtown.

Photos of the van, which were provided to The Examiner by one of the demonstrators, show an officer sitting in the vehicle, with the Nazi poster hanging on the back wall of the passenger compartment.

The poster depicts several World War II-vintage warships at sea, with a large banner — decorated with both a swastika and the German Iron Cross — filling the sky.

A legend, in German, reads "The German War-Navy in Action."

Feinstein, who has been highly critical of several recent incidents that have embarrassed the police department, today termed the incident "plain stupid" and called on Chief Cornelius Murphy to discipline the officers responsible.

"Clearly, this particular poster has no place on any city property," she said.

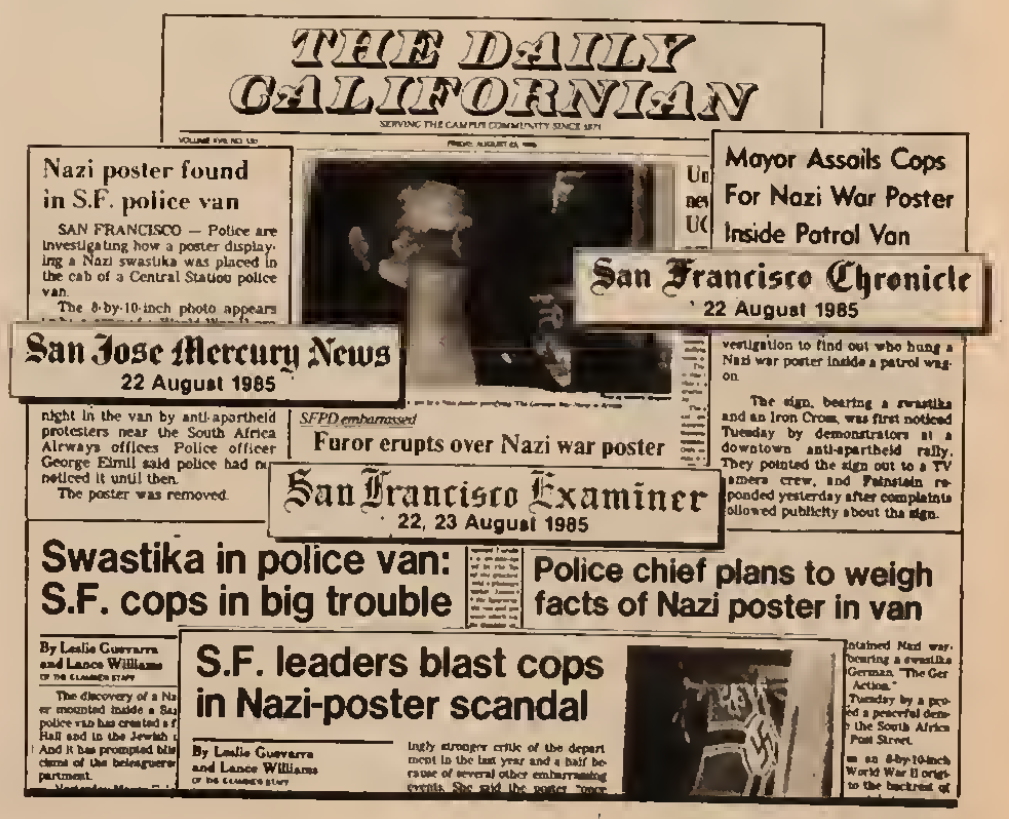
Although terming the incident "very minor," she said it "once again illustrates bad judgment" on the part of the police.

Carlin confirmed that the van is assigned to Central Station, but said he has never seen a Nazi poster hang-

— Please see NAZI, A-12

Workers Vanguard

NAZI POSTER IN POLICE VAN
SFPD probing who tacked it up



THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN

Nazi poster found in S.F. police van

SAN FRANCISCO — Police are investigating how a poster displaying a Nazi swastika was placed in the cab of a Central Station police van.

The 8-by-10-inch photo appears

night in the van by anti-apartheid protesters near the South Africa Airways offices. Police officer George Eimil said police had n noticed it until then.

The poster was removed.

Mayor Assails Cops For Nazi War Poster Inside Patrol Van

San Francisco Chronicle
22 August 1985

San Jose Mercury News
22 August 1985

vestigation to find out who hung a Nazi war poster inside a patrol wagon.

The sign, bearing a swastika and an Iron Cross, was first noticed Tuesday by demonstrators at a downtown anti-apartheid rally. They pointed the sign out to a TV camera crew, and Feinstein responded yesterday after complaints followed publicity about the sign.

SFPD embarrassed
Furor erupts over Nazi war poster

San Francisco Examiner
22, 23 August 1985

Swastika in police van: S.F. cops in big trouble

Police chief plans to weigh facts of Nazi poster in van

By Leslie Guevarra and Lance Williams

The discovery of a Na
er mounted inside a Sa
police van has created a
Hall and in the Jewish
And it has prompted bla
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S.F. leaders blast cops in Nazi-poster scandal

By Leslie Guevarra and Lance Williams

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Chicago Racist Frame-Up Smashed!

CHICAGO—On August 23, Cook County State's Attorney Richard Daley was forced to drop seven counts of reckless homicide and other lesser charges against black Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) hus driver David Johnson. This is a real victory for labor and blacks in this city. Daley and the racist Chicago cops were attempting to railroad Johnson, a 25-year veteran driver, for murder because of a tragic accident in which seven white youths were killed when their car suddenly swerved in front of Johnson's crowded bus outside of a Bruce Springsteen concert on August 9. But a powerful union/black mobilization stopped this racist frame-up cold. Most importantly, it was a march by over 700 mostly black transit workers on police headquarters on the night of August 14 that served notice to Daley that there would be no "legal" lynching of David Johnson.

Despite overwhelming physical evidence and dozens of eyewitnesses, including passengers standing in the front section of the bus, who confirmed that Johnson was not at fault, the Chicago cops saw only two things: the kids were white and dead; the driver was black and alive. The stuff of ordinary human tragedy quickly became a racist railroad, Chicago-style. Within four hours of the accident, Daley charged Johnson with reckless homicide. Sheriff's deputies marched into the hospital room where Johnson was under observation in the cardiac unit, recovering from extensive neck and back injuries. The cops took his mug shot and fingerprints—and shackled him to his bed!

Almost immediately the media geared up a racist, anti-union campaign retailing outlandish stories about "cowboy bus drivers" barreling down the streets of Chicago. Daley's assistants spoon-fed TV and the press with reports that the

Childs/Chicago Defender

Victimized bus driver David Johnson at Mercy Hospital.

many witnesses supporting Johnson were "emotional" and "biased" (i.e., mainly black). One state's attorney spokesman even claimed that the "quality of witnesses counts, not the quantity"! And then later the family of one of the kids filed a civil suit, seeking $1 million each from Johnson and the CTA.

The charges against Johnson and the outrageous assault by the sheriff's department touched off a storm of protest. The *Chicago Defender*, the black daily newspaper, backed Johnson and gave the affair continuous coverage. Black Democratic Party politicians from Jesse Jackson to members of Mayor Harold Washington's administration—with an eye to the 1987 mayoral elections, where Daley is planning on challenging Washington—were quick to denounce the charges. But they were all quite willing to leave Johnson's fate to the mercies of Chicago's notoriously racist and corrupt "justice" system, where blacks are routinely excluded from juries and are not—in the eyes of the state's attorney's office—"quality" witnesses.

Hundreds Rally for ATU Bus Driver

WV Photo

Transit workers defend black union brother, march on police headquarters August 14 demanding "Free David Johnson—Drop the Charges!"

But this time the frame-up artists were in for a surprise. This wasn't going to be the usual railroad job where the cops beat up some ghetto kid and then turn the victim into a criminal in the courts. David Johnson had some powerful friends: a few thousand angry transit workers. The union leadership wouldn't act so the workers themselves took to the streets. On August 14 over 700 rank and file transit workers and their supporters mobilized with signs saying, "Stop the Railroad" and "New Rope, Old Tree." After gathering at Grant Park they marched to police headquarters on State Street, where they spilled into the street, chanting "Free David Johnson! Drop the Charges!" They nearly brought traffic to a stop. As buses crept along State Street through the crowd, drivers honked and signaled their solidarity with clenched fists.

The few politicians, preachers and union leaders who showed up were quickly pressed into service by the beleaguered cops to control the crowd. But the cops were faced down this time: the notorious racist butchers were kept at bay right in their front yard. In 1968 in this same area Chicago police ran riot against student anti-war protesters outside the Democratic Party convention, bludgeoning and arresting hundreds. But this time they were up against a key city union, the black working class and its supporters. It shows you what you can do when you've got some social power and the guts and willingness to use it.

It was certainly no thanks to the leadership of Johnson's union, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241. The local's president, Elcosie Gresham, tried to sabotage the transit workers' efforts. Union militants told *Workers Vanguard* that Gresham and his cronies on the exec board refused pointblank to endorse the August 14 rally, which was initiated by a union-community group, the Committee for Protection. Gresham reportedly claimed "that is not my method." Drivers at Johnson's 77th Street garage were especially incensed that Gresham sent out union officials to tell workers not to go to the rally, even lying that it had been canceled.

Despite the efforts of Gresham & Co. to quiet things down, transit workers didn't stop in their efforts to free Johnson. Inspired by the August 14 demonstration, militants in ATU Locals 241 and 308 began circulating a statement calling for militant action to save Johnson from Chicago's "plantation justice":

> "We run this city's mass transit and we're its most powerful integrated union. The cops who want to put David away got a sample of our power when 500 union members and friends marched on police headquarters last Wednesday to demand Brother Johnson's freedom.
>
> "Now we need to do much more to make sure this racist frame-up doesn't go down. On August 29 they plan to drag David Johnson into a hearing at 26th and California. We say NO 'Business as Usual' August 29. *EVERY* ATU member—all 12,000—should be at that hearing to demand: DROP THE CHARGES!"

In Chicago transit, where drivers have forged a tradition of "parking the buses," whether to honor a slain union member or to protest racist union leaders (as happened in 1968), this call to mobilize the entire union met with enthusiastic support. Drivers at 77th Street suggested surrounding the courthouse with buses. Within two days the statement was signed by over 170 ATU members, printed up and distributed.

On August 23 Daley held a press conference to announce he was dropping the charges. Transit workers won a big victory in beating back the bigots and labor-haters. And they did it in Segregation City. Two and a half years of Harold Washington's black Democratic Party administration has changed nothing for the masses of blacks and workers here. Black families are firebombed out of segregated neighborhoods, the cops shoot down and frame up minorities, ghetto youth have no jobs. CTA workers themselves have worked almost a year without a contract, with Washington in the forefront pushing the union-busting HB 1805 legislation.

The Democrats didn't get justice for David Johnson. What was different this time is that the bus drivers took matters in their own hands and hit the streets, relying on their own strength. Daley and the courts "reconsidered the evidence" because they feared a citywide explosion centered on militant black unionists. The workers gave this city a taste of labor/black power—and won!

The militant August 14 march points the way forward for all of labor and the oppressed to beat back racist capitalist terror. New York transit workers might take particular note: if the powerful integrated TWU mobilized against the wanton killer cops there, we bet Koch's cossacks wouldn't be so quick to reach for their triggers. The Democratic and Republican bosses and their courts/cop frame-up machine can be beaten through militant, mass labor/black struggle. ■

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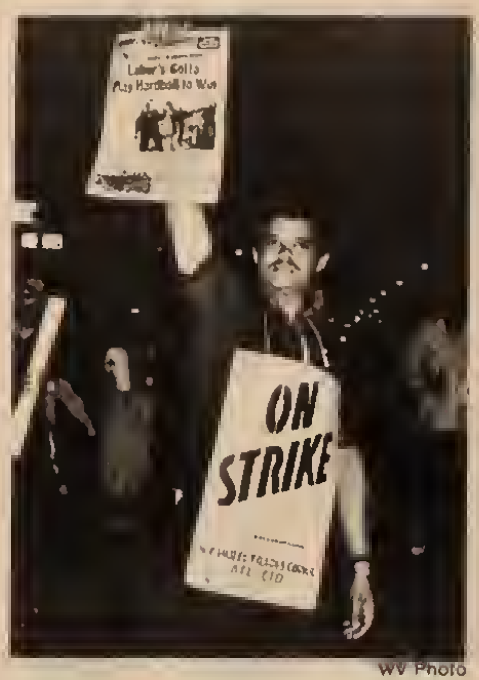

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New York 8+ Defeat RICO Witchhunt

Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen issued the following statement:

17 August 1985

On August 5 a federal jury found the radical black nationalist New York Eight+ not guilty on eight "terrorist conspiracy" charges. This is a defeat for the government's design to round up as "criminals" and "terrorists" all those who oppose its policies. It is a victory for democratic, civil and labor rights.

Among the conspiracy charges dismissed by the jury was one count based on the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), now a weapon in the state's arsenal of repression against the left. Much of this arsenal was brought to bear against the New York 8+, their families and supporters. They were subjected to 22 months of round-the-clock surveillance, including the taping of more than 500 phone conversations. On October 17, 1984 hundreds of agents of the FBI/NYPD "Joint Terrorist Task Force" armed with shotguns and automatic weapons—including machine guns and bazookas—staged a Gestapo-like raid of six homes in Brooklyn, Queens and Manhattan, arresting the eight. They were then held in South Africa-style "preventive detention" without bail under the provisions of the Bail Reform Act passed by Congress only a week before their arrest. After a judge determined they were not "a threat to the community" the eight were released on bail.

Abukari

Beating back the government witchhunt strengthens whole working-class movement.

However, three spouses and five friends of the defendants were incarcerated for months for refusing to cooperate with a witchhunting grand jury. A ninth defendant was indicted after refusing to become a government fink. On the eve of the trial, a court-appointed defense counsel who had access to all defense strategy meetings was discovered to have never been admitted to the bar; in fact he is under government investigation. The prosecution's principal witness was a long-time political associate of the New York 8+ with a profile of an agent provocateur.

After all these months of intensive "surveillance" and "dirty tricks" the government nevertheless went to trial with a 66-count indictment that alleged not a single violent crime. The jury saw through the frame-up and threw out the phony "conspiracy" charges.

As a communist organization dedicated to black liberation through workers revolution, we of the Spartacist League have been thrust into the forefront of the fight against state terrorism and witchhunting. We concluded in late 1984 a successful legal challenge to the 1983 Attorney General's "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" for the FBI which combine sweeping "conspiracy" measures such as RICO with the legalization of direct-hit military repression. Vicious terrorism against the American people emanates from the *government*. The bombing of black babies and MOVE members in Philadelphia last May bears the signature of the Reagan years. In Harlem and black communities throughout the country, the police wantonly execute black youth like Michael Stewart and Edmund Perry, black grandmothers like Eleanor Bumpurs. The powers that be want to ensure that black outrage be given no organized expression and have set out to make "examples" of radical groups and individuals.

Seven of the New York 8+ could still spend dozens of years in jail on the remaining fraud and "illegal" gun possession charges. "Gun control" laws disarm the citizens, leaving a monopoly of organized violence in the hands of the police. We say: Gun control kills blacks! Drop all the charges against the New York 8+!

As Marxist revolutionists, we have a strategy entirely different from that of the New York 8+. But their beating back of this government witchhunt strengthens the working-class movement in the inevitable battles that lie ahead. Armed with a strategic perspective which places no faith in the "justice" of the courts and all confidence in the power of mass, integrated working-class struggle, we are determined that we will win.

Spartacist Campaign...

(continued from page 3)

Saigon generals and drug pushers are welcomed with open arms, black Haitians who make it to these shores are locked up in concentration camps from Krome Avenue in Miami to frozen Lake Placid, New York. "This city was built on the sweat and blood of immigrant labor. We say: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for every foreign-born worker!" She concluded, "From Haiti to New York: workers to power! *A bas Duvalier—Pouvoir ouvrier!*"

WV Photo

Marjorie at squatters' camp on Avenue C. Spartacists say: "Homeless Should Seize Trump City!"

At a candidates night at the "Piggyback" self-help group in Harlem August 30, Stamberg was asked about drugs, inferior education, the desperate situation of ghetto youth on the streets. She got hearty applause when she responded:

> "Our starting point is that we cannot reform, in any kind of piecemeal way, the system—the whole system is set up to exploit and oppress the working people and minorities. We need a socialist revolution that overturns the whole basis of the oppression in this society.... You see, you're going to *want* an education if you have a job out there. If you don't have it, and you have no possibility of doing anything, except being drafted into the army and being cannon fodder in some damn war against your class brothers in Nicaragua or Vietnam, what life is there for you? That is what we want to change. That is what we're fighting about. That is why I say the whole situation can't be isolated, it's a revolutionary solution."

This is the message of our campaign: that working people and minorities need a fighting workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution. Unlike the bourgeois pols who come around every couple of years to collect votes with hollow promises—"Vote for me and I'll set you free"—we're talking about a party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, the party of the October Revolution. The capitalist politicians call for more cops, more cutbacks. The pseudo-socialists like the CP and SWP try to pressure the state—Reagan, Koch & Co.—to put "people before profits." But we look to the early Communist International, which used the capitalist elections and parliaments to mobilize the masses around the slogans of proletarian revolution.

And this history is not as remote as the reformists would pretend. On the Lower East Side, a Puerto Rican student signed our petitions, then wanted to talk about the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. At 96th and Broadway, a black man from the South signed to get Margie and Ed on the ballot, saying how much he hated the NYC Gestapo police. "But you're so small," he said, voicing the question of many who see the need for revolution but despair of getting there. As our comrade began quoting Lenin in January 1917 about how rapidly things can change, the man cut in, "Well, you know, the Bolsheviks were small once..." ■

Thousands of CWA Jobs Threatened:

Fight Ma Bell's Layoffs!

On August 29, some 500 workers from District 1 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) picketed the headquarters of AT&T in Manhattan to protest the corporation's plan to cut 17,000 union jobs for the sake of increased "profitability." The picket included a contingent from CWA Local 1177, whose 600 members have been on strike for a month against Western Union over the contracting out of jobs and other union-busting assaults.

The company announcement sparked local demands for a one-day nationwide strike against the job cuts, but the international union tops treacherously vetoed even this minimal proposal in favor of perfunctory and impotent lunchtime protests. What's needed is the mass mobilization of the hundreds of thousands of CWAers across the country for strike action *now*, while they still have jobs, instead of waiting for the contract expiration in the summer of 1986. But the only "action" planned by the Watts/Bahr international leadership at the CWA's July convention was to send their flunkeys back home to squash a walkout at Ohio Bell in Cleveland.

It takes a class-struggle leadership to win: Mass picket lines against Western Union to shut it down! Union solidarity—picket lines mean don't cross! For a nationwide strike against AT&T layoffs!

WV Photo

Striking Western Union workers join demonstration outside AT&T headquarters, August 29.

"Nicabucks" Campaign: In the Bolshevik Tradition

The Spartacus Youth League's fund-raising campaign which raised over $25,000 for the defense of Nicaragua seems to be raising some eyebrows among professional "Spart-watchers" on the American left. Maybe it might open some eyes as well. It's certainly striking how in the face of the U.S. trade embargo, the craven "solidarity" milieu *has done next to nothing in the way of mobilizations or material aid for Nicaragua against Yankee aggression.* (In the name of political support to the Sandinistas, this same crowd has done everything they could to "quarantine" the Spartacist League.) At most the pacifists have engaged in a little civil disobedience and the CISPES cesspool is consumed by the perennial reformist debate over single-issue vs. multi-issue, while lamenting that all their Congressional lobbying has produced a big zero.

The reason for this criminal paralysis is not hard to find: appealing to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, using Daniel Ortega's Moscow visit as a pretext and taking up the liberals' call for a trade embargo, Reagan has overcome tactical differences with the Democrats to achieve a "consensus" among the partner parties of American imperialism for the overthrow of the Nicaraguan Revolution. So now that Congress is voting aid to the CIA's "contras" and okaying a U.S. invasion in advance, the left tail on the Democratic donkey goes limp—just like they called off Central America demos during last year's U.S. elections in order to avoid embarrassing Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale

We read in a report from Chicago: "At a recent meeting of the Marxist Education group—where all the old New Left burnouts hang out—someone observed, 'The Sparts have changed. They're a lot more reasonable now, not so antagonistic to other leftists. They're even collecting money for the Sandinistas. They used to be against the Sandinistas. I wonder why they changed their line?'" A would-be defender reportedly answered that the SL was defending the Sandinistas because they were under attack, not because of a line change, and that "now that they're the only significant group that supports Trotsky they can take a more vanguard approach." Actually, both the detractors and our defender got it wrong—*they mix up political support and military aid*—though it's indicative that the SL is now recognized as *the* Trotskyist organization in the U.S.

A most jaundiced view, from a pro-Sandinista groupie around the so-called "External Tendency," accuses the SL of trying to get the Sandinista franchise. The "proof": we have collected dollars for Nicaragua. At least the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] waited until Castro consolidated a deformed workers state in Cuba before they signed on, she commented snidely, adding that "if we saw the SL in Nicaragua, we'd kick them out." This is hardly the attitude of the Nicaraguan government, which, well aware of the sharp political differences separating us, has appreciatively received this badly needed material aid. Prominent government figures in Managua are reportedly wondering aloud that the "Trots" are raising money on street corners in the U.S. while the "solidarity" types sit on their ass and mutter against Soviet aid.

Another item from Chicago: a former member of the International Socialists (IS) refused to give money to the SYL's "Nicabucks" campaign, arguing that donating dollars to the Nicaraguan government is like voting war credits in the Cortes (Spanish parliament) to the republican government during the Spanish Civil War. As an alternative he suggests sending money to the ex-Maoist Albanianites. Again there is a confusion of military and political support: who else could one give money to for the military defense of Nicaragua but the Nicaraguan government, whereas money to a small group of far leftists could only be for political propaganda. It's interesting to note who raises this pseudo-left argument. Back in the mid-'60s the Cornell University administration tried to discipline Spartacist supporters for our campaign for "Guns for the Viet Cong." At the time the IS "third camp" social democrats were against military victory to the Viet Cong, just as this ex-ISer opposes military support to Nicaragua today.

But let's examine the Spain comparison. In September 1937, in an article titled "Answer to Questions on the Spanish Situation (A Concise Summary)," Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "Will we, as a revolutionary party, mobilize new volunteers for [republican prime minister] Negrin? That would be to send them into the hands of the GPU [Stalinist secret police]. Collect money for the Negrin government? Absurd! We will collect money for our own comrades in Spain."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)*

This quote comes from a polemic against the ultraleft Salemme group among the American Trotskyists, who claimed that: "The Cannon-Shachtman-Goldman line of 'preferring a loyalist victory' [in Spain] is identical with the approach of the Stalinists. This open degeneration into the swamp of 'lesser evil' Popular Front politics explodes the pretense that material aid does not involve political support." The Salemme group's line was barely disguised neutrality in the Civil War, where decaying bourgeois democracy and fascism faced off on the field of battle.

WV Photo

Spartacists raise FMLN flag of Salvadoran leftist combatants at NYC march, November 1981. Spartacists call for "Military Victory" to Salvadoran insurgents while reformists oppose battlefield victory, trail Democrats' call for negotiated sellout.

A week later, Trotsky wrote to James P. Cannon in response to a letter from Max Shachtman raising the question of voting in the Spanish parliament for the republican war budget. Here Trotsky expressed concern that in the American Fourth Internationalists' latest thesis on Spain, "The question of the so-called material aid to the Negrin government was too generally formulated and could thus give a certain basis for the 'left' opposition—Salemme and others.... A vote in parliament for the financial budget is not a 'material' aid, but an act of political solidarity." But is sending dollars to the Nicaraguan government for defense against U.S. aggression the same as collecting money for the Negrin government, or voting war credits in the Cortes? Not at all.

Look at the actual circumstances in Spain. First of all there was a *civil war* and *dual power* on the republican side of the lines. The republican government in Madrid/Valencia (and its counterpart in Barcelona) was a *capitalist* regime, however faint the "shadow of the bourgeoisie" in the Popular Front, which was determined to preserve the rule of private property. Using those elements of the officer corps and military apparatus (civil and assault guards) that remained loyal to the republic, they recreated a bourgeois army. Egged on by the Stalinists, the Negrin cabinet carried out a brutal crackdown against the revolutionary workers and their leaders. They were determined to strangle the social revolution which had already begun, even if it meant losing the war to the Francoists (which it eventually did). In the Spanish Civil War we sought the victory of the revolutionary forces on the republican side, to smash Franco through military victory and complete the proletarian revolution.

Moreover, *Trotsky did not oppose material aid to the republican side in the Spanish Civil War.* His article opposing raising money for the Negrin government was written in the aftermath of the murderous repression of the workers' insurrection in the 1937 Barcelona "May Days" and the assassination of POUM leader Andrés Nin by the GPU. A couple of months prior to this, speaking before the Dewey Commission in Mexico, Trotsky was asked what he would do in Spain if he were in power in the Soviet Union. He replied:

> "Naturally, I would help Caballero [then prime minister of the republican government in Madrid] with all the material means against fascism, but at the same time I would give the advice to the Communist Party not to enter into the government, but to remain in a critical position against Caballero and to prepare the second chapter of the workers' revolution."
>
> —"Revolutionary Strategy in the Civil War" (14 April 1937)

Likewise, the French Trotskyists denounced the Popular Front government of Léon Blum for its perfidious refusal to supply arms to the anti-Franco side in the Spanish Civil War. Even after the defeat of the Barcelona insurrection, Trotsky did not reject military support to the republican army. On the contrary, he wrote against the Salemme group:

> "Do they propose desertion from the loyalist army, or a military insurrection?... If we ask the soldier not to fight, then we must ask the worker (who by working in the munitions factory gives 'material aid' to the loyalist government) not to work."
>
> —"Answer to Questions on the Spanish Situation"

The situation of Nicaragua today is notably different from Spain during the Civil War. As in Cuba at the beginning of the 1960s, there is no dual power but a bonapartist petty-bourgeois nationalist regime which came to power by smashing the pre-existing capitalist state apparatus (the Batista and Somoza dictatorships and their mercenary armies) and is not wedded to the preservation of capitalist property relations. Under the impact of U.S. blackmail and aggression, the Sandinistas could be forced by Reagan down the Cuban road to the expropriation of the capitalists and the consolidation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

In Nicaragua it is a matter of *resisting imperialist aggression*, both economic and military. We point out in the "Defend Nicaragua!" leaflet for the SYL fundraising campaign that the trade embargo is an act of war, which could lead directly to a U.S. invasion. Noting that "Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from arms to medicine to spare parts," our effort to raise dollars has been a concrete expression of military support to the Nicaraguan Revolution under Yankee attack. It has been notably successful—raising

continued on page 15

WV Photo

Young compañeros of the revolution on guard in Managua.

As U.S. War Machine Targets Russia

Gorbachev and the Soviet Economy

Within Russia and without, the ascension of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has heen seen as "galvanizing" the Soviet Union. The new first secretary nf the CPSU has sharply criticized the sloth, the cnrruption, the stultifying complacency of the Brezhnev years, and has called for "profound transformations in the economy and in the entire system of social relations" of the USSR hy the year 2000. And indeed a new generation of officials have been elevated to tnp posts in the Kremlin hierarchy. Visiting factnries, holding impromptu street meetings, lecturing conferences on science and technology, Mikhail Gorbachev is preaching the need for dynamism and discipline.

The new style of the Kremlin leadership is captured in a joke making the roonds of Moscow wits. Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev are all on the Trans-Siberian Express, crossing the vast taiga. The train breaks down. Stalin orders, "Shoot the engine driver." The train fails to move. Khrushchev says, "Rehabilitate the engine driver." Still no movement. Brezhnev closes the curtains, settles back in his seat and says, "Let's pretend the train is moving." Gorhachev jumps up and orders everybody off the train. "Everybody push," he says, "and I'll give you a pay raise later." But Gorbachev's message is not simply work harder. At his speech to the Central Committee following the death of Chernenko, he called on Russia to join the high-tech age:

> "We are to achieve a decisive turn in transferring the nationat economy to the tracks of intensive develepment. We shoutd, we are hound to attain within the briefest period the most advanced scientific and technical positions, the highest wortd levet in the productivity of social labour."
>
> —*New York Times*, t2 March

Can Gorhachev's program work? Certainly, in an economy governed by the aphorism, "we pretend to work and they pretend to pay us," cracking down on slothful work hahits, abscnteeism, drunkenness, etc. can, and tn some degree already has improved lahor productivity. There is plenty of room for eliminating the worst instances of managerial corroption and inefficiency without hasically altering the system. Bot the roots of the Soviet Union's present economic malaise go deeper. Bourgeois economists point to the parasitism and conservatism of the ruling hureaucracy, and ascribe this to Leninism and a planned economy.

On the contrary, bureaucracy is the *enemy* of rational economic planning. Already in the late 1920s, Leon Trotsky, co-founder together with Lenin of the Soviet state, pinpointed the source of the problems: there can be no fundamental revitalization of the Soviet economy withoot the restoration of workers democracy.

Gorbachev has been pursoing his prngram of galvanizing the bureaucracy like a man in a hurry. Already as hatchet man under Andropov, he fired *one-third* of all district party secretaries, a quarter of the 90 ministers and nine of the 23 CC departinent heads (*Der Spiegel*, 18 March). As head of the Communist Party he has ousted the ministers of agro-industry, petroleum and construction. This sense of orgency, especially over the flagging rate of Soviet economic growth, reflects at hottom the increasing pressure of imperialist militarism. The current gang in Washington is gearing up for war: Reagan's salute to the Nazi war dead at Bithorg only underscores the danger of a nuclear Operation Barbarossa. At the same time, the American right wing has long helieved it can bankrupt the Soviet economy through an all-out arms race. Now in power, thcy're hell-hent on destroying the "evil empire."

TASS

Soviet leader Gorbachev visits steel mill, June 1985, part of widely publicized campaign for intensified work.

> "The U.S.A. must double its spending on armaments. We must get an effective military satellite into orbit and the Russkies had better know we'll use it... *we must double our expenditure right away.*
>
> "...we spend ten percent of our gross national product at present. We could double that without suffering; hut the USSR already spends twenty percent of her gross national product. If she doubles that, hoy she will crack. Get me—she'll crack."
>
> —Len Deighton,
> *The Billion Dollar Brain*

Such was the worldly wisdom of "General Midwinter," Texas oil tycoon and führer of a privately owned anti-Communist espionage outfit, Crusade for Freedom. When Deighton wrote this spy novel in the mid-1960s, General Midwinter was presented and regarded as a certifiable nut case. Today he would bc considered a middle-of-the-roader in the Reagan administration.

A typical view of the world according to General Midwinter is Richard Pipes' new hook, *Survival Is Not Enough* (1984). This anti-Communist tract has received little attention *except* from the Reagan gang. The book jacket is filled with endorsements by Kirkpatrick, Weinberger, Nitze & Co. The Pentagon chief asserts, "I strongly agree with Pipes's main point." Pipes' main point is to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union through a combination of noclear brinkmanship, an unrestrained arms race, total economic warfare and internal subversion.

Richard Pipes, a charter member of the Reagan gang, as director of East European and Soviet Affairs for the National Security Council in 1981-82 caused a small flap when he declared that "there was no alternative to war with the Soviet Union if the Russians did not abandon Communism" (*New York Times*, 27 March 1981). In his latest book he spells out his pipedreams of "peaceful" counterrevolution:

> "The other [alternative] is wider scope for private enterprise.... This probably calls for the decentralization of industrial decision making, the dismantling of collective farms, the adoption in industry and agriculture of the contractual principle as the rule rather than the exception, and the turning over of a good part of the consumer and service sectors to private enterprise. The consequence of such reforms would be a mixed economy...."

It is not only the General Midwinters now running amok in Washington who think that the Soviet Union has reached such a sorry impasse that to survive its leaders must move toward capitalism. The associate director of Harvard's Russian Research Center, Marshall Goldman, entitled his latest book, *U.S.S.R. in Crisis: The Failure of an Economic System* (1983). The liberal *Washington Post* (23 September 1984) wrote: "The existing economic structore does not offer the prospect of turning

TASS

Quittard/Gamma-Liaison

Soviet missiles on display at Red Square (above); Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov denounces U.S. deployment of first-strike Pershing missiles, December 1983 (right). Need for massive military defense in face of U.S. war provocations is a drain on Soviet economy.

the backward Soviet Union into a modern industrial power, and it now faces unprecedented internal strains as it struggles merely to maintain forward momentum." "Any serious attempt to rescue the Soviet economy," declares the conservative London *Economist* (16 March), must involve "the freeing of part of the industrial sector, and most of the service industries, from all but the most general instructions of the central planning bureaucrats."

In short, Western bourgeois opinion has convinced itself a) that the Soviet Union has entered a period of deepening economic crisis, which cannot be resolved through traditional methods or piecemeal tinkering; and b) that the only feasible way out is the abandonment of centralized economic planning in favor of market-oriented "reforms"—competition between enterprises, giving managers the power to determine output and prices, the liquidation of collectivized agriculture for peasant smallholding, and allowing private entrepreneurs to take over much of the service sector, such as retail trade.

A Soviet Economic Crisis?

Reading Western discussions of the present state of the Soviet economy, one is reminded of Mark Twain's line: "the reports of my death are greatly exaggerated." The propaganda campaign about a Soviet economic "crisis" began in the early 1980s, at a time when the advanced capitalist world itself was suffering the worst depression since the 1930s. Thirty million workers were unemployed in North America, West Europe and Japan, while the Soviet Union has experienced *over-full* employment, that is, there are more jobs available than workers to fill them. In 1981-82 industrial production in North America *fell* by 6 percent and in West Europe by 4 percent. In these two years industrial production in the USSR *increased* by 6 percent. While every major capitalist government—Reagan, Thatcher, Mitterrand, Kohl—has imposed savage austerity measures and slashed social services and welfare, consumption levels in the Soviet Union have *improved* in recent years, albeit at a very slow pace.

What then is the basis for all the talk of an economic "crisis" in the USSR? It is the fact that the rate of growth has slowed markedly over the past decade. To put this slowdown in perspective one has to appreciate the rapid economic development in the previous decades. From 1950 to 1980 per capita consumption in the USSR nearly *tripled*. There were striking advances in practically every area of material life.

Take food, for example. The American public is told that the Soviet Union cannot feed its own people but must rely on massive imports of grain from the West. The reality is very different. Gross agricultural output more than doubled between 1960 and 1980. There has been a dramatic, qualitative improvement in the diet of the average Soviet citizen. Per capita meat consumption more than doubled, from 57 to 125 pounds a year, between 1950 and 1982. Similarly, in this period per capita consumption of fish rose from 15 to 40 pounds, and vegetables from 112 to 222 pounds (David Lane, *Soviet Economy and Society* [1985]). At the same time, consumption of traditional Russian staples, such as potatoes and bread, have fallen as people upgraded their diet. Today the average Soviet citizen eats at least as much beef as a worker in Thatcher's Britain and far more pork and fish. The Soviet Union's large imports of grain, in some years amounting to a quarter of total consumption, are used for *cattle fodder*, not bread.

Insofar as one can speak of an economic crisis in the Soviet Union, it is a *crisis of expectations* both on the part of the working masses and the ruling bureaucratic elite. The Soviet people have gotten a taste, so to speak, of a Western standard of living and naturally want more. But in recent years there is little more to be had. Meat consumption—a key index of a Western diet—has been frozen for a decade. Apart from certain consumer durables (televisions, refrigerators), there has been no major improvement in Soviet living standards since the mid-1970s. Yesterday's promises have not been fulfilled. Gone are the heady days of the 1950s when the shoe-thumping Nikita Khrushchev boasted that the Soviet Union would overtake the United States and achieve full communism by the year 1980.

TASS

No bread lines in Moscow. Increased food consumption gives lie to U.S. imperialists' fantasy of starving out Soviet people.

In 1980 the head of the central planning agency (Gosplan), Nikolai Baybakov, wrote, "we have been unable to achieve an abrupt change in direction in raising the efficiency of social production...without a radical improvement of affairs in the field of scientific-technical progress, it will not be possible to perform these large tasks which the party and government are setting" (quoted in U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Soviet Economy in the 1980's: Problems and Prospects* [1983]). In Anthony Olcott's Soviet crime thriller *May Day in Magadan*, the fictional KGB general Polkovnikov voices the same worries in more down-to-earth language:

> "What the devil, you don't need figures to know that Gosplan has jumped the rails, that we're in a bad way. Everybody says that things are bad, and could get worse. What if we have to start buying more oil; what if there's another war or the Poles or God knows, there's a million worries...."

USSR Under Reagan's Missiles

At the center of these million worries is the enormous and deforming pressure of Western imperialist militarism. Despite significant economic development over the decades, per capita national income in the Soviet Union is still only 60 percent that of the United States. Thus, keeping up with the Pentagon arsenal is a terrible drain on the Soviet economy. Hence the extreme importance the Stalinist bureaucracy attaches to arms control agreements with the NATO powers. Hence also the perennial right-wing notion, à la General Midwinter, that the U.S. can break the Soviet Union economically through an all-out arms race.

According to the CIA and other professional Kremlin and Gosplan watchers, the Soviet Union has continued to increase real military spending by 4.5 percent annually over the past decade even though overall economic growth has fallen below this rate. As a result the share of the military sector has increased from an estimated 12 percent in the 1970s to 14 percent of gross national product currently (compared to 7 percent in the United States). Moreover, this figure *understates* the actual burden of defense on the Soviet economy. The military sector absorbs a far greater proportion of the most advanced scientific and technological resources (scientists, engineers, sophisticated machinery, computer time). It takes up the cream of research and development expenditure. As American economist Stanley Cohn explained, "the intensive R and D effort required to support production of strategic weaponry has further deprived civilian production sectors of the most important growth ingredients" (U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Soviet Military Economic Relations* [1983]).

Despite the increasing burden of military defense and the slowdown in economic growth, consumption levels have *not* been cut back and in certain areas have improved: more guns (or missiles) and no less butter (or meat). How has this been possible? The Kremlin bureaucrats have mortgaged long-term economic growth by slashing to the bone new investment in plant and equipment. In the 1976-80 Five Year Plan investment growth was cut in half, from 7 to 3.5 percent a year. In the current (1981-85) plan it has been almost halved again, to *2 percent a year*, by far the lowest rate since the early 1920s! "The Soviet Policy Favoring Arms Over Investment Since 1975" is the title of a presentation to Congress by a "scholar in residence" for the CIA (now, there's a job title for you). Richard Pipes writes with glee, "the choice before the Soviet leadership is not one between guns and butter...but between guns and factories." Now that *is* true. The Soviet Union cannot meet the massive Pentagon arms buildup without cutting into living standards unless it reverses, and sharply, the deceleration of economic growth in recent years.

What the General Midwinters do not and cannot understand is that the Soviet people, who keenly remember the 20 million killed when Nazi Germany invaded their country, are determined that this will never happen to them again. They are willing to make the sacrifices to ensure military preparedness against the madmen in Washington. An American academic specialist in the Soviet economy, Daniel Bond, tried to explain this fact of Russian life to the United States Congress:

> "The Soviet people do feel defense is a very positive thing; contrary to the American public, which does not really value defense spending positively or think about it in a positive sense. The Soviet population, in part, because of their experience in World War II, views it positively."
>
> —*Soviet Military Economic Relations*

Bureaucratic Parasitism and the Soviet Economy

In the 20-year period from the mid-1950s to the mid-'70s the Soviet economy grew sufficiently rapidly to catch up with the U.S. in the arms race and achieve rough strategic nuclear parity, to more than double its citizens' living standards and even subsidize East Europe on a massive scale. Why is this no longer possible? What is the basic cause of the current Soviet economic malaise?

Soviet industrial development in the past has been based on what economists term *extensive* growth, that is, the construction of new factories drawing upon seemingly unlimited labor power from the countryside. Thus, the *structure* of Soviet industrial investment has historically been very different from that of the advanced capitalist world. For some decades about 50 percent of investment in the U.S. has gone to replace obsolete machinery (retooling). By contrast, in the 1970s almost 80 percent of Soviet industrial investment was expended on *new* construction projects. Furthermore, this construction takes forever to complete because the different bureaucracies in charge (often competing for resources) invariably overestimate productivity and un-

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Viktor Bulla

Workers' meeting of Putilov factory for re-election of Petrograd Soviet, 1920. Only return to workers democracy can release full potential of nationalized economy.

Soviet Economy...

(continued from page 9)

derestimate costs. Thus, Soviet industrial plant is increasingly aged, falling further behind the most advanced Western and Japanese techniques.

By the early 1970s it was clear the Soviet Union was fast exhausting the basic resource for extensive growth, namely, surplus labor. Since then the problem has gotten progressively worse. Whereas during the 1976-80 Five Year Plan eleven million new workers entered the labor force, only three million additional workers have become available in the current five year plan. Of these, 2.5 million are Turkic-speaking people from Soviet Central Asia, who are unlikely to migrate to the regions of severe labor shortage in European Russia, the Ukraine and Siberia. Thus, economic growth depends critically upon raising the productivity of the *existing* labor force working in *existing*

Sovfoto

In '30s Stalin held up coal miner Stakhanov (right) as model. Workers who objected to Stakhanovite speedup were branded "Trotskyist saboteurs" and sent off to labor camps.

factories. This is called *intensive* growth. For more than a decade the need to shift from extensive to intensive growth has been a standard theme, almost a cliché, in official economic pronouncements.

However, this much proclaimed and promised transition has encountered a fundamental obstacle: pervasive bureaucratic parasitism at the base of the economy. Managers and administrators routinely understate actual capacity in order to be given a plan easy to fulfill. They hoard labor and use raw materials wastefully. They achieve the plan target but with poor-quality goods or goods in odd sizes and assortments. For example, if the plan is measured in tons, unusually heavy items are produced. There's a famous cartoon from the 1950s of a nail factory which meets its annual quota by producing a single mammoth nail. Managers and administrators resist innovation and risk-taking for fear they will not meet the plan target on schedule.

As long as growth was mainly a matter of building new factories and other facilities, the Soviet Union could and did achieve high rates despite the heavy drag of bureaucratic parasitism and microeconomic inefficiency. But these factors are now dragging down the Soviet economy. Discussing the mounting economic problems, Gorbachev stated:

> "The main emphasis should be laid on the technical re-equipment of plants, saving of resources and ensuring of a marked improvement in the quality of products.
>
> "It is crucial to give up, without hesitation, the determining economic management stereotype of the past, under which new construction was considered the main way of expanding production, and many operating plants were not technically modernized for many years....
>
> "Hence the main task of this work today is to bring about, by all means possible, a change in the minds and moods of personnel from top to bottom, by concentrating their attention on the most important thing—scientific and technical progress.
>
> "... optimism does not free anybody of the need to work. We will have to work a lot."
>
> —*Pravda*, 12 June [translation adapted from *Moscow News*, June 1985]

In one sense there is really nothing new in what Gorbachev is saying. For decades the top Kremlin leaders—Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev—have exhorted the managers and administrators below them to be more dynamic, more innovative and, at the same time, more cost-conscious. Yet decades of exhortation—in Stalin's day backed by the gulag and executioner's bullet—have not, in Gorbachev's phrase, changed the psychology of economic activity. Bureaucratic commandism on top cannot purge bureaucratic parasitism at the base. And as the Soviet economy becomes more developed, bureaucratic mismanagement becomes an ever greater obstacle to further progress.

Bourgeois spokesmen and propagandists in the West, of course, blame the current Soviet economic malaise on the very existence of collectivized property and centralized planning. A common argument runs: central planning may have worked more or less when the Soviet economy was relatively primitive, but it cannot meet the needs of a more complex and technologically advanced society. In his *U.S.S.R. in Crisis: The Failure of an Economic System*, Marshall Goldman asserts:

> "It turns out that Marxism is ill-suited for the kinds of needs the Soviet Union presently has....
>
> "Ironically, the industrialized countries of the noncommunist world seem to handle ongoing and evolutionary change better than the so-called revolutionary communist world."

Anti-communist ideologues like Goldman identify Marxism with Stalinism, a point of view they share with the Stalinists.

In reality it is not Marxism but Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement which lies at the root of the Soviet economic slowdown. Half a century ago the great Russian Marxist Leon Trotsky, leader of the Left Opposition against Stalin, predicted the present economic impasse of the Soviet Union and its fundamental cause. In his classic account of the Stalinist political counterrevolution, *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky wrote:

> "The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique. The rough work of borrowing, imitating, transplanting and grafting, was accomplished on the bases laid down by the revolution. There was, thus far, no question of any new word in the sphere of technique, science or art. It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of the bureaucracy like a shadow. The

Krokodil

Cartoon from Soviet humor magazine Krokodil, 1981, ridicules management of forestry collective. Caption reads: "They didn't supply the freight cars again...?"

> Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery."

The terrible destruction of World War II postponed the day when the Soviet economy would have to make the transition from raw quantity to quality, from extensive to intensive growth. But that day has now arrived with a vengeance.

Not Market-Oriented "Reforms" But Political Revolution!

Mikhail Gorbachev reportedly told the central committee of the ruling Communist Party that he intends to seek "revolutionary" changes in the economy (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 March). To date there have been no significant, much less radical, changes. The anti-corruption and labor discipline campaigns inaugurated a few years ago by the late Yuri Andropov can, at best, have a limited impact and then only for a limited period. Doubtless Andropov himself and his protégé Gorbachev regarded these campaigns as no more than partial, stopgap measures to eliminate the worst abuses. If the Kremlin leadership seems uncertain how to overcome the current Soviet economic malaise, no such uncertainty exists in the imperialist West. There is a consensus, ranging from anti-Communist fanatics like Richard Pipes to self-described liberal socialists like Alec Nove, that what the USSR desperately needs is, in Reagan's words, the "magic of the market." There is also widespread expectation or, at any rate, speculation that Gorbachev will act the role of magician. Shortly before he took over the reins of government, the *Washington Post* (23 September 1984) wrote: "According to some reports, Gorbachev has overseen drafting a new variant of NEP that he would like to implement now, making room for much more private enterprise in the service sector and in agriculture."

Whether or not Gorbachev lives up to his advance billing as a market-oriented reformer, Western bourgeois opinion that the Soviet Union will move in this direction is not simply ideological prejudice or wishful thinking. Within the framework of Stalinism there is an inherent tendency toward economic decentralization as an *alternative to workers democracy*. Since managers and workers are not subject to the discipline of soviet democracy—and a return to the totalitarian terror of Stalin's day is not now feasible—a section of the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of the market as the only answer to the Soviet Union's serious economic problems. However, this cure is worse than the disease.

The pioneer country of "market socialism" is Yugoslavia. Shortly after its break with Stalin's Russia in 1948, the Tito regime introduced autonomous and competing enterprises based on workers' self-management. During the 1950s liberal Stalinists and many left social democrats lauded "the Yugoslav road to socialism" as a healthy alternative to Soviet-style centralization. Today, after almost three decades of "self-management," Yugoslavia has managed to achieve both the highest unemployment and inflation rate in Europe. East or West! Unemployment would be far greater still save for the fact that the country exports labor on a massive scale to the capitalist Common Market of West Europe. Today no one now holds up the "Yugoslav road to socialism," especially not in Yugoslavia.

So the advocates of market-oriented "reform" now point to Hungary as their preferred model. For example, Marshall Goldman projects "a far-sighted Soviet leader might therefore begin to experiment with reform on the Hungarian model." Hungary under János Kádár's New Economic Mechanism has not to date turned into the total economic disaster area that is Yugoslavia, primarily because the system is far *less* decentralized. All workers are guaranteed a basic wage, to be paid, if necessary, out of the central government budget. Bankruptcies and resulting mass layoffs are prevented by state subsidies.

Nonetheless, "market socialism" in Hungary has generated gross inequality in all sectors of society. This is nicely captured by a joke retailed in the country's factories. Party leader Kádár visits a factory and asks the manager: "Have you had a bonus under the economic reform, and what have you

New Times

Improved farm equipment is key to increasing grain production. Here, threshers are tested.

done with it?" Reply: "I bought a country cottage, and the rest of the money I put in the savings bank." He asks the chief engineer the same question. Reply: "I bought a car, and the rest of the money I put in the savings bank." Finally Kádár asks a worker. He replies: "I bought a pair of shoes." Kádár: "And the rest of the money?" Worker: "The rest of the money I had to borrow from my mother-in-law."

However, the most anti-socialist and truly dangerous feature of Hungarian-style "market socialism" is the emergence of a large number of private entrepreneurs, each employing and exploiting half a dozen or so workers, in retail trade and other services, housing construction and the like. Many of these people are, by Hungarian standards, millionaires. The liberal British historian A.J.P. Taylor, whose wife is Hungarian, observed after an extended visit there, "conditions are much like those in England. There are plenty of well-to-do people, though maybe living a little more modestly" (*An Old Man's Diary* [1984]). Hungary's much-vaunted (in the West) economic "reform" has produced a new class of petty capitalists—numbering in the tens of thousands—who form a concentrated social base for counterrevolution.

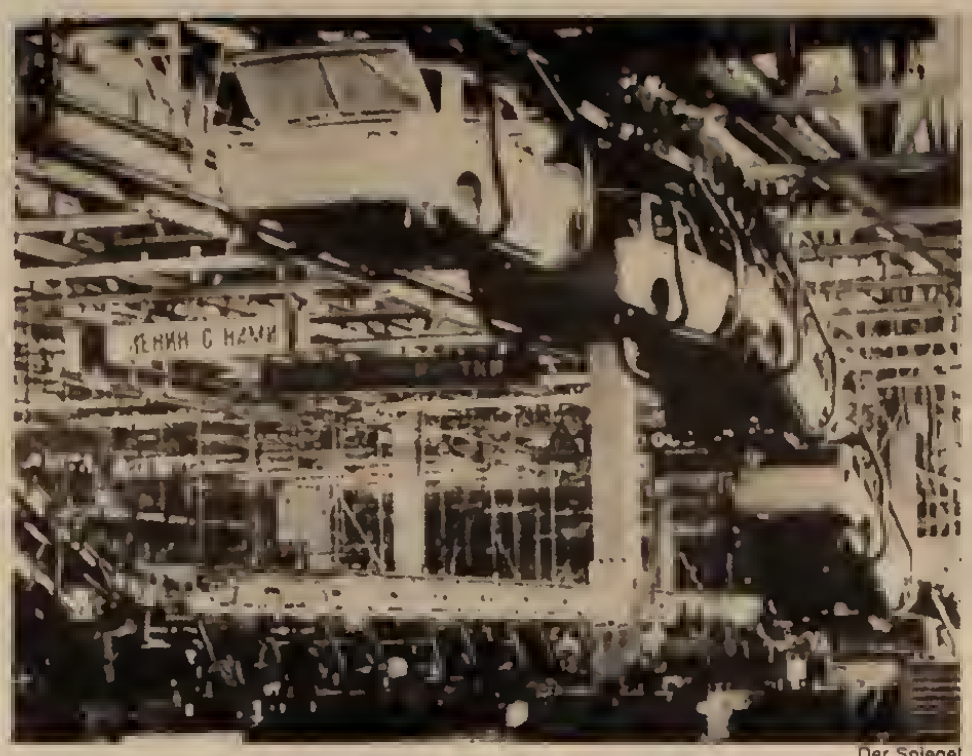
If in Hungary we can see a developing social base for capitalist restoration, it is in Poland where the counterrevolutionary danger has been and remains most acute. Poland was the one country in Stalinist East Europe which did *not* collectivize agriculture. The mass of peasant smallholders not only blocked

Der Spiegel

Computerized control room in an atomic power plant near Leningrad.

agricultural modernization but also provided a potent social base for the reactionary Catholic church. In the wake of the 1970 workers uprising, sparked by food price increases, the new "reform" regime of Edward Gierek promised an "economic miracle" to be achieved through massive loans from Western banks. When export markets didn't materialize and the loans to the Frankfurt bankers fell due, the result was a catastrophic economic collapse in the late 1970s, giving rise to the clerical-nationalist Solidarność of Lech Walesa. In the fall of 1981 the country stood on the verge of civil war, as Walesa & Co. launched their counterrevolutionary bid for power using Richard Pipes' watchword of "decentralization" (i.e., abolition of the planned economy). The Polish bureaucracy spiked Solidarność' power grab at the last minute. However, decades of Stalinist conciliation of reactionary forces—socially, economically and politically—have driven Poland into bankruptcy and much of its population to look for salvation from Reagan's America, the Common Market and Pope Wojtyla's Vatican.

While Soviet workers are probably not that familiar with the Yugoslav,



Der Spiegel

Soviet auto works at Togliatti. Retooling and expansion of industrial plant is critical for Soviet economy.

Hungarian and Polish experiences, they are instinctively suspicious, if not downright resistant, to all this talk about economic "reform." The right-wing London *Economist* (25 May) is hardheaded enough to recognize: "The idea of economic reform is not as popular with the average Soviet electrician or machine-minder as is sometimes assumed in the west. At the very least, reform will mean a widening of pay differentials." Soviet workers, with their strong sense of egalitarianism, do not want to earn 10 or 20 percent less for doing the same job as in a neighboring, but more profitable, factory. They do not want to be laid off because they are unfortunately working in an enterprise that is losing money through no fault of theirs (for example, because it has old and obsolete equipment). Any move toward market-oriented "reform" will cause the Kremlin bureaucracy considerable trouble with the Soviet proletariat.

This is not to say that Soviet workers are or should be satisfied with the economic status quo. Bureaucratic centralism generates enormous waste, especially in the consumer goods sector. Unwanted items pile up in warehouses or can be sold at only a fraction of the cost of production, while other commodities are chronically in short supply. Soviet shoppers spend hours waiting on line or looking for goods they want and need. Even that personification of bureaucratic complacency, the late Konstantin Chernenko, complained of poor quality and shortages of consumer goods, pointing out, for example, that children's shoes are hard to find.

However, the answer to these problems is *not* atomized competition between enterprises while turning much of retail trade and the rest of the consumer sector over to private entrepreneurs. As far back as the 1920s the Trotskyist Left Opposition denounced bureaucratic arbitrariness in economic administration and indifference to consumer well-being. The 1927 Platform of the Joint Opposition called for "the lowering of prices [which] primarily applies to consumer goods needed by the mass of the workers and peasants." It further specifies a "price-lowering policy, more adapted to the conditions of the market, and more individualized—that is, taking into consideration the market position of each kind of goods."

In the 1930s the Polish socialist economist Oskar Lange developed a theoretical model for combining a centralized market for consumer goods and services with long-term planning for basic economic construction. Clearly it makes no sense to apply long-term targets to the number of shoes delivered to specific department stores or wrenches supplied to various garages. The central economic administration should continually adjust the output of different goods to satisfy market demand. The objects of the long-term plan are the construction of new factories, mines, railroads, airports, etc., major retooling operations, urban renewal and the like. And to harmonize final consumption with planned production of primary and intermediate goods, planners can use the "input/output" model developed by Russian émigré economist Wassily Leontief, growing out of his study of Soviet planning problems in the 1920s.

Combining Lange and Leontief, so to speak, and with the modern computer technology capable of millions of computations a second, a planned Soviet economy can adjust supply and demand and promote economic development far more efficiently than the chaos of the most theoretically "perfect" market. But as with any information system, the key is the accuracy and relevance of the inputs. With the systematic distortion of data engendered by bureaucratic rule (hoarding, wasteful use of resources, etc.), no wonder the result is endless bottlenecks and shoddy products. In the lingo of computer programmers: garbage in, garbage out (GIGO). To solve *this* problem, you need not only modern technology but soviet democracy.

The main economic problem facing the USSR today is not the elimination of waste in the consumer sector, important and desirable as that is. It is the renewal of an increasingly aged industrial plant, applying and going beyond the most advanced techniques of Western and Japanese capitalism. In short, the Soviet economy must, in Trotsky's words, make the transition from quantity to quality. It is precisely here that bureaucratic parasitism and commandism stands in the way of further progress. What Trotsky wrote during Stalin's first Five Year Plan possesses, if anything, even greater force today:

> "The participation of workers themselves in the leadership of the nation, at its politics and economy, and actual control over the bureaucracy, and the growth in the feeling of responsibility of those in charge to those under them—all these would doubtless react favorably on production itself: the friction within would be reduced, the costly economic zigzags would likewise be reduced to a minimum, a healthier distribution of forces and equipment would be assured, and ultimately the coefficients of growth would be raised. Soviet democracy is first of all the vital need of national economy itself."
>
> —*What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat* (1932)

There can be no fundamental and sustained revival of Soviet economic growth without the restoration of workers (soviet) democracy. And there can be no restoration of soviet democracy without a proletarian political revolution which ousts the Stalinist usurpers of the Bolshevik Revolution. A democratically elected soviet government will revise the economic plan from top to bottom in the interests of the producers and consumers. Thus, workers and peasants will have a direct stake in maximizing labor productivity for they will no longer see the product of their labor often wasted on ill-conceived projects or spent to build *dachas* (villas) for the Kremlin oligarchs and their hangers-on. Factory committees will elect the managers and oversee the plan's most efficient implementation. This is the only answer to bureaucratic parasitism at the base. Consumer cooperatives will oversee the price and quality of products.

To be sure, proletarian political revolution is not a cure-all for the problems of the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union would still confront the terrible pressure of a hostile and economically more advanced capitalist world. It is precisely this pressure which was the prime cause of the Stalinist degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution. Workers revolution in the advanced capitalist countries would in short order sweep away the Kremlin bureaucracy. At the same time, there is no historical law that the Soviet workers and peasants, who in 1917 shook the world, must now await revolutionary impetus from the West. A revolutionary workers government at the head of the Soviet state would, like the early Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky, possess the most powerful weapon of all against imperialist militarism: the program, perspective and moral authority to lead the world socialist revolution. ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

is there that is concentrated the power to smash the chains of apartheid slavery, opening the road to workers revolution.

As the black unrest in the townships continued to spread this winter, the regime called for unmitigated state terror. This was codified in Botha's July 21 "State of Emergency" declaration and his August 15 speech to the Natal provincial conference of the ruling Afrikaner National Party. "I believe that we are today crossing the Ruhicon in South Africa," the state president told his party. "There is no turning back." Botha recalled the Afrikaner *Voortrekkers* circling their wagons to hold off the siege. To demands for "power sharing" with the non-white majority, he replied: "We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so now." "One man, one vote," he said, would mean "abdication and suicide" for white South Africa.

Following Botha's "Rubicon" speech the reaction from American liberals and conservatives, from pro-imperialist black "moderates" in South Africa and even leading Johannesburg businessmen was one of despair. "I believe that we are on the brink of a catastrophe," Nobel Prize-winning Bishop Tutu declared. Reagan's national security adviser McFarlane declared that South African leaders "are looking into an abyss of massive violence." And the leading South African financial journal, *Business Day*, called for Botha's resignation: "With the eyes of the world on him, he behaved like a hick politician." But the "hick" Botha understands that apartheid cannot be reformed out of existence any more than slavery could be in the American South. The bedrock of South African capitalism is the super-exploitation of black labor, whatever name you give it.

All the contradictions of apartheid capitalism are dramatically escalating. A state of terror has been decreed, but the mood among black youth has gone beyond the point where terror can stifle protest. Moreover, by arresting every "nonviolent" black leader they can find, Pretoria is further radicalizing the masses. U.S. politicians think that if Botha would only make a token gesture of reform it could serve as a pressure valve, to blow off steam. But Botha fears that even the illusion of reform today could accelerate the momentum toward an explosion as the black masses sense weakness in their oppressors. The less "enlightened" Afrikaner nationalists call for a Zionist solution of retreating to a tight, white *laager*. But many white South Africans don't want to live in a garrison state, under constant threat of war, and are not anxious to clean their own swimming pools.

The South African bourgeoisie is stymied. The American bourgeoisie feels impotent. What about the opponents of apartheid? Those who have been calling for "divestment" of imperialist holdings in South Africa have gotten their wish (as much as they ever will): several billion dollars have recently fled the country as imperialist bankers, multinational corporations and nervous South African investors try to hedge their options. The African National Congress (ANC) has called since last February to make the townships ungovernable, and that has certainly been achieved. The situation is building toward civil war, all right, but with what result? The apartheid butchers may feel their hold being shaken, but their power is not broken. And in the absence of a clear working-class axis of struggle, the field is left open for black demagogues like Zulu chief Buthelezi, whose thugs staged murderous raids on the Indian community of Durban early in August. If the danger of indefensible and ultimately suicidal communalist and tribalist bloodletting is to be averted, a revolutionary workers party must be forged to lead all the oppressed in a struggle for a black-centered workers government.

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Black miners at strike vote meeting, August 4.

South Africa State of Siege

The Botha regime's state of siege added little to the draconian police state measures already on the books. Blacks, coloureds and Indians have been subjected to a "state of emergency" ever since the British parliament sanctioned white supremacy in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1909. "Preventive detention" was provided for in the frequently used Internal Security Act of 1950. The new "emergency regulations" which allow police and soldiers to jail, torture and kill with impunity are a declaration of intent to stage a massive bloodbath. "Botha has said we can kill you like flies," cops told one 20-year-old black youth. And then they shot him in cold blood. Since the "emergency" went into effect, more than 150 blacks have been killed and over 2,000 thrown into South Africa's notorious torture chambers. But this is nothing compared to the bloody slaughter they are preparing.

The Botha regime has decimated the leadership of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid formation, comprising 600 organizations and supported by the outlawed ANC. The UDF grew out of the successful boycott of Botha's referendum last year on a constitutional scheme to divide South Africa's oppressed coloured and Indians from the blacks. The UDF advocates nonviolence in the face of the massive violence of the apartheid police state. A quarter century ago the "defiance campaign" of civil disobedience, peaceful marches and pass burnings was met by the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, where 69 unarmed demonstrators were murdered by the police. In the subsequent "emergency" 11,000 anti-apartheid militants were arrested and protests silenced for more than a decade. But now a new generation of blacks, more urbanized, better educated and organized, are determined not to take the oppressive conditions of apartheid slavery any longer.

Botha's "emergency" hasn't worked any more than the previous eleven months of massive repression did. Dispatching "hippo" armored troop carriers into Soweto, the sprawling township near Johannesburg, to arrest hundreds of school-age youth did not break a classroom boycott of the dreadfully inferior "Bantu education." In order to head off a march on Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town, called to demand freedom for ANC leader Nelson Mandela, police arrested Rev. Allan Boesak, the leader of the protest, and Botha's Gestapo attacked thousands of marchers with a wild frenzy of whipping, tear gas and bullets. Yet two days later, some 70,000 blacks attended a funeral for 18 victims of apartheid terror at Duncan Village in the Eastern Cape. There they heard banned UDF leader Stephen Tshwete declare: "The deaths of these comrades must be avenged. Apartheid is a violent system and that is how it must be destroyed. It is not going to be very long before fires start burning in white areas" (London *Financial Times*, 2 September).

Smash the Shackles of Apartheid Capitalism!

On September 1, South Africa's biggest and most strategic black union, the National Union of Mineworkers, struck five gold mines and two coal mines. The courageous black miners who downed tools were striking at the very heart of blood-drenched South African capitalism, where mining accounts for one fifth of the total gross national product and gold alone provides over 50 percent of South Africa's export income. NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa accused the mine owners of preparing "total warfare" against strikers, using armored trucks and helicopters to seal off the mines. As we go to press, news reports say the walkout has been called off in the face of massive repression. But the apartheid bosses vividly remember the mass strike by hundreds of thousands of black workers last November who brought the mines and industry of the Witwatersrand to a grinding halt, and could do so again.

The labor unrest takes place in the midst of South Africa's most severe economic crisis in 50 years. Suddenly the arrogant white cabinet ministers, bankers and mine owners are compelled to go hat-in-hand to Wall Street like the Third World countries they love to scorn and bully. After shutting down the Johannesburg stock and currency exchanges for four days, Pretoria suspended debt payments and established a "two-tier" currency exchange rate in order to prevent a massive withdrawal of foreign capital. The crisis was precipitated when foreign banks, led off by Chase Manhattan, announced that due to political "instability," they would not "roll over" (renew) billions of dollars of short-term loans to South Africa falling due in the next few months. This sent the rand plummeting to 33 U.S. cents, *half* its value a year ago. According to one analyst, capital flight from South Africa "is the highest it has been since the beginning of apartheid" (*New York Times*, 28 August). In all, 18 U.S. companies have pulled out or curtailed their South African operations so far this year.

So now even South African businessmen are crying for some kind of "reform." "Time has run out," said Afrikaner industrialist Anton Rupert. "This is the Government's final opportunity to... introduce the sort of reforms the country is strongly signalling it needs so urgently" (*New York Times*, 31 August). Last month, Gavin Reilly, who succeeded Harry Oppenheimer as chairman of the giant Anglo American mining conglomerate, called for freeing Nelson Mandela, the start of talks with representatives of all races in South Africa and the removal of "influx controls" (pass laws) which control the movement of blacks inside the country. But at most these "enlightened" capitalist spokesmen call for a "federalist" solution, a modified version of apartheid. None dare call for full democratic rights for the oppressed black majority. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 July) quoted Afrikaner businessman Stephanus Guyser:

> "Everyone knows in his heart of hearts that apartheid as we originally understood it is dead. We can't wish the blacks away. But I am ready to take a gun and fight for white rule."

From Soweto to Detroit

The crisis of the apartheid state has become a crisis in American politics as well. In addition to reviving mass student radical protests, it has caused a division within the American ruling class, not only along the usual liberal Democrat-vs.-Republican/Dixiecrat lines, but within the right-wing camp itself. The administration has become schizophrenic: one day Reagan incredibly declares that South Africa has "eliminated the segregation that we once had in our own country," the next day Washington calls on Botha to negotiate with the ANC. Moral Majority bigot Jerry Falwell has launched a "Christian crusade" for white racist rule in South Africa and John Lofton, a columnist for the Moonies' *Washington Times*, called on ABC-TV's "Nightline" for the *execution* of ANC leader Mandela for "high treason." Meanwhile, conservative Republican senators are denouncing Reagan's "constructive engagement" as an abject failure and threatening to override a presidential veto of economic sanctions against South Africa.

Reagan's liberal Democratic opponents such as Teddy Kennedy are proclaiming the moral superiority of America's rulers over the Afrikaner nationalists. What obscene hypocrisy! The United States is a nation built on the genocide of the native Indian

Laurie Bloomfield

Mark Peters

Apartheid's sinister Zulu chief Buthelezi incites his Inkatha thugs to anti-Asian pogroms.

Longshore Militant Stan Gow: Unions Must Act Against Apartheid!

Open Letter to Members of ILWU Local 10

Stan Gow (in dark glasses) leading picket on the waterfront last December.

WV Photo

Dear members of Local 10,

I am writing to you in this manner because of the urgent situation in South Africa. I will not be able to present these views in person at Thursday's membership meeting because unfortunately I will be in the hospital for another serious operation on my back.

The situation in South Africa is escalating rapidly toward civil war. With its bogus "state of emergency" the white racist capitalist government of South Africa is using savage measures in an attempt to drown black resistance in blood. The last time such "emergency" measures were used was 25 years ago after the Sharpeville massacre, when 69 unarmed blacks were killed protesting the hated pass-book laws. Then, over 11,000 black activists were jailed, all major anti-apartheid organizations were driven underground, and many of the leaders killed, imprisoned (as was Nelson Mandela) or driven into exile. As a result, black resistance to apartheid was broken for a decade.

Today, the revolt is wider and more militant than it was 25 years ago. A new generation of black youth have rejected the "nonviolent" civil disobedience of the protests of the '50's. But most important in the current revolt is the growth and combativity of the black unions representing the most organized sector of the 6 million strong black working class. Typically the union leaders are young men, like 32 year old Cyril Ramaphosa, leader of the black National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). They are not like the completely housebroken and craven pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats most of us despise in this country. The NUM is challenging Botha's "state of emergency." They have threatened to shut down *all* the mines—gold, diamond and coal—if Botha carries out his threat to deport "foreign" miners.

But while the current revolt has taken on new historic proportions, apartheid is not going to be "reformed," nor is it going to fall automatically. Super-exploited black labor is the source of South Africa's wealth. The white population is armed to the teeth and determined to defend what they've got. This isn't Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). So long as the struggle develops simply along white-vs.-black national lines, there is a great danger that a military confrontation will lead to a huge bloodbath of the unarmed black masses. Therefore it is imperative that the principle of *class* vs. *class* prevail in the struggle for a black-centered workers government in South Africa.

The imperialist and racist governments of the United States and the other NATO powers fear that the social upheaval in South Africa could lead to such a working class victory there. They fear not just for their investments, but for the impact such a powerful social revolution would have on their "own" working class at home, especially the black workers in the U.S. All the talk by both Republicans and Democrats here about "sanctions" is an attempt to prevent *labor action* here in solidarity with the black workers and youth of South Africa. Here of course, they depend on their "labor lieutenants" like Lane Kirkland, William Winpisinger (IAM) or Jimmy Herman, to keep things "cool." These people in turn have their own "second lieutenants."

So it was no surprise that local president Larry Wing twice ruled out of order motions by me for labor action against Botha's bloody "state of emergency" at the last two execs. After all, some judge signed a piece of paper six months ago, right? Nor was it a surprise that Wing was supported by Leo Robinson and Howard Keylor (among others). After all, these were the guys who swore on a stack of bibles last November that the boycott of the Kimberley had absolutely nothing to do with the union. We don't ever do anything illegal or against the bosses' rules, right? What was disgusting was when Keylor and Robinson proposed instead to send a letter to Jimmy Herman, asking *him* to call a coastwide work stoppage! Last November Herman publicly denounced the anti-apartheid boycott action by Local 10 as "an illegal work stoppage."

Compared to what the courageous black people of South Africa are facing right now, this is all just cowardly, legalistic bullshit. Furthermore, *given* the international outcry against the "state of emergency" right now, however hypocritical and self-serving, the employers and courts would be very reluctant to take any legal action against longshoremen, many of them black, stopping ships to protest apartheid.

The main point is that at this crucial hour, when the white racist rulers of South Africa think they can do anything they want and get away with it, the international labor movement must act! And international labor solidarity action can have a powerful *political* impact in shaping the struggle in South Africa along *class* lines instead of national lines.

I urge you most strongly to pass this motion, and come what may, take *action* now!

Yours in struggle,
Stan Gow, 4498

P.S.: For more information and analysis on where South Africa is headed, I urge you to read recent issues of *Workers Vanguard*, published by the Spartacist League.

WHEREAS:

The wave of black resistance against apartheid slavery that started last August in South Africa continues to spread, and

WHEREAS:

The white supremacist Pretoria regime is determined to drown that resistance in blood and is gearing up to massacre thousands with its brutal "state of emergency" repression, and

WHEREAS:

In the face of this bloody threat it is urgent that there be strong labor centered protest against Botha's state of siege

THEREFORE:

Local 10 will refuse to handle any ships carrying South African cargo from now until the September membership meeting.

August 14, 1985

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population and the chattel slavery of millions of black Africans. In the 20th century, the U.S. has committed atrocities on the scale of Nazi Germany: the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki under Democrat Truman, and the ravaging of Vietnam begun under another liberal Democrat, John F. Kennedy. Perhaps a thousand blacks have been killed in South Africa over the last year: the U.S. killed that many Vietnamese *every day for seven years!* Many of the black Democratic politicians who condemn the murder of defenseless blacks by Botha's police and army said not a word about the bombing of black babies by one of their own, Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode.

The American rulers, both liberal and conservative, are the greatest racist terrorists and mass murderers on the planet. Why, then, are they moving toward economic sanctions, however mild, against their apartheid ally? Because they want to pacify the rebellious black masses and save white-ruled South Africa from itself and for the "free world." South Africa is a strategic ally of Western imperialism. It controls a key part of the sea lanes linking the Persian Gulf oil fields with West Europe and North America. In addition to the military value of South Africa for NATO, Western imperialism has an enormous economic stake in the apartheid state. South Africa is not only the leading producer of gold in the capitalist world, it is also the dominant exporter of such strategically important minerals as chromium, manganese, vanadium and platinum. Direct foreign investment in South Africa totals some $15 billion, and the 350 U.S. multinationals operating there account for almost 20 percent of this stake.

Reagan & Co. sold "constructive engagement" with the argument that gradual reforms and economic growth would strengthen the forces of moderation among South African blacks. However, Botha's cosmetic "reforms" (such as the impotent parliamentary bodies for coloureds and Indians) backfired, underscoring the depth of racist oppression and inciting blacks to greater militancy in struggle. The state of emergency declared in late July was the final blow to "constructive engagement," even in the eyes of many staunch right-wingers like columnist William Safire, who now calls for (minimal) economic sanctions in order to "disengage ourselves from Mr. Botha's crackdown" (*New York Times*, 8 August).

Yet "washing the hands" of American capitalists will hardly benefit the South African workers. The only kind of "divestment" which will benefit the exploited and oppressed toilers is the expropriation of capitalism by a victorious workers revolution. Some black South African trade unionists seem to understand this, at least partially. Alec Erwin of FOSATU, probably the strongest black union federation, recently stated that his organization opposed the withdrawal of assets from South Africa:

> "...because we view them not as the simple property of foreign companies, but as assets which have been built up through the sweat and labour of South African workers, and which now absolutely belong to this society.... We see absolutely no sense in handing over part of the social wealth of this country in order to place pressure on the regime."
>
> —*Work in Progress* No. 37, June 1985

Reagan/Botha's Anti-Soviet Alliance

The Botha regime's defiant posture toward "world opinion" is based not only on its internal military and economic resources, but also on the understanding that apartheid South Africa is an *indispensable ally* of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union. The alliance with this totalitarian, racist police state completely explodes the "democratic" pretensions of the "free world." Pretoria regularly brands *any* opposition to white racist rule as inspired by Soviet expansionism. In Botha's recent "fuck you, world" speech, he depicted black leaders as "barbaric Communist agitators on the payroll of masters far from this lovely country of ours." Likewise, Reagan accuses the Soviet Union of "stirring up the pot" in South Africa, and far-right lobbyist Richard Viguerie argues that the "alternative to the current government is a communist regime."

This is one region of the world where very large sectors of the population in the imperialist centers are sympathetic to the side backed by the Soviet Union. American blacks and many others solidarize with the Cuban troops defending Angola against the South African army. They positively welcome Moscow's military aid to the ANC guerrillas.

The near-universal hatred of apartheid racism thus poses a certain problem for Western imperialism. This problem is especially acute in the United States, where the descendants of black African slaves identify deeply and passionately with their brothers and sisters living under the apartheid whip. In publicly supporting the white-supremacist Pretoria regime, the American ruling class risks fueling black militancy at home, and thus weakening domestic support for Cold War anti-Communism. Rev. Leon Sullivan, the black Philadelphia clergyman and General Motors board member who devised a code of conduct for American companies in South Africa, recently warned Congress that if South Africa explodes, "Riots would occur in Harlem and other cities all over this country" (*Washington Post*, 14 June).

The American ruling class hopes, though it increasingly despairs, that some measures can be taken to convince South Africa's black masses that there is a reform solution. From Ronald Reagan to Jesse Jackson, American bour-

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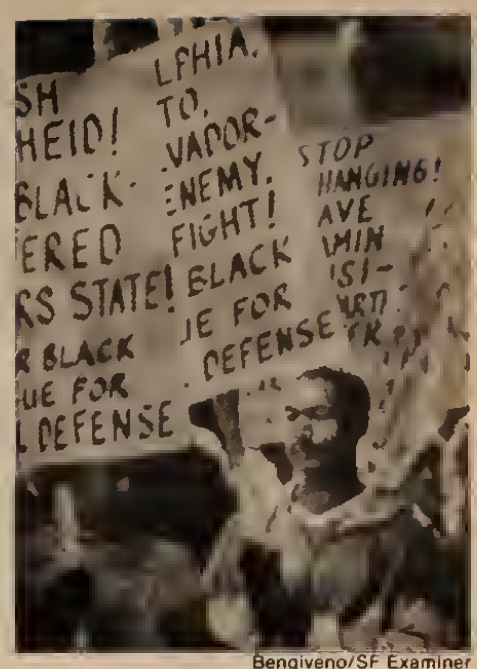
South Africa...

(continued from page 13)

geois politicians see a parallel between South African apartheid and segregation in the Jim Crow South. They hold up the civil rights movement as a model of peaceful reform to be applied in South Africa. Many Southern cities which a generation ago witnessed violent clashes between black protesters and white racist police today have black mayors who order the same police to break black workers' strikes. Thus American liberals and many conservatives cannot understand why Botha & Co. refuse to try to coopt black moderates like Bishop Desmond Tutu into the governing elite. What South Africa needs, according to its American friends and protectors, is black faces in high places.

WV Photo

San Francisco: Labor Black League for Social Defense and SL fight to save Benjamin Moloise.



Bengiveno/SF Examiner

Civil War Must Be Class War

But the race question in South Africa is fundamentally different than in the United States. In the U.S., including the South, blacks are an oppressed *minority*. They can thus be granted voting and other formal democratic rights (however much they are gutted in practice) without fundamentally affecting white capitalist domination and exploitation. In South Africa, a racial caste of 4-5 million whites share in the superexploitation of the 26-plus million blacks, coloureds and Indians. What's posed is not token democratic rights but political and economic *power*—who will rule. As we wrote in "South Africa: Razor's Edge" (*WV* No. 376, 5 April):

> "South Africa appears to be rumbling down the tracks to a bloody confrontation. The system of apartheid—a bogus partition in which the whites give up nothing—is coming apart. Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation anymore. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got. The coasts are secure, there is a belt of cowed black African states to the north, and the struggle is along white-vs.-black national lines. So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down."

The events of the last few weeks dramatically confirm this analysis.

Contrary to the ANC and its leftist cheerleaders around the world, a civil war at this time, fought along national (racial) lines, will result in a *pointless* bloodbath for the black masses. But we are not liberal pacifists. We have stated repeatedly: *Blood will flow in South Africa. The question is whose blood, when, where, why and how.* There is no solution to apartheid slavery short of a civil war, but it must be fought along *class*, not national, lines, giving rise to a black-centered workers government under which whites, too, will have a place. When the Bothas and Falwells and Reagans talk of the spectre of communism in South Africa, what they have in mind is a black nationalist regime on the order of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. But South Africa does not need to go the way of Mugabe's tribally based bonapartism.

While hypocritically denouncing tribalism in black Africa, the white supremacist rulers do everything possible to exploit and even fabricate tribalism in South Africa. Like so many other tactics of imperialism, apartheid gives "divide and rule" a concentrated and institutionalized expression with the creation of bantustans and the division of the black majority into ten "tribes." Botha has called upon his puppet chieftains in the bantustans, especially Zulu chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha thugs to attack UDF funerals and commit monstrous pogroms against the Indian communities concentrated around Durban. But while both the UDF and ANC champion "multiracialism," the petty-bourgeois nationalists *cannot* transcend tribalism, for this requires the *class* organization of the exploited and oppressed *on a proletarian program*.

It is in the factories and especially the mines that proletarian class struggle can draw together South Africa's ethnically diverse toilers and assault the very purpose of apartheid: the hated "migratory" labor system. As Trotsky wrote: "The permanent revolution is not a 'leap' by the proletariat, but the reconstruction of the nation under the leadership of the proletariat" (*The Permanent Revolution*). As we wrote in "Razor's Edge":

> "In South Africa there is a black proletariat with a growing sense of its power.... By its very bulk, this five-million-strong working class has forced the petty-bourgeois black leadership to take it into account, but not programmatically. The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. A Bolshevik party must be built to lead a victorious struggle for 'amandla,' *power*, for the oppressed, through workers revolution."

Western imperialist support to apartheid has fostered among the South African black masses a broad undercurrent of sympathy for communism, such as it is understood. In the eastern Cape region, a recent funeral for four anti-apartheid activists in the city of Cradock was marked by the unfurling of a large red banner with a hammer and sickle, the flag of the Soviet Union, and a second bearing the name of the South African Communist Party, which has been banned for the last 35 years. Yet this Stalinist party has for decades subordinated itself politically to the liberal nationalism of the ANC, and looks for a deal with "reform"-minded capitalists like gold and diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer. To translate the potential for proletarian revolution in South Africa into reality requires a genuine communist vanguard party, rooted in the workers movement and black townships.

The South African revolution will have worldwide repercussions, not least in the United States. No event outside the borders of the U.S. would more inspire and electrify America's 24 million blacks. The self-liberation of South Africa's black toilers, led by a multiracial communist vanguard, would be the most powerful possible inspiration for millions of black workers in the U.S. Revolutionary struggle against the apartheid dictatorship can shake world imperialism to its core. ■

Free Mandela...

(continued from page 1)

defuse anger at racism right here in the U.S. of A.

Not a word was breathed from the podium about the mounting list of black victims of summary cop "justice" at the hands of the racist NYPD. Eleanor Bumpurs, the black Bronx grandmother blown away by a SWAT team; Michael Stewart, the young black artist beaten to death by transit cops; Edmund Perry, the prep school-educated youth killed for being on the "wrong" side of the Columbia/Harlem line—these are but the most recent. Transit workers will not forget the beating death of their brother, Willie Turks, at the hands of a racist mob in Gravesend—nor that Turks' killers got nothing but a slap on the wrist. That same brand of racist "justice" is now being provided for the transit cops in the Stewart case; indeed, it's hard to tell the prosecution and defense apart without a map of the courtroom.

Not coincidentally, the cops were out in provocative force on August 13. The Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee discovered that among those assigned to spy on and photograph demonstrators at the anti-apartheid protest was the same cop Sullivan who killed Mrs. Bumpurs with a shotgun. Especially in New York, the link between apartheid in South Africa and racist oppression at home could not be clearer. So when an AFSCME bureaucrat tried to kick things off from the podium by singing the national anthem, he was roundly booed and heckled. While the *Amsterdam News* (17 August) caught the official tone of the demo in its headline "Protesters urge Ron to act on side of justice," the black workers who turned out were far more serious about fighting back. *Workers Vanguard* (No. 385, 9 August) said what must be done:

> "It is the international working class which is the real ally of the enslaved black masses in South Africa. There is a crying need for New York City labor and minorities to mobilize against racist police terror, not just in the South African black townships but also right here in the mean streets of America's ghettos.... They didn't need a 'state of emergency' to firebomb black babies and burn down a black neighborhood in Philly. *The New York unions sponsoring the August 13 rally could shut this city down with a one-day political protest strike.*"

Over 850 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to the August 13 protesters.

Conspicuous by his absence was NYC's mayor Edward I. Koch. There was no way this racist swine would dare show his face at an anti-apartheid rally in New York, but a day earlier Koch was mouthing off at a press conference called by the organizers of a similar demonstration in Washington, D.C. That Koch would be welcome to share the platform with black Democrats like Jesse Jackson and D.C. mayor Marion Barry is all you need to know about the character of the liberal-led "anti-apartheid" movement. What's next—Wilson Goode speaking on the techniques of bombing black babies for "democracy" while, like Koch, divesting tainted South African stock?

A week after the August 13 demo, emergency demonstrations were held in several cities to protest the threatened execution of African National Congress (ANC) supporter Benjamin Moloise. Framed up for the execution of a police stool pigeon whose testimony sent three ANC militants to the gallows in June 1983, Moloise was given a last-minute stay of execution. Pretoria evidently feared provoking further black revolt at home as well as international outrage. At the New York Moloise protest, called by the ANC, the Democratic Party cheerleaders in Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF) and their front group the "All-Peoples Congress" proved their loyalty to the party of war and racism once again.

Small-time pimps for the Democrats, WWP/YAWF by virtue of their smaller social weight often act even more rabidly anti-communist than the labor bureaucrats. The Spartacist contingent at the ANC-called protest comprised about 40 percent of the picket line: our signs and chants made the connection—"From Harlem to Soweto, Same Enemy, Same Fight!" Unable to tolerate communist politics, WWP provoked a physical confrontation with the SL contingent in full view of "New York's finest." After WWP goons unsuccessfully tried to silence our bullhorn and chants of "Smash Apartheid—Workers to Power!" we separated the two contingents in order to avoid giving the cops a pretext for a bust.

The WWP-provoked split of the demonstration was in distinct contradiction to the ANC's expressed desire for a united-front protest. In fact, the distressed ANC leader proposed that a single line be re-formed and the SL and WWP alternate chants. We were amenable to alternating our class-struggle slogans with the limp sub-reformist pablum of WWP, but the latter responded to the ANC's suggestion by running to the cops to complain that the SL had no permit for our bullhorn! WWP's splitting of the demonstration effectively discouraged several ANC members and other black radicals from marching at all.

The SL mobilized around the country for emergency protests against Moloise's execution. That same day in Los Angeles, a Spartacist-initiated protest was joined by an ANC contingent of roughly equal size. Despite the important political differences between ourselves and the ANC nationalists, the two organizations carried out a principled united-front action. In San Francisco, the SL and Labor Black League for Social Defense brought out 70 people to picket the South African Airways chanting "Free Moloise—Hang Botha!" The demonstration was prominently covered in the local press, as was the photograph taken by a *Workers Vanguard* reporter showing a Nazi poster displayed in an SFPD van at the demo site (see article, page 4).

The American reformist left has made a career of prettifying and slavishly tailing the Democrats as the "opposition" to Reagan reaction. From Wilson Goode in Philadelphia to Dianne Feinstein in San Francisco and Koch in New York, this lie is transparent. The Democrats and their labor tops are a deadly trap for the workers and oppressed at home. Now that the struggle against apartheid has awakened a desire to fight, especially among the black workers and youth here, it is desperately necessary to forge an integrated workers party dedicated to mobilizing independently of both bosses' parties, to fighting for workers power in America as well as South Africa. ■

UC Berkeley Cops Wage War on Student Protest

Defend Guillermo Bermúdez!

The University of California at Berkeley and its campus cops have declared war on free speech, attempting to suppress opposition to U.S. imperialism at home and abroad. Clubbing, beating, choke-holding and cooking up outrageous frame-up charges against student protesters, the UCPD has victimized hundreds during the last school year. On September 16, Guillermo Bermúdez goes to trial—a Hispanic Berkeley student and member of the Spartacus Youth League. Guillermo is a prominent victim of the massive campus police crackdown.

Last January, UC cops seized Guillermo in a potentially lethal chokehold: while dragging the 5'5" student away, three of these burly uniformed thugs wrenched his arm behind his back in a hold which broke Guillermo's arm. Comrade Guillermo was assaulted by the police because of his leading role in a demonstration which successfully drove Marine recruiters off campus. In a standard cop frame-up, he has been charged with "assaulting a police officer" and faces *two years and nine months* in prison.

Support for Guillermo's defense has come from student organizations, faculty, trade unionists and the Juventud Sandinista 19 Julio, the Sandinista youth organization. In their statement, the Nicaraguan youth extended "special recognition to compañero Guillermo Bermúdez and solidarity with his exemplary action in the tasks of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua." Howard Moore, the prominent black civil rights attorney who just successfully concluded the "Perry County Three" voting rights case in Alabama, has taken on Guillermo's case.

Also facing jail time are—to name a few—Berkeley students Michael Donnelly and José Carrasco, arrested during anti-apartheid protests; 22 students busted in a sweep of Biko (Sproul) Plaza; and Kyle Reniche, arrested while defending the literature table of Students Against Intervention in Central America (SAICA) from wanton cop attack. A militant united-front defense effort for all anti-imperialist student protesters is an urgent necessity—Drop the Charges!

Workers Vanguard readers are urged to make a much-needed contribution to Guillermo's defense. Make checks payable to the Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101.

Young Spartacus

Defiant Guillermo Bermúdez at Berkeley rally, January 30.

"Nicabucks" Campaign...

(continued from page 7)

$25,800 in about six weeks—precisely because there is a broad awareness that such material aid is urgently called for. This campaign gives concrete expression to our slogan "Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Revolution!" putting our political criticisms of the vacillating Sandinista regime clearly in the context of a revolutionary defense against imperialism.

Our red star is front and center in display case at Sandino Museum, Nicaragua. To get your "Defend Nicaragua" button, send $2 to the SYL, Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008.

WV Photo

The distinction between military defense and political support goes back even further than Spain, to the line of the Bolsheviks in August 1917, when they militarily supported the Kerensky regime against the general Kornilov, without giving an ounce of political solidarity to the Provisional Government which opened the doors to the White Guardists. Our campaign for material aid to Nicaragua is an expression of proletarian internationalism as codified by the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" originally drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920). Regarding backward nations and states dominated by imperialism, the "Theses" state:

> "All communist parties must support by action the revolutionary liberation movements in these countries.... This obligation refers in the first place to the active support of the workers in that country on which the backward nation is financially, or as a colony, dependent."

Interestingly, the only voice to be raised at the Second Congress in opposition to the "Theses" in their entirety was that of the Italian centrist Serrati, who told the Comintern delegates: "the true liberation of the oppressed peoples can be achieved only through a proletarian revolution and a Soviet order, not through a temporary and accidental union of communist parties with so-called revolutionary bourgeois parties." This appeal to formal orthodoxy only served to mask his own social-chauvinism and retreat back to the stinking corpse of social democracy—which while mouthing empty phrases about self-determination refused support to liberation movements fighting colonialism and imperialism.

Revolutionary Russia under Lenin and Trotsky provided aid to a number of such movements, including Kemalist Turkey when it was invaded by the British-backed Greek army in 1921. This was also a necessary measure of *self*-defense, as British imperialism remained a continuing military threat to the Soviet republic. At the same time, the Comintern was assisting the building of a Communist Party in Turkey. After routing the Greeks with Soviet aid, Kemal Atatürk then turned these guns on the nascent Turkish CP. But this in no way invalidated the original aid.

The reformists don't distinguish between political and military support, *because they seek to use the threat and reality of imperialist military intervention in order to impose political subordination to pro-capitalist politics.* The reported objection to the SYL's fund-raising campaign to defend Nicaragua is hardly ultraleftist, but rightist and abstentionist. It parallels criticisms of the SL's Anti-Imperialist Contingents for marching with FMLN flags in El Salvador protests. The "External Tendency" tried to adopt a pose of pseudo-orthodoxy, quoting Trotsky on the impossibility of presenting two flags to the workers, a reformist program for everyday and talk of revolution for Sunday speechifying. The Shachtmanite ex-ISers of Sy Landy's League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) were more forthright: they opposed carrying FMLN flags because they *oppose our call for military victory to the leftist guerrillas* battling U.S. imperialism and its puppet government and army.

In both cases, the ET and LRP objections stem from their desire to act as a *left tail on the pro-Democratic popular front.* The pop-front Central American "solidarity" milieu resorted to thug violence and calling on the capitalist cops to keep out our red flags, both the hammer and sickle and the FMLN flag, because to the Democratic liberals these represent "the enemy." Likewise, the pop-frontists' failure today to mobilize or provide material support to Nicaragua is due to their fear of losing "credibility" with Democratic "doves," themselves worried about being called "soft on Communism" if they give "aid and comfort to the enemy."

The self-proclaimed "External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency" will have a difficult time demonstrating the "degeneration" of the SL because we carry FMLN flags and raise money to defend Nicaragua against U.S. imperialism. Two decades ago we marched in the Fifth Avenue "peace" parade next to a Vietnamese National Liberation Front flag, and demonstrated with signs such as "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution" and "Military Support to Viet-Nam Liberation Front" (see the front-page photo of *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965). And as we have shown, providing material aid to liberation movements struggling against imperialism is not only an integral part of the Bolshevik tradition, it is a dividing line between Leninism and "left" social democracy.

In contrast, the same pro-ET "friend of Nicaragua" mentioned above appeared before the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 executive board on July 25 asking for money to help publish the Nicaraguan government's Atlantic Coast newspaper *Sunrise*—a clear example of *political support* to the Sandinista National Liberation Front. ILWU militant Stan Gow proposed at this same meeting that the local donate $250 a month to the Nicaraguan government for defense against the U.S. *This* motion was quickly ruled out of order by union tops, ever so careful not to run afoul of "their" government whether the issue is Nicaragua, South Africa or jobs on the docks at home.

Behind the military question, of course, is the Russian question, and here you see clearly how the reformists play Reagan's game. Reagan declares it would be a "provocation" for the Sandinistas to obtain MIG fighter planes, so sure enough, when we chant "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs!" the rad-libs scream "provocation." And when Ortega goes to Moscow, and Managua government spokesmen talk of obtaining MIGs and other advanced Soviet weapons to defend Nicaragua, suddenly the "solidarity" milieu becomes quiescent. Fundamentally, they are beholden to their "own" bourgeoisie.

We Trotskyists seek the defeat of Yankee imperialism; the popular frontists want a more "democratic" (i.e., more "effective") U.S. foreign policy. At bottom they are against military defense of the revolution—that's what all their "Contadora" talk of a "negotiated political solution" comes down to. Even the ultra-Marcyite RCL-(I) grouplet in New Haven opposes our call for MIGs to Nicaragua so long as it is not a workers state. Move over Serrati! As Trotsky said of the Salemme group's slogan, "neither victory nor defeat" over the Spanish Civil War: "This is a slogan for a club of Pontius Pilates, not for a revolutionary party." ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri., 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat., 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat. 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City
Mon.-Thurs., 5:00-8:00 p.m.,
Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

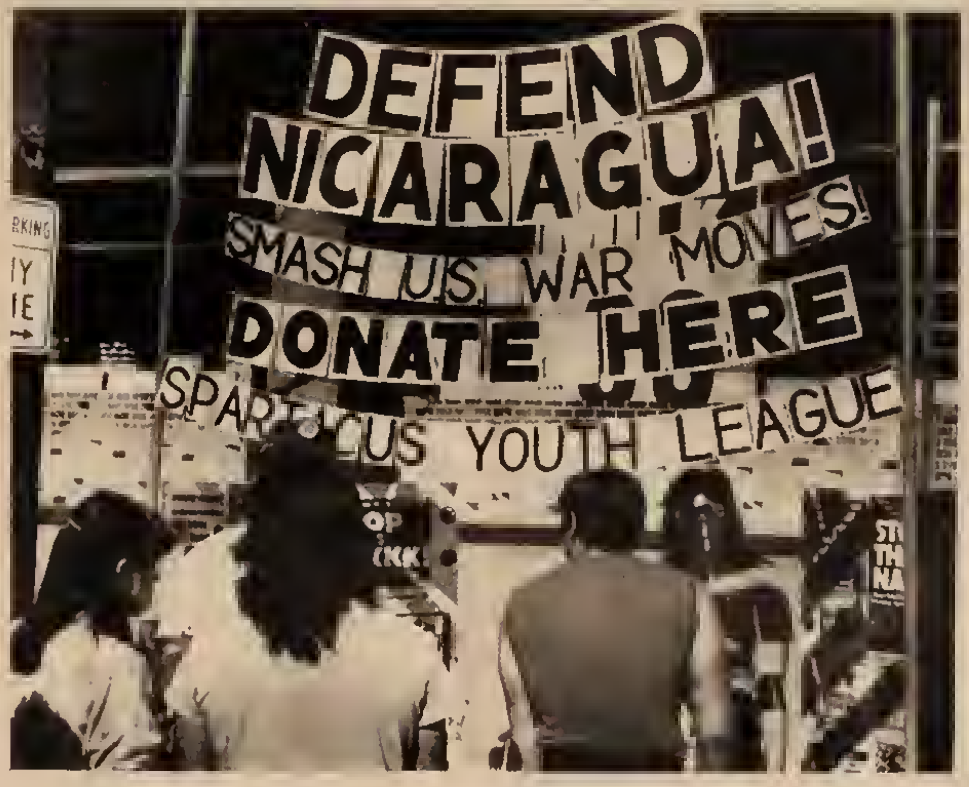
WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacus Youth League Announces:

$25,000 Raised To Defend Nicaragua!

In the wake of the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua, decreed by Ronald Reagan last May, the Spartacus Youth League undertook an urgent fundraising campaign for material aid to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution. Calling the embargo an *act of war*, and warning that a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua could be the next step, the SYL hit the streets, campuses and factory gates with an appeal to "Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras! DEFEND NICARAGUA!" In six short weeks, while Washington was making daily war threats against the Sandinistas, by July 19, the anniversary of the overthrow of the hated American-backed Somoza dictatorship, we raised $25,800. This money has been transmitted to the Nicaraguan government. The "anti-contra"butions made by students, workers and minorities across North America are already helping—in a small way—to provide Nicaragua with some of the hard currency desperately needed for everything from arms to medicine and spare parts.

This was no charity drive. While Reagan dreams of divisions of "Rambos" fighting a holy war against Communism, the students, young workers and ghetto youth who are slated to be the cannon fodder for this war drive are not itching to die in the jungles of Central America. They know the stakes and people gave generously, tossing dollars and change into the buckets. A mother of an American GI said that she didn't want her son sent to Nicaragua, and "it would be good if the Nicaraguans were strong and made Reagan afraid of them." A Salvadoran refugee, who lost a brother and a cousin to the death squads, dug into her purse, explaining that her daughter had joined the leftist guerrillas and "I'm proud of what she's doing." A laid-off shipyard worker noted that we're fighting on the same side—against the bosses at home.



Young Spartacus Photos

From Cleveland street fair (left) to Boston Common, SYLers collect urgently needed dollars for defense of Nicaraguan Revolution.

Spartacist Canada

Soldier outside hoapital on Jinotaga front wears "Nicabutton." Spartacus Youth Laague'a Internationalist campaign waa warmly ambraced in ambattlad Nicaragua.

The SYL's "Nicabucks" campaign was a token of what could happen on the home front in the event of a U.S. invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua. *Thousands* of Americans are ready and eager to give material aid to the courageous fighters the Pentagon calls "the enemy." One woman said she wanted to help "even the score, since Reagan gave the contras millions." This sentiment has not been lost on the American bourgeois establishment. The *New York Times* (30 August) editorialized against "private" fundraising for the CIA's contra mercenaries by the Nazi-infested World Anti-Communist League, worrying that "Sandinista supporters are matching General Singlaub's campaign with their own...." They remember how Washington's dirty war on Vietnam tore this country apart, inflicting a humiliating defeat from which U.S. rulers are still trying to recover.

For the past six years, the strategy of the Central American "solidarity movement" has been to lobby the U.S. Congress, pressuring the Democrats to "moderate" Reagan. But after Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow, Democratic "doves" started screeching like hawks, voting for aid to the bloody contra mercenaries and embracing the "Reagan Doctrine" of sponsoring anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary terrorists around the world. Incapable of opposing the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive whose front line is drawn in Central America, the phony "friends of Nicaragua" have barely raised a finger to defend Nicaragua from the Yankee war moves. The very impact of the $25,000 we raised—which is but a drop in the bucket—is itself an indictment of the pusillanimous "solidarity" movement. The Spartacus Youth League, in contrast, forthrightly proclaims, "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America!" We take a clear side against imperialism in Central America.

For our part, this campaign was an elemental act of class solidarity. As revolutionaries "in the belly of the beast," we have a special responsibility to organize against the capitalist criminals who salute Hitler's SS killer elite at Bitburg, who firebomb black babies in Philadelphia and threaten to plunge the world into an anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Despite the major political differences that separate us Trotskyists from the nationalist Sandinistas, defense of Nicaragua against Yankee aggression is our internationalist duty. And Nicaraguan officials expressed warm appreciation for our active solidarity with the Nicaraguan Revolution, especially now when the going gets tough.

Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega, foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto and interior minister Tomás Borge were presented with the SYL's fundraising button by Spartacist militants who recently visited Nicaragua. Borge, the sole surviving founder of the Sandinista Front, immediately pinned the button to his fatigues. Father D'Escoto, then fasting as a protest against Reagan's terrorists, warmly embraced our comrade. Young soldiers in the war zones of Matagalpa and Jinotega gave broad grins and eager handshakes when our slogan, "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" was translated. In a field hospital, soldiers wounded by the contras listened eagerly to stories of the enthusiastic response the fund drive had met from youth, workers and minorities across North America. In the Augusto Sandino museum at Niquinohomo, the birthplace of the "General of Free Men" who fought the Marines in the 1920s, the SYL button was given a place of honor, front and center among the many insignias of solidarity.

The Spartacus Youth League takes this opportunity to thank everyone who contributed to this campaign and made it a striking success. In addition to the efforts of the SYL and Spartacist League, the Trotskyist League of Canada went all-out in this drive. Those who gave substantial donations and the many hundreds who generously contributed their lunch money and bus fare joined hands in a powerful act of solidarity. Every penny you contributed is going to the urgent defense of embattled Nicaragua against Yankee aggression—all administrative expenses are being paid by the SYL.

Let this outpouring of support be a warning to the warmongers in Washington. In Managua on July 19, half a million voices answered Reagan's threats with chants of "We won't sell out, we won't give up! They shall not pass!" From our posts here in the imperialist heartland, we say: *Smash U.S. war moves! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!*■

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 387 X-523 20 September 1985

Reagan/Congress Sanctions Are a Cover-Up

Smash U.S./South Africa Racist Axis!

On September 12, eight years to the day that black nationalist leader Steve Biko died, after being tortured and beaten into a coma by apartheid cops, these same racist killers fired into a crowd of about a hundred blacks in the township of Guguletu, near Cape Town. Five blacks were killed, 20 wounded. As apartheid butchers shoot down black people as if they were "swatting flies," in the words of black bishop Desmond Tutu, the black masses of South Africa are rapidly coming to the conclusion that the kind of "nonviolent negotiated solution" preached by the Tutus is impossible—apartheid must be overthrown.

In what seems an endless cycle, defiant black youth armed only with stones and their bare hands confront massively armed cops and soldiers, who create more anti-apartheid martyrs for the funerals which have become the only form for mass black political expression, and which in turn are savagely attacked. "Tambo We Are Ready, Give Us AKs," read one banner at a recent funeral, appealing to Oliver Tambo, president of the underground African National Congress (ANC), to provide them with the Soviet-made assault rifle.

South Africa is heading toward a bloody civil war, without which apartheid cannot be buried. The hated apartheid regime is in big trouble, but it's not about to fall. It has all the guns, and a sufficient number of whites willing to use them. As long as the confrontation is along the present white-vs.-black *national* lines, it will be the oppressed black, "coloured" (mixed-race) and Indian masses who are buried in the tens of thousands, not apartheid.

But strategically, in its six-million-strong black proletariat, apartheid has created its gravedigger. "Capitalism has no future in this country," one young black student fighter told *Newsweek* (16 September). The black proletariat last November in the Transvaal showed its power in the most massive general strike in the history of South Africa. But since then that proletariat has been kept on the sidelines in isolated skirmishes with the racist regime and the capitalist *baas*, as was demonstrated in the aborted mine strike earlier this month.

Campbell/Sygma

South Africa heading toward bloody civil war. Apartheid army rumbles through black township of Soweto.

The massive anti-apartheid upheaval poses pointblank the question of power: *Who shall rule?* "Tutu's brand of moderate leadership is rapidly losing ground among the street fighters," wrote *Newsweek*'s Robert B. Cullen and Ray Wilkinson. "Their revolution awaits its Lenin." For stating this simple truth, the apartheid regime threw Wilkinson out of the country. But precisely what is lacking, and is more urgently required in South Africa than anywhere else in the world right now, is a party of the kind that Lenin built in tsarist Russia: an internationalist and multiracial revolutionary workers party that can mobilize the giant of South Africa's black proletariat for its own *class* dictatorship as the emancipator of all the oppressed.

And never have conditions been more ripe in South Africa for the crystallization of a Leninist party. By all accounts, there exists a widespread hatred for capitalism as it has been experienced and openness to communism as it is understood. Botha's "divide and conquer" constitution, which was supposed to divide coloured and Indian from black by offering the former a fake franchise and the latter nothing, served instead to unite the non-white population as coloureds and Indians massively boycotted elections for their "parliaments." In Natal province where the Indians, mainly engaged in commerce, are concentrated, 1,000 striking black rubber workers were locked out in June. When they called a one-day general solidarity strike in July, Pietermaritzburg, Natal's political capital, was completely paralyzed as more than 90 percent of the black workforce stayed home and *every Indian business closed*. When Botha's Zulu chieftain Gatsha Buthelezi sicced his Inkatha thugs on Indian communities in Durban and the apartheid armed forces withdrew, a revolutionary workers party would have mobilized Durban's powerful black and Indian proletariat into multiracial defense guards to defend those communities and teach Inkatha a much-needed lesson.

Botha's state of emergency targeting black townships around Johannesburg in the Transvaal and Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape only caused the anti-apartheid upheaval to spread to the Western Cape around Cape Town. Tens of thousands of new anti-apartheid fighters were recruited from the Cape's coloured proletariat and youth as well as from militant black townships like Guguletu. The Cape coloured, precisely because they are oppressed by apartheid and concentrated in the urban proletariat, and are in many ways culturally Europeans, are that section of the oppressed which can most easily transcend nationalism. It is no accident that in the 1930s and 1940s Trotskyism had a base among coloured teachers in South Africa. They can provide a strategic component for crystallizing a multiracial Trotskyist party now.

Nor is it an accident that Cape Town has been the center of multiracial anti-apartheid protests that have included a white student component, especially around the demand to free ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Sections of the white population do not want to live in a garrison state, a white *laager* dominated by backward, bigoted Afrikaner nationalism. There had better be a place for whites in an anti-racist society, particularly as they constitute an indispensable reserve of technical skill for a socialist reconstruction of the country.

Wall Street "Divests" in South Africa

While the South African censors managed to throw out one *Newsweek* reporter, they could not hide reality from the money-grubbing international bankers, who recognize a bad "business climate" when they see one. In late July, Chase Manhattan Bank secretly notified its business borrowers in South Africa that the bank's loans would not be routinely renewed or "rolled over." When word leaked out, every international financier wanted out. About $2 billion in loans were not rolled over in

continued on page 10

Behind South Africa's Financial Crisis

Wall Street and the Apartheid State.... 6

THE TRIBUNE 9 August 1985

Moonies gearing up for big push

...ut Moon as ... leader.

The newspaper ad campaign focuses on the dubious assertion that Moon was subjected to selective government prosecution. One ad cites organizations that filed "friend of the court" briefs on Moon's behalf in 1983. The list spans across the political spectrum, and includes the Spartacist League, the ACLU, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Christian Voice. Each group filed an amicus brief on specific legal grounds, not as a wholesale endorsement of Moon himself.

...ding to Mo... Divine Princ...

Opposition August 1985

SPARTACIST AND THE MOONIES

...The organiz... was...the Spartacist League.

In a full page ad in the July 15 issue of the *New York Times*, the Spartacist League name appeared with a list of dozens of prominent liberals, conservatives, and religious organizations, defending Moon's right to appear before the Supreme Court. Whether the Sparticist's defence of Moon could be justified on some grounds, such as the defense of democratic rights, lending their name to a list of bourgeois proponents of Moon's own political aims can not. With the appearance of their name in the *New York Times* ad, the Spartacist League has crossed the line, not only to the side of a capitalist political party, but to the promotion of an organization that physically attacks the left.

For ... who know the ... League on ...

VOICE 6 August 1985

Right Face

Dear Editor:

What's going on over there? In the July 9 issue you have an article on Jeane Kirkpatrick that, though its premise and conclusions are the usual crock, actually portrays her as a human being [Maria Laurino, "Is Jeane Kirkpatrick a Feminist?"]. Then, a few pages later, Stanley Crouch ["Hostages"] justifies the use of American military force with reference to the Father of Total War himself, W. T. Sherman. Are you feeling good about America again? Did you lose your Spartacist readership? Is this the end of postindustrialism? Is *The Village Voice* wising up?

—J. R. Dunn
Orange, New Jersey

Spart Sightings

Lately it seems like wherever you look you see Spartacists, and some people don't like it one bit.

Back in 1983 the SL submitted an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief urging the Supreme Court to overturn the tax fraud conviction of Sun Myung Moon, head of the "Unification Church," a right-wing religious cult. The SL brief contends that the prosecution of Moon threatens First Amendment rights, particularly the separation of church and state and freedom of association. *WV* did an article on the Moon tax case and for a year copies of the brief have been sitting quietly on our literature tables (now also available by mail for $4).

Then recently we found ourselves listed, among many much larger organizations, in an ad put out by the Moonies in major newspapers. The ad lists the parties that filed *amicus* briefs against the Moon prosecution. About half the list are religious groups, including the Presbyterians, Mormons and Baptists, the SCLC and the black AME church. Briefs were filed on behalf of one Senator and three states, bourgeois political figures from Eugene McCarthy to Clare Boothe Luce, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the ACLU. Two organizations of the left with an active legal defense record were represented: the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, in which Communist Party supporters play a prominent role, and the Spartacist League. The Moonies, who at the outset hadn't wanted to allow the SL to file an *amicus* brief at all, now are making a point of the diversity of groups protesting the ominous legal precedent set in the Moon tax case. And it's recognized that the Spartacist League stands for the left pole of the political spectrum, as is shown for example by the selection of groups mentioned in the item from the Oakland *Tribune* (reproduced above, left).

Now we find one of our more obscure leftist opponents, the Los Angeles-based Morenoites (Internationalist Workers Party, followers of Argentine political adventurer and swindler Nahuel Moreno), seething with sour grapes. The salient paragraph of their little article on "Spartacist and the Moonies" (*Working Class Opposition*, August 1985) is reproduced above in the center. They accuse us of "collaborat[ing] with" and "promoting" the enemies of the working class and conclude, "Where will the Sparticists [sic] go next?" (Note that the Morenoites display schizophrenia in spelling our name—sometimes they get it right and sometimes they do "Sparticist," the variant which, as we've noted, is characteristic of the FBI.)

The government prosecution of Moon is an open-ended witchhunting weapon, centered on state meddling with somebody else's money. The state says it's protecting Moon's members from Moon; we've heard that before, like when the government goes after troublesome unions claiming it's just protecting the members' dues from the greedy bureaucrats. Anybody who thinks Moon has to steal money from his organization doesn't understand the nature of a group that says Moon is more godly than Jesus Christ. And money is a big part of freedom of association. We know how the FBI uses electoral "disclosure" laws (which are intended, ineffectually, to put some limits on the venality of Congressmen and judges) to harass contributors to leftist causes. And let's not forget how Iron Lady Thatcher froze the funds of the British miners last year.

The government made Moon guilty of "tax fraud" by treating his group's finances differently than it treats the assets of respectable religions. Today, reflecting the discrediting of the old "thought crime" laws, the inventing of "criminal" pretexts is an increasingly common cover for ideological prosecutions: for example, the effort to categorize political radicalism as a subspecies of "organized crime" (California attorney general) or as "terrorism" (FBI guidelines), the frame-up of the black radical New York 8+ under the "anti-racketeering" RICO umbrella.

The Moonies are a right-wing cult and we're a working-class socialist organization, and we have locked horns. Our major thrust against the Moonies came when we sued them and forced them to retract their deadly slanders against the Spartacist-initiated black labor-based mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington in 1982. It's interesting that the Morenoite article shares with the Moonies a hatred of that successful militant anti-racist mass action, as *Working Class Opposition* sneers at our "shrill demonstrations against the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazis." Would the Morenoites prefer genteel demonstrations against the terrorists who parade for genocide? Not really—the denizens of the pro-Democratic Party swamp orient toward pressuring the Dems to "Ban the Klan," a perspective which is at best utopian and most often means "anti-extremist" laws whose teeth are felt by the left and oppressed, not the fascists. To interdict ultrarightist provocations we don't importune the state—we organize militant action by the masses.

So we know what the Moonies are, but that won't stop us from defending democratic rights as posed in this case. Some simplistic or covertly anti-Semitic elements didn't like Dreyfus because he was a wealthy Jewish officer of the French general staff, but Marxists learned something from that.

Of course the very concept of democratic rights would be alien to the Morenoites. These strangers in a strange land embody the worst aspects of Latin American nationalist *caudillo* leftism: macho gangsterism and unbelievable cynicism. When they set up shop in this country the Morenoites declared turf war on Spartacists in L.A., attacking our union supporters with hammers as well as combining with the right wing of the labor bureaucracy to witchhunt us. Even some of their own supporters didn't enjoy the resulting notoriety. They haven't fared well on other fronts either. A great-expectations venture into flashy sub-reformist electoral maneuvering brought them only a noisy split; then they tried (unsuccessfully) to cool down a seething clique fight with a deal that must be the ultimate in contempt for the people: if the story going around is true, one *líder máximo* would get *Working Class Opposition*, the other would get...exclusive rights to the Spanish-speaking population of L.A.!

And meanwhile, here is the SL, whose very existence violates what all reformists and centrists feel must be a fundamental law of the natural world: that selling out will always pay off if only it's gross enough, and that principled politics is synonymous with irrelevance. We keep right on doing our thing, being the Trotskyist communists in this country, and gaining increasing recognition as such. A recent letter to the *Village Voice* (see above, right) by an apparent rightist critic asked sarcastically: "Are you feeling good about America again? Did you lose your Spartacist readership?" Here we are again, acknowledged as the standard yardstick of leftism.

We didn't anticipate, when we filed our *amicus* brief, that a consequence would be appearing on anyone's list of who's who in American life. But we're more than a bit pleased at what the roster of those who had the interest and resources to petition the judicial system over the Moon case shows: as far as the left in America goes, it's the CP and the Spartacist League that seem to count for something. There's dangers for a small group in Reagan's America in being so visible, but when you got it, you got to flaunt it. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Permanent Revolution and the Struggle Against Imperialism

The struggle to liberate Latin America, Africa and Asia from imperialist subjugation and impoverishment is, as Trotsky observed about China in 1928, above all a class struggle directed not only against international capital but also against the "national" bourgeoisie and its hangers-on.

China is still confronted with a vast, bitter, bloody, and prolonged struggle for such elementary things as the liquidation of the most "Asiatic" forms of slavery, national emancipation, and unification of the country. But as the course of events has shown, it is precisely this that makes impossible in the future any petty-bourgeois leadership or even semileadership in the revolution. The unification and emancipation of China today is an international task, no less so than the existence of the USSR. This task can be solved only by means of a desperate struggle on the part of the downtrodden, hungry, and persecuted masses under the direct leadership of the proletarian vanguard—a struggle not only against world imperialism, but also against its economic and political agency in China, against the bourgeoisie, including the "national" bourgeoisie and all its democratic flunkies. And this is nothing else than the road toward the dictatorship of the proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" (1928)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 387 **20 September 1985**

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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S.F. Protest Demands:

Hang Botha! Free Moloise!

WV Photos

SAN FRANCISCO—"Free Moloise, Hang Botha!" chanted 100 black, Hispanic and white anti-apartheid militants as they picketed South African Airways here September 7. They were demonstrating in response to the call by the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense (LBL) to demand the release of Benjamin Moloise, an African National Congress (ANC) supporter threatened with hanging by the apartheid regime. Framed up for the execution of a notorious police stool pigeon whose testimony sent three ANC fighters to the gallows in June 1983, Moloise was given a last-minute stay of execution on August 20. Apparently the apartheid butchers feared provoking further black revolt at home as well as international outrage.

Moloise's mother issued an urgent international appeal to save her son—a poet, upholstery worker and father of a 4-year-old daughter—from execution. On August 20, as part of nationwide protests against the planned execution, the SL mobilized scores of demonstrators in New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Subsequently, the Bay Area Labor Black League issued a call to redouble efforts to save Moloise, announcing the September 7 picket line protest in SF.

The LBL's call was made all the more urgent by the provocative display by San Francisco cops of a Nazi swastika at the August 20 protest. An SFPD van at the site had a Nazi navy poster inside showing a large swastika flag and the slogan "*Einsatz*" (action), recalling Hitler's sadistic SS "*Einsatzgruppen*" set up to exterminate Jews and communists in Eastern Europe. A *Workers Vanguard* photographer snapped this blatant show of cop support for the goose-stepping Nazis and we sent the photo around to the media, to Jewish, black and gay organizations—everyone on the Nazis' hit list. It was picked up by several papers, including on the front page of the *San Francisco Examiner*, as we scandalized the SF swastika cops. Spartacist spokesman Sandor Jonas told the September 7 demo:

> "Their intent was to solidarize with apartheid, to solidarize with Ronald Reagan, to solidarize with fascism. It was an attempt to intimidate those who would protest against apartheid terror and against racist terror here at home. But it didn't work, because we exposed this outrage and sent them scurrying back into their holes."

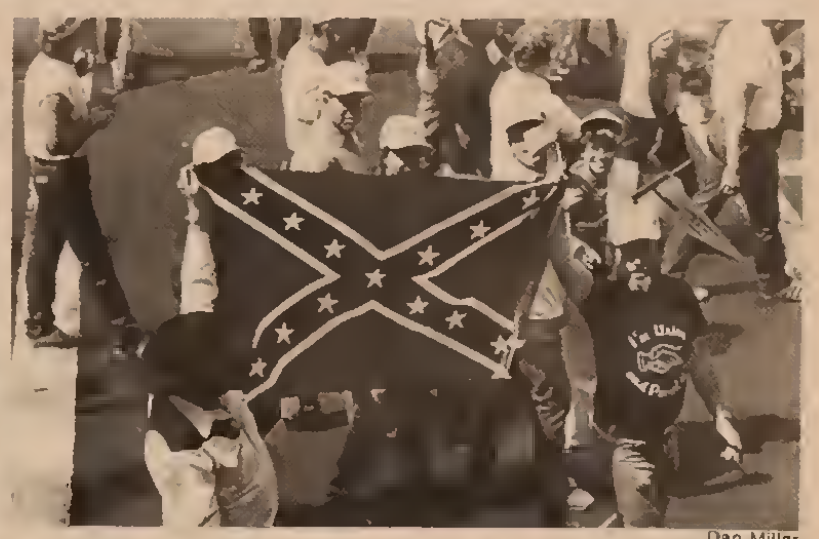
In fact, the SFPD made a big show of having the same van show up on September 7—this time without any Nazi posters.

Other speakers at the demonstration included Spartacus Youth League member John Kenney, recently returned from a trip to Nicaragua, Don Alexander of the Spartacist League Central Committee, and Labor Black League representative Jeff Higgins. The "External Tendency"—a coterie of white former members of the SL who quit the party out of fear and petty-bourgeois despair facing the Reagan years—showed up with signs announcing their transmogrification into the "Bolshevik Tendency." ETer Bob Mandel took pains to alibi the bureaucratic misleaders of the ILWU, insisting that last November's longshore boycott of South African goods "was brought to an end by an [court] injunction." No, it was the pro-company *union bureaucracy*, aided and abetted by its Communist Party and ET tag-alongs, that ended the action, using the court injunction as a pretext.

The ET, which allied itself with the enemies of militant labor action on the docks, had earlier sneered at the SL/LBL tearing down of the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror in San Francisco Civic Center in April 1984. Denouncing Mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein's statement that the cops' swastika poster was just a case of "bad judgment," the Spartacist spokesman declared:

> "She is the same mayor who flew the Confederate flag in the Civic Center, and we are the people who tore it down. That is why they bring swastikas here. This once again shows that the fight against racist terror is not only in South Africa but right here at home, and the enemy is right here at home: the imperialist capitalist class."

"Labor for Koch" Parade Flies Dixie Flag of Racism



Labor's shame: Racist pig Koch leads NYC Labor Day parade where Confederate flag of slavery was displayed.

WV Photo

Dan Miller

In an obscene provocation, racist workers marched under a large Confederate flag at the recent Labor Day rally in New York City. For the black, Jewish and immigrant workers who built the labor movement in this town this is a deadly threat. The slaveowners' banner is the emblem of decades of lynchings, bombings, burnings and shootings carried out by the Ku Klux Klan and its ilk. And hundreds if not thousands of militants have given their lives defending their unions against the racist terrorists unleashed by the bosses.

The NYC union tops were fomenting racist reaction—and they got it. The main theme of the Labor Day march was chauvinist protectionism, aimed at scapegoating Japanese workers for the decay of American capitalism. And while officially "neutral" in the city elections, Harry Van Arsdale and the Central Labor Council turned the demonstration into a platform for racist union-buster mayor Koch. Koch led off the march in the company of that Judas who betrayed the transit workers, John Lawe. A few years ago Koch was directing the bosses' strikebreaking against the TWU. "Labor for Koch" placards were prominent. One marcher who didn't like what he saw heckled a union float with the "Labor for Koch" banners; he was beaten up by drunken construction workers. Goons from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW)—in whose contingent the Confederate flag was carried—roamed through the crowd threatening socialist literature distributors.

Three weeks earlier Van Arsdale was speaking out of the other side of his mouth. On August 13 he addressed a massive union-initiated anti-apartheid rally attended by 30,000 predominantly black workers and ghetto residents. But while the crowds at the two demonstrations were a lot different, the politics were consistent. The trade-union fakers, liberal and black Democrats, and even Koch himself pose as "opponents of apartheid" 10,000 miles away—the better to preserve racist reaction at home. In San Francisco, Democratic Party mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein flew the Klan flag at the Civic Center until the SL and its supporters tore it down in April 1984. We defied Feinstein and her racist cops and courts and were successful in ridding that town of the hated flag of slavery.

There's no room in the labor movement for that flag and those who carry it. But it's no wonder the Klan types are emboldened to crawl out of the woodwork at a "union" rally in NYC: almost daily the killer cops claim another victim and the unions do nothing about it. What is desperately needed is the marshaling of labor/black power on the streets of New York City: for integrated armed workers defense guards drawn from responsible union men and women! That's the only way to make this town safe from the racist thugs in white sheets and blue uniforms. ■

Spartacist Forum

From Soweto to Harlem: Stop Racist Terror!

Hear Spartacist Party Candidates Speak:

Marjorie Stamberg for NYC Mayor
Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President

Tuesday, September 24, 7:30 p.m.
Memorial Baptist Church, 141 W. 115 Street (off Lenox Avenue)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Centrists Betray Fight for Workers Soviets

Bolivia on the Brink

SEPTEMBER 15—For the last ten months, the Andean republic of Bolivia has been writhing in a prerevolutionary situation. A government which hardly existed except on paper faced a class-conscious proletariat driven to desperation by mass unemployment and astronomical inflation. With the peso fallen to *one million* per U.S. dollar and miners' wages driven down to $20 a month, the poor and working people of Bolivia have been driven to the wall. Now once again Bolivian workers have decreed a general strike against starvation policies dictated by the International Monetary Fund, the financial gendarme of Wall Street and the White House.

This class war in the Andean altiplano (highlands) is of particular importance to socialists internationally. Bolivia is the only place in Latin America where something approaching a successful workers insurrection has occurred. In 1952, workers militias destroyed the army of the local oligarchy, but instead of taking power handed it over to the bourgeois Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR). The harsh conditions of backward Bolivia have also produced one of the most politically advanced proletariats of the continent, where Indian miners often look to those they understand to be revolutionary Trotskyists for leadership rather than to Stalinist reformists. In Bolivia even veteran union misleaders are constrained to use "Trotskyist" language to bolster their credentials. And everywhere the bourgeoisie sees the spectre of Trotskyism. During the elections, the Madrid daily *El Pais* (13 July) commiserated with "sectors of the urban population mauled by the permanent revolution sought by the Trotskyists."

Seven times in less than two years, the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB—Bolivian Workers Federation) has shut down the country. They faced down the "leftist" regime of Hernán Siles Zuazo, elected with workers' votes and placed in office in October 1982 by a general strike. But such guerrilla warfare cannot go on indefinitely. Following the failure of a near-insurrectionary general strike last March, when 12,000 tin miners occupied the capital of La Paz for 16 days, the workers have been on the defensive. An election in July, bought and paid for by the U.S., and the installation last month of conservative *caudillo* (strong man) Victor Paz Estenssoro for his fourth term as president set the stage for an attempt to break the back of the powerful labor movement.

DR

La Paz: 60,000 angry workers march on Bolivian capital March 4 during near-insurrectionary general strike.

Paz provoked a showdown late last month, decreeing draconian austerity measures freezing wages until the end of the year and devaluing the peso by 95 percent. What began as a 48-hour walkout September 4 has now been declared "indefinite" (open-ended) in the face of official intransigence. One COB leader called it a "strike to the death." Paz is refusing to negotiate until the strike is called off and threatening to arrest labor leaders (who have gone underground). The armed forces chief pledged his "full support" to the government to "clean up the country," and the unions' meeting place has been bombed twice.

The July elections were called a year early in order to bail out Siles' bankrupt UDP (Democratic Popular Unity) government. The UDP, a popular front of reformist workers parties tied to bourgeois "progressives," never managed to "tame" the combative labor movement. The petty bourgeoisie, meanwhile, was driven to desperation by ruinous inflation and economic chaos. Seeing no resolute leadership fighting for proletarian revolution, after the collapse of the March strike the middle classes began flocking to General Hugo Banzer's ultrarightist ADN (National Democratic Action). Banzer came within a hairsbreadth of winning the presidency in July, but the U.S. feared that his narrow victory could lead to a civil war which the bourgeoisie might lose. So after last-minute horse trading in the Bolivian Congress and arm twisting by Washington, the "democrat" Paz was duly "elected."

Ladmer/Ciric

Militant Indian women take to the streets against popular front of hunger and Iles.

With real wages slashed by over 40 percent since 1980 (according to *official* figures) and inflation projected at the astronomical figure of *44,134 percent* this year, the masses can't take it any more. And the Bolivian ruling class—the generals, mine owners, ranchers, politicians and drug kingpins—cannot solve the crisis of this country in extremis simply by calling on the army to take over. The stark alternative is workers revolution or bloody massacre, with or without a "democratic" façade. Yet despite repeated proof that the proletariat is ready for a fight to the finish, the key to the Bolivian revolution is still absent—a Bolshevik party, built on the internationalist program of permanent revolution and fighting to install soviet power.

In Bolivia last March, with the impotent government afraid to put troops into the streets for fear they might go over to the workers; with the army unwilling to take over a bankrupt state; with bourgeois reaction disorganized and the organized proletariat occupying the capital, the situation cried out for a revolutionary vanguard fighting for power. And as the panicked rulers frothed at the mouth against the spectre of Trotskyism, at a time when the ranks were escaping the control of the COB bureaucracy and thousands of militant miners were meeting daily in strike assemblies, it was the failure of the ostensible Trotskyists to fight for soviets that sealed the fate of this sharp prerevolutionary crisis.

Permanent Revolution on the Altiplano

Bolivia is a classic case of uneven and combined development. It is one of the poorest and most backward countries of the Western Hemisphere with the lowest per capita income on the continent. At least half the population is illiterate. It is Latin America's most Indian country: over 50 percent speak the Quechua or Aymara languages. The peasantry makes up more than 60 percent of the nation. Yet the militant Bolivian working class is the most politically conscious of the continent. So much so that Régis Debray, the café "theoretician" of Guevarist guerrillaism, denounced the Bolivian proletariat as "a class deluded as to its own political importance and with an overweening self-confidence" (*Che's Guerrilla War* [1975]).

Many aspects of the Bolivian crisis are unique. Coca paste (used to produce cocaine) has long outstripped tin as the main export. According to the London *Financial Times* (22 November 1984), a leading drug smuggler offered to raise a *$2 billion* low-interest loan to pay off Bolivia's international debt in exchange for protection from prosecution by the U.S.! The extreme weakness of the local bourgeoisie has meant that the capitalist rulers usually wear army boots. One hundred ninety military coups since independence have given Bolivia the nickname *Golpilandia*—"Coup-Land." If there have been no coups d'état recently, cynics reportedly remark, it is "because no one wants the *état*. The state is so impoverished it has ceased to attract the army and its hangers-on" (*Latin America Regional Report*, 6 April 1984).

But the dramatic events on the altiplano have an importance far out of proportion to the economic and strategic marginality of the country. Bolivia borders Argentina, Brazil and Chile where the heavy battalions of South American labor are restless. The vaunted "economic miracles" under the military rule of Pinochet and the Brazilian generals have collapsed, and in Argentina the "democratic" Alfonsin regime is imposing IMF starvation policies with a vengeance. As all Latin America groans under the massive foreign debt and feels the lash of bank-imposed "austerity," a revolution in Bolivia could light the fuse on the "debt bomb."

From Ronald Reagan to Fidel Castro, much has been made of the current "democratic opening" in Latin America. But the military regimes *handed over* power to the civilians in order to "burn" them. *No* capitalist government can weather the present economic crisis: usurious interest rates and falling commodity prices have plunged Latin America into a crisis far worse than the 1930s. Bolivia was one of the first countries to make the "transition" to "constitutional" rule, in October 1982. Yet even coming after the exceptionally sadistic, drug-trafficking regimes of the "coca-dollar dictatorship," so discredited that they even embarrassed Ronald Reagan, Siles' government floundered for 33 months and finally left "without glory or regret." Siles' agony shows the future for the "democratizing bourgeoisie" throughout the continent.

Bolivia provides a vivid illustration of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution. Drawing on the experience of the Russian Revolution, Leon Trotsky wrote that in the imperialist epoch only the proletariat can carry out even the democratic tasks of agrarian revolution, national emancipation and democracy, *by establishing its own class rule*. Every variety of bourgeois nationalism, from military populism to the most radical "left" nationalism, has already proved its bankruptcy in Bolivia. Today the Bolivian peasants are still mired in poverty and ignorance; tin miners labor in broken down mine shafts for a dollar a day, contracting silicosis and dying at the average age of 37; and with Yankee dollars and advisers, the MNR rebuilt the capitalist army which ruled the country for 18 years of revolving door juntas and massacres. It will take socialist revolution to free the Bolivian masses from the chains of imperialist oppression, military despotism and poverty.

Prerevolutionary Crisis

The miners who spearheaded the March general strike said from the beginning of the UDP regime that they

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French President Behind Greenpeace Murder

We Accuse Mitterrand!

Abridged from Le Bolchévik No. 57, September 1985, newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

PARIS—On July 10, in the New Zealand port of Auckland, a double explosion ripped the hull of the *Rainbow Warrior*, a former trawler chartered by the ecology organization Greenpeace for a protest campaign against French nuclear testing in the Pacific. A victim of two magnetic mines placed against its hull, the ship went down within minutes. A member of Greenpeace who was aboard, Fernando Pereira, 36 years old, was killed by the explosion of the second mine. But the death toll could have been much higher. *Le Monde* (13 July) wrote that Greenpeace officials "are convinced the perpetrators of the bombing were extremely well informed and intended to wipe out the movement's leadership: the movement's seven international leaders were, in fact, due to meet on board the Rainbow Warrior to coordinate the campaign [against the French nuclear tests] and it was only at the very last minute that they decided not to spend the night on board, preferring instead a seaside hotel."

There is no longer any doubt: this murderous terrorist act was committed by agents of the Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure (DGSE), the French spy agency, under the authority of the defense ministry. Two teams from the DGSE's "action department" set the mines which killed Fernando Pereira: the couple posing as Swiss tourists—"Mr. and Mrs. Turenge" now in custody in New Zealand—were in reality two French officers, Captain Dominique Prieur, from the "special cadres" (female personnel) and Major Alain Mafart, until recently second in command at the Training Center for Combat Divers—and the crew of the windjammer *Ouvéa*, which included three more diver-saboteurs.

Gamma

Auckland, New Zealand: French secret agents blew up boat belonging to anti-nuclear protesters, killing Greenpeace member.

French Spies Caught in the Act

This despicable act is unfortunately not out of the ordinary. The hired killers of French imperialism have chalked up quite a few other terrorist operations, particularly in the remnants of its colonial empire and the African neo-colonies, where French undercover agents and paratroopers make and unmake governments with impunity. But in this case, the DGSE agents made the mistake of believing that in New Zealand they would benefit from the quasi-absolute impunity that normally covers them in Chad, the Central African Republic, Gabon, Polynesia or *France*.

For this region is now a "hostile environment" for French imperialism. First of all, Australia, which is home to American spy and communications bases central to the U.S.' nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union, would be happy to be rid of France in order to fulfill its ambitions as the hegemonic mini-power in the region. In New Zealand, the Lahour government of David Lange is currently the object of active destabilization efforts on the part of the White House, in retaliation against New Zealand's refusal to dock U.S. nuclear ships. For Lange, the anti-Greenpeace bombing was a golden opportunity: Greenpeace's liberal illusions and pacifist disarmament propaganda finds a ready ear among a New Zealand population which has just begun to discover that it can no longer opt out of a northern hemisphere nuclear Armageddon and who understandably don't appreciate being sprinkled with nuclear fallout for the benefit of the arrogant French (*Le Monde*'s special correspondent called the New Zealand prime minister "a little emperor of the coconut palms").

But at least it now seems that the French agents will be put on trial in New Zealand. (In France, none of the implicated agents can be charged with anything, since they are in the military.) This is a good thing and a good opportunity for the working class of this country to learn a thing or two about the dirty tricks of the sordid capitalist state apparatus running the country. This sort of "affair" offers the possibility of a brief glimpse of what goes on in the secret police cesspool. But it will take nothing less than a social revolution to bring to light the crimes of these secret tools of the imperialist state, as did the October Revolution of 1917, which, by overthrowing the old state apparatus, permitted the uncovering of those of the sinister tsarist secret police, the Okhrana. In the meantime we demand that the entire trial of the French agents be broadcast on prime time on French state-owned television.

Pat Oliphant

Mitterrand Is Guilty

Mitterrand and his government have tried to absolve themselves of any responsibility by means of the Tricot report, which relies on misleading arguments and a phony naiveté, written in pompous language whose absurdity is matched only by its cynicism. "Tricot Washes Whiter" ran the headline of the August 27 *Libération*. The responsibility for this premeditated act of *state terrorism*, carried out with important material and financial means, belongs above all to Mitterrand, the head of the army—as he himself repeats on every possible occasion—to his government and to his war minister Hernu. The Tricot report quotes a note from Admiral Pagès, commander of the Pacific nuclear testing center, to the effect that the DGSE should "anticipate" the pacifists' activities. This brings to mind Eloi Machoro, the leader of the [pro-independence] FLNKS assassinated in New Caledonia by a bullet in the chest from a gendarme after the French government gave orders to "neutralize" him. The army brass acted in the political framework that the government gave them—which in no way removes their own responsibility in this despicable crime.

Mitterrand is not giving an inch. On August 18 this horseman of nuclear apocalypse reminded French soldiery that Greenpeace is still the enemy. In a "directive" addressed to the armed forces, he launched this sinister warning: "I repeat the order given to the armed forces to prevent, by force if need be, any non-authorized entry into French territorial waters and French airspace in the Polynesian atolls of the Mururoa and Fangataufa sector.... I give notice that nuclear testing in the Pacific will continue as long as it is deemed necessary for the defense of the country by French authorities and solely by them" (*Le Monde*, 20 August). The French navy will thus await Greenpeace's flotilla, due to arrive in mid-October in the vicinity of the French nuclear atolls, and more murderous assaults are to be feared from the French army.

And Mitterrand is not exactly a beginner. Minister of the Interior in 1954 at the time of the outbreak of the struggle for Algerian independence, Justice Minister in 1956 and in this office personally responsible for the execution of Algerian Communists, he's a long-time servant of French imperialism who fully merits the hatred of all victims of this racist and colonialist state. And he continues in this role as president of the popular front, responsible for the sending of paratroopers to Lebanon to disarm Palestinians in the face of invasion by the Israeli war machine, responsible for repression in the West Indies and New Caledonia, the mercenary-style invasion of Chad last year and now the Auckland murder.

Anti-Soviet Consensus

All through this affair, Mitterrand and his clique have benefited from a near-total "sacred union" [national unity]. Since the beginning, the press and the bourgeois politicians have been embarrassed because the DGSE agents *got caught*, and not because they had murderously attacked (and in another country) a legal organization which was peacefully exercising its right to protest French nuclear testing. Without forgetting the Socialist Party, the party of front men for the current denizen of the presidential palace, which prudently waited until August 21 to condemn the Auckland bombing, all the rightist dignitaries are ostentatiously lining up behind Mitterrand. The rightist parties have no interest in meddling with the mechanisms of a state apparatus that they suppose will once again be theirs in 1986, whether it be the secret police or the bonapartist powers of a president who is literally above the law. (Article 68 of the Constitution stipulates, in fact, that "the President of the Republic is not responsible for acts accomplished in the exercise of his functions except in the event of high treason," and that "he can only be indicted on the basis of an identical vote by both Assemblies after a public ballot and by an absolute majority of the members comprising them.")

In the midst of this disgusting orgy of "raison d'état," now that it is out of the government the French Communist Party (PCF) at least had the merit of being blunt. "It's a question of state terrorism," declared André Lajoinie at the National Assembly on August 10, adding: "It is impossible to pretend in this Fifth Republic, where everything proceeds from the summit, that the decision to commit this bombing didn't get the green light from the highest authorities of the state" (*L'Humanité*, 23 August). They also denounced the sacred union by the SP and the reactionaries around this crime. *But beware of those who preach the possibility of a "clean" and "democratic" national defense.* This sacred union around Mitterrand is based, above all, on a *nuclear consensus* around France's anti-Soviet *"force de frappe"* [nuclear arsenal], *which the PCF supports*. It is now 50 years since the PCF degenerated into a reformist party, and the sign of that reformist degeneration was its support to French national defense in 1935. Similarly, to cement its entry into the "Union of the Left" and try to make itself accepted as a "party of government" by the bourgeoisie, the PCF, from 1973 to 1977, had to accept piece by piece the anti-Soviet nuclear force.

Force de Frappe and Colonialism

France is a second-rate imperialist power. It's only thanks to the remnants of its colonial empire, transformed into so many military bases and naval stations, and its independent nuclear arsenal that it can still pretend to play at being a world military power and occupy something a little bit better than a back seat in the Western bloc, engaged, under Reagan's sway, in a war drive against the Soviet Union. Here we have the real secret of this obscene sacred union.

And if the guardians of the "grandeur of France" think themselves able to get away with such action against a mainly white and well-organized organization like Greenpeace, all those who fight in

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Behind South Africa's Financial Crisis

Wall Street and the Apartheid State

The prominent white South African liberal Helen Suzman recently observed that no one has to call for divestment anymore. It's already happening. Foreign investors do not want to touch South Africa right now. The blood-soaked racist apartheid state has been hit by a massive flight of capital. Stocks of South African companies, even gold-mining shares, are going for a song. The value of the country's currency, the rand, plummeted to an all-time low of 35¢ late last month, half its value at the beginning of this year, a quarter of its value in 1981. American and West European banks have called in their loans to the tune of $2 billion. They even threatened to seize the foreign assets of Nedbank, South Africa's largest domestically owned bank, if it did not meet its international obligations.

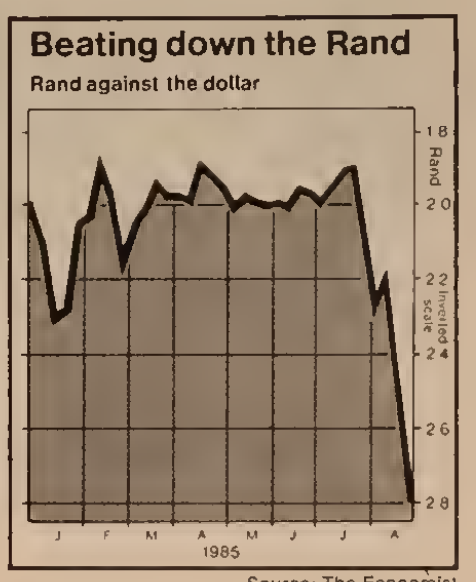
In just a few weeks David Rockefeller and his fellow bankers have upset the South African economy far more than decades of activity by the divestment/sanctions lobby. "We are being asked to pay all our debts in a minute—no country can do that," exclaimed the chief economist of Anglo American Corp., the giant mining and industrial conglomerate in South Africa. After temporarily shutting down both the stock exchange and foreign-exchange markets, Pretoria announced a four-month freeze on the repayment of principal on its $19 billion in foreign bank debt. As if he represented some bankrupt Third World regime, the head of South Africa's central bank journeyed hat-in-hand to London and Washington, pleading with international financiers to roll over their loans.

While the actions of foreign bankers have made front-page news, the South African financial crisis was actually triggered by the flight of *domestic* capital. Whenever the unrest in the black townships threatens to spill over into their suburbs, well-to-do whites cache more liquid assets in Wall Street, the City of London, Frankfurt and Zurich. Last year $2 billion fled the country. As one Wall Street economist put it, "At the first sign of trouble, locally held funds move out" (*Business Week*, 26 August). And no one doubts that South Africa is in big trouble.

To be sure, no one who looks at the situation soberly also doubts that the white supremacist regime can drown in blood a black upheaval at this time. But in the longer run international capital is deeply pessimistic about the future—and not just the distant future—of the apartheid state. Foreign investors ask themselves: "How much longer can a privileged caste of 4.5 million whites totally subjugate and hideously superexploit 26 million black Africans, coloureds [people of mixed race] and Indians?" Sooner or later, they figure, the white police state is going to crack, and after that the deluge...possibly a descent into anarchy and prolonged racial, ethnic and tribalist bloodletting.

Checani/Business Week

South African rand plunges as capital flees.



Source: The Economist

But that is not the only alternative to apartheid capitalism. South Africa's mines and factories, its railroads and gold reserves, were produced by the sweat and blood of black, coloured and Indian labor, especially the black migrant workers from the bantustans and neighboring black states who are hideously superexploited in the mines. To paraphrase Marx, apartheid has created in a six-million-strong black proletariat, stripped of every democratic and human right, its own gravedigger. The wealth of South Africa belongs not to the capitalists—the Wall Street, Frankfurt and London bankers or Johannesburg mine magnates—but to the toilers who created it. And the only kind of "divestment" that will benefit the exploited and oppressed will be proletarian revolution, and the expropriation of these riches by a black-centered workers government as part of a socialist federation of southern Africa.

The spectre of communism in South Africa also haunts Wall Street. *South Africa: Time Running Out* was the title of an influential 1981 study commissioned by the Rockefeller Foundation. The commission was headed by Ford Foundation president Franklin Thomas (Ford is a major investor in South Africa). This study concluded that "all the ingredients of a major crisis are present there. The dangers of political instability, large-scale racial conflict, and the growth of Communist influence are real."

At the same time, Western capitalism cannot write off South Africa as hopeless. The stakes are much too high. The ruling classes in the U.S. and West Europe have convinced themselves, in the face of South African realities, that there is a reformist solution which will preserve their interests. Thus the Rockefeller Foundation study urges the U.S. government "to promote genuine political power sharing in South Africa."

However, these days South African "power-sharing" futures are selling at a large discount on Wall Street and other Western financial centers. The attitude of international capital toward South Africa is, let's get what we can while we can. *Business Week* (23 September) reports: "In the face of escalating strife and the deaths of more than 700—mostly blacks—since rioting broke out a year ago, nearly every American corporation in the country has an escape plan." Foreign capital in South Africa is highly volatile and invested in ways designed to minimize the risk when time finally does run out for the apartheid state.

Mattison/Time

Miners fired during recent South African mine strike, international monetary system rests on blood and sweat of black gold miners.

The Land Where Gold is King

While South Africa is the only industrialized country in sub-Saharan Africa, in one fundamental way its role in the world capitalist economy is similar to that of a backward Third World country. It is an exporter of raw materials and an importer of manufactured products. And one raw material quite dominates the economy: gold. It accounts for 50 percent of South Africa's foreign-exchange earnings and almost 20 percent of its gross national product. As gold goes, so goes the South African economy. When the price of gold plunged from $850 an ounce in 1980 to less than $500 an ounce in 1983, hitting a low of $285 earlier this year, apartheid capitalism plunged into the worst depression in 50 years.

It is, above all, a golden chain which binds the apartheid state to Wall Street, the City of London, Frankfurt and Zurich. South Africa supplies world capitalism with 60 percent of that commodity Marx called "the universal medium of payment" and "the universal embodiment of wealth." For a century the rich veins of gold on the Witwatersrand and superexploited black African labor have been a powerful magnet attracting capital—originally British, in the postwar period increasingly American—to southern Africa. The dominant mining company, Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo American Corp., is well named, since half of it is owned by Englishmen and Americans. Fifty percent of the stock of the seven mining groups which control South African gold production is in the hands of foreign investors (or was until they started selling off like crazy a few months ago).

The enormous wealth of apartheid capitalism and, indeed, the international monetary system rests upon the naked back of the black African miner, who daily risks being killed or maimed digging in 110°F heat and darkness of the deep pits, who when not working lives in males-only barracks under prison-like conditions, who faces being sent back to starve in the bantustan hellholes at any show of resistance.

Thus the threat of black revolt triggers international financial panic. This is the third time South Africa has experienced massive capital flight. The 1960 Sharpeville massacre provoked militant nationwide protests and mass stayaway strikes. The African National Congress (ANC) abandoned passive resistance and attempted armed insurrection. It looked for a moment like the long-anticipated black uprising was at hand. A billion dollars was withdrawn from the country in the space of weeks. The apartheid state faced the worst balance-of-payments crisis in its history.

In 1960, U.S. imperialism came to the aid of its beleaguered South African ally by arranging emergency loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). But it was not timely IMF loans which restored foreign investor confidence, however, it was the crushing of all resistance to white racist rule. Eleven thousand militants were arrested and every major anti-apartheid organization, including the ANC and Stalinist Communist Party, was driven underground, their leaders killed, imprisoned or forced into exile.

In the decade following Sharpeville a totalitarian police state reigned supreme over the defenseless, atomized and demoralized black masses. This was the perfect climate for foreign investment, which poured into the country. In 1972 the U.S. business magazine *Fortune* wrote:

> "The Republic of South Africa has always been regarded by foreign investors as a gold mine, one of those rare and refreshing places where profits are great and problems are small. Capitalis

not threatened by political instability or nationalization. Labor is cheap, the market is booming, and the currency hard and convertible."

—quoted in Martin J. Murray, ed., *South African Capitalism and Black Political Opposition* (1982)

The 1960s and early '70s marked the golden age, so to speak, of apartheid capitalism. Since then troubles have increasingly accumulated for the Randlords and their partners on Wall Street and in the City of London. In early 1973 the black working class shattered the police-state calm as the city of Durban was paralyzed by a mass strike. The rising level of workers' struggles converged with a new generation of black student militants in the 1976 Soweto uprising. Mass stayaway strikes in solidarity with the rebellious black youth embraced 70-80 percent of the labor force resident in Soweto, whose two million inhabitants make it the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa. At the height of the unrest capital once again fled the country. And Washington once again pumped money into South Africa via the IMF, almost half a billion dollars, to quiet down the panicky financial markets.

The Soweto rebellion inspired a rising line of black resistance on almost all fronts, most importantly the emergence of a black workers movement. In 1979 the official Wiehahn Commission warned that black unions "can unite with other unions through affiliation (as is happening now) without government approval and thus embrace strategic industries which can be paralyzed at any given moment."

At the same time, another fundamental contradiction of apartheid capitalism came to the fore. Industrial expansion was blocked by a growing shortage of skilled workers, traditionally and legally restricted to the white labor aristocracy. In 1979 the Chamber of Mines projected that by 1982 there would be a shortage of 50,000 skilled artisans throughout the economy. But to scrap the industrial color bar and develop a large pool of skilled black workers would enormously strengthen the increasingly powerful and combative black labor movement.

Gunston/Sipa

Campbell/Time

Panicked apartheid regime closes Johannesburg stock exchange (above) as black revolt continues to spread.

Apartheid Capitalism in Depression

South Africa's manufacturing sector stagnated in the late 1970s, but the effect was offset and partially masked by the inflationary boom in gold. Then the bottom fell out for the South African economy. As monetarism/austerity swept Western capitalism—Reagan's America, Thatcher's Britain, Mitterrand's France, Kohl's West Germany—the price of gold plummeted. The world depression also hit South Africa's other metal exports (e.g., platinum, manganese). And to make matters worse, a severe drought has devastated agriculture throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

Black unemployment in South Africa soared to over 20 percent of the labor force. The hideous poverty of the townships became even more so. Famine and disease ravaged the bantustans. Even white South Africa did not escape the effects of the economic crisis. At the lower end of the white caste, unemployment reappeared for the first time in decades. At the upper end, well-to-do families now hired their black servants on a part-time basis as an economizing measure.

The Botha regime responded to the depression with a racist version of Keynesian deficit spending. The government budget jumped from 22 percent of gross national product in 1981 to 29 percent in 1984. Needless to say, this vastly increased expenditure did not go to the black masses starving on the bantustans. Rather billions of rands were pumped into the growing military sector, fueled by the war in Namibia; to subsidize the drought-stricken Afrikaner farmers (the original Boers); and to increase the salaries of civil servants by 30 percent. The state bureaucracy employs *a third* of the entire white labor force.

The effects of this apartheid Keynesianism were predictable. Inflation took off. So did borrowing from foreign banks. International debt jumped from $12 to $19 billion between 1981 and 1984. Half this money was owed by the government and its panoply of state-controlled companies. The rand steadily depreciated, which further fueled domestic inflation.

The business community was not amused at the effects of Bothanomics. Bankers denounced the regime for borrowing abroad to pay inflated government salaries. The *Business Times* demanded, "back the public service." The liberal *Rand Daily Mail* (which has since folded) editorialized:

> "Wishful apartheid thinking lies at the root of our economic misery. The government is taking too much money from the productive sectors of the economy to pump into that overweight, overpaid, inefficient monolith that was created to administer the disastrous policies of the [ruling] National Party."
>
> —quoted in *Wall Street Journal*, 5 February

The Botha regime responded to these business pressures by imposing a monetarist/austerity program last year, driving interest rates to a historic high of 25 percent and further depressing the worst depression in 50 years.

The depression naturally also affected the multinationals operating in South Africa. The return on direct foreign investment slid from 20 percent at the beginning of the decade to 5 percent in 1984! Suddenly, the idea that divestment in South Africa might be a good thing, after all, began to be heard in corporate boardrooms from Detroit to London. Early this year Ford, then the largest carmaker in South Africa, sold 60 percent of its operation to Anglo American. Coca-Cola, likewise, sold off a majority interest, and International Harvester sold its truck operation outright. The British-owned Barclays, the largest foreign bank in South Africa, has reduced its holding by 20 percent. Overall, direct U.S. investment has fallen from $2.8 billion in 1981 to $2.3 billion. The conservative London *Economist* (30 March) observed with its usual cynicism:

> "Disinvestment pressure has come at a convenient time for many American corporations, as profitability in South Africa falls and the Far East looks a more attractive market. Managers have thus been able to reduce new capital flows to South African subsidiaries while holding onto market share, milking their profits and satisfying anti-apartheid lobbyists."

The notion of rad-lib activists that divestment means multinationals will no longer profit from apartheid displays a woeful ignorance of how capitalism works. Foreign companies can sell off every last asset and still *continue to superexploit* South Africa's black workers. A major business enterprise, a large factory or big bank, for example, is almost never sold for cash. It is usually paid for with *interest-bearing* notes. And when profits are at depression-level lows and interest rates near historic highs, *divestment is good business.* Over the past half decade international capital has significantly shifted the way in which it shares in the superexploitation of South Africa's black toilers.

Smash Apartheid Capitalism Through Workers Revolution!

Even before the present black revolt erupted last summer, the South African economy was in deep trouble: unemployment, investment and profits were stuck at depression levels; inflation was accelerating, and international debt was building up rapidly. What turned this severe conjunctural crisis into a wholesale financial panic is, of course, the prospect of bloody civil war.

Significantly the panic button was first pushed not by the multinationals and Wall Street banks but by South Africa's own white moneyed classes. Reporting from Johannesburg early this year, the *Wall Street Journal* (5 February) wrote:

> "Many whites here, clinging to their privileges and luxuries, nevertheless exude apprehension about the future. A small furor was created a couple of weeks ago by the private publication of a report entitled 'How You Can Get a Second Passport'—how, in other words, sanctuary can be arranged elsewhere if apartheid collapses."

While not many whites have as yet been leaving South Africa for sanctuaries elsewhere, they have been sending their money to sanctuaries elsewhere. The outflow of South African-owned funds tripled between 1983 and 1984, from $700 million to $2 billion.

Most of this white capital flight comes from middle- and upper-class English speakers rather than Afrikaners. It is not simply that the English are more fearful about black revolt. They do not relish living in a garrison state under a diehard Afrikaner regime which has learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the Great Trek of the 1830s. What is involved is not just a clash of national cultures and historic enmities. A diehard Afrikaner government would likely turn the country into an economic *laager*, restricting the import of luxuries and the export of capital. The Botha regime has already moved in this direction by imposing a two-tier foreign-exchange system.

As massive white capital flight drained their reserves, South African banks were forced to borrow abroad ever larger amounts on ever shorter

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Bolivia...

(continued from page 4)

"do not recognize themselves in this government." What they recognized in this phony "people's government" was the class enemy. As president of Bolivia during 1956-60, Siles shoved U.S.-dictated austerity down the workers' throats. And on returning to office in 1982, the "leftist" Siles immediately began implementing IMF policies again, paying off the imperialist bankers by slashing the masses' miserable poverty rations. Yet even the pleas of "Communist" ministers for class peace were of no avail. Hunger drove the masses into the streets chanting, "Death to Siles and his ministers!"

A summit of the Bolivian bourgeoisie, arranged by the Catholic church, decided to cut Siles' term short and call early elections in 1985. But yet another government "austerity attack" (*paquetazo*) in February goaded the population past endurance. Rage against Siles' decree quadrupling food prices erupted in riots and takeovers of town halls across the country. Road workers in Santa Cruz blockaded the plaza with bulldozers, chanting, "Not the military, not the politicians, but a government of workers power!" Miners at Siglo XX declared a strike, officially branded the Communist Party "traitors to the people" for collaborating with Siles, and demanded that the COB take "radical measures."

Feeling the heat from the ranks, the union federation issued a call for "people's supply committees" to seize food depots and government vehicles in order to distribute essential products. All trucks carrying food were required to show authorization from the COB. Government accountants were instructed to stop deducting income tax from paychecks for miners and other public employees. The Siles government denounced these measures as "an old Trotskyist strategy that has always

Sipa

President Victor Paz Estenssoro, U.S. puppet.

failed for the seizure of political power." COB leader Juan Lechín was telling the truth when he insisted that, although the government was virtually "inert," he had no revolutionary intentions. But the workers had other ideas.

At the end of February, mass assemblies in the mining districts decided to converge *en masse* on the capital. Commandeering trains and company trucks, they descended on La Paz. Soon 12,000 miners in their brown hardhats and llama-hair caps, dynamite tucked under their leather jackets, were filling the streets. While the bourgeoisie recoiled in horror before the "brown hats," the mass of the capital's population responded with sympathy. Union halls and classrooms across the city were turned over to the miners and their wives. Fearing they would lose all control of their ranks, the COB leaders called a national union march for "bread and freedom," in order to pressure Siles and blow off steam.

On March 4, some 60,000 workers marched in a vociferous demonstration of working-class anger punctuated with dynamite blasts that shattered windows in the presidential palace and parliament. Once the march was over, the miners refused to leave La Paz and return to the camps. Instead they began holding daily assemblies in the huge Open Air Theater, which became a kind of mass strike committee in permanent session. The assembly called a nationwide mine strike, and demanded that the COB declare an unlimited general strike. Once again the union tops reluctantly complied. The 14 demands of the strike included: a "living minimum wage with sliding scale" (cost-of-living escalator); nationalization of private banks and mines, transport and foreign trade; repudiation of the foreign debt; and an end to food shortages.

For the next 16 days, Bolivia was brought to a halt. Miners filled the streets of La Paz with demonstrations, repeatedly marching on the government palace. One had to get permission from miners' pickets armed with dynamite to cross key intersections. Factory workers and public employees came out, peasants blocked the highways. Indian market women, who control local commerce, provided the miners with lunch daily. The Housewives Federation took up collections, and university students imposed a "revolutionary tax" on motorists to support the strike. The all-star soccer team even played a free match at the Open Air Theater (rightists bombed the team's hotel in reprisal).

The Spectre of Trotskyism

Any real general strike—and the Bolivian strike last March was surely that—poses the question, which class shall rule? Madrid's *El Pais* (20 March) declared: "The political climate in La Paz is, in many senses, prerevolutionary." Even *Time* magazine (1 April) headlined its brief story on the strike "A Call to Revolution." Moreover, the government and press repeatedly raised the spectre of Trotskyism. In an essay in the Spanish newsweekly *Cambio 16* (22 March), President Siles railed against an imaginary plan "by the Trotskyist and neo-Trotskyist leadership" of the COB for "the seizure of power by violent means."

The Bolivian union tops have nothing in common with revolutionary Trotskyism. And the supporters of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat who joined with Lechín last September to form the "Unified Revolutionary Leadership" (DRU) only succeeded in replacing the Stalinists in the COB leadership with another gang of reformists. (The DRU platform bragged that it "gave ample proof of our commitment to the democratic process" by *suspending* a general strike in June 1984, at the time of an abortive coup by drug-trafficking military officers!) Meanwhile, the Bolivian followers of Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno have been doing their best to rekindle illusions in the encrusted labor bureaucracy by calling for "all power to the COB"—i.e., for a Lechín government!

When Bolivians talk about "the Trotskyists," they are usually referring to the centrist Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR—Revolutionary Workers Party) of Guillermo Lora. They have control of the university federation in La Paz, and during the strike POR-led students marched around chanting "Not the military, not parliament, but workers to power." Every issue of Lora's newspaper *Masas* and numerous POR wall paintings around the capital prominently display the call for a dictatorship of the proletariat. However, Lora & Co. make no link between this abstract slogan and the concrete struggles of the Bolivian workers.

In March, *Masas* (which came out

UPI

Bolivian tin miners (brandishing dynamite) in 1971: most class-conscious proletariat in Latin America.

daily during the strike) never went beyond calls for the "minimum living wage with a sliding scale." Certainly, the sliding scale of wages and hours is an important demand raised in Trotsky's "Transitional Program" as a part of a working-class struggle against inflation and unemployment. But when the government is virtually bankrupt, and cannot pay anything at all because it is waiting for the next planeload of 50,000 peso bills to arrive from England, a struggle limited to higher wages amounts to economist idiocy. With Bolivia in a state of ruin, *no* economic demands made sense outside of a struggle for power. And this is precisely what Lora did *not* raise.

With thousands of miners attending daily mass strike meetings, the central demand should have been to *form soviets*, organs of dual power which can mobilize the masses to sweep away the decrepit bourgeois state and provide the framework for a new regime of workers power. Bring delegations of the factory workers, public employees, bank and telephone workers to the Open Air Theater. Appeal also to the peasant organizations, the housewives federations, the market women and students to send representatives. If an organization the size of POR-*Masas* had seriously fought in March to turn the miners' assemblies into workers councils, soviets would have appeared. Yet Lora *opposed* this fundamental demand. In the middle of the previous general strike, *Masas* (23 November 1984) ran a polemic condemning "the ultra[leftist], ultimatist and subjectivist petty-bourgeois deviation that consists of decreeing that today or tomorrow soviets must be constructed"!

Together with soviets, the urgent need in March was for armed workers guards and strike pickets, brought together in *workers militias*. Dynamite is not an offensive weapon but a traditional Bolivian way of emphasizing a point. The workers needed guns. In 1971, workers in La Paz who sought to block Banzer's coup demonstrated asking for arms, which never arrived. Lora later confessed, "There was a common view then, which we Marxists shared, that the ruling military group would hand out arms" (*Bolivia: de la Asamblea Popular al golpe fascista* [1971]). There has been a tradition of workers militias since 1952, yet no one, and certainly not Lora's POR, fought to build them in March, when miners' pickets controlled the streets and peasants blocked the roads.

Another key demand is for *workers control* of industry, banks and mines—kick out the parasitic administrators and the bosses who are looting the companies, smuggling profits and products out of the country on a massive scale. *Committees on prices and provisions*, formed by delegates from the factories, mines, peasant unions, housewives organizations and market women, are urgently needed to combat the black market speculation and assure supplies for the desperate population. All these measures point straight to the *expropriation of the private banks, privately owned mines, industry and commerce* by a *workers and peasants government*.

One of the first acts by such a revolutionary regime would be to *repudiate the imperialist debt*, freeing the Bolivian people from the unbearable burden placed upon them by the military dictators and "starvation democrats" in the service of their murderous army and Swiss bank accounts. But such measures require socialist revolution on a continental and world scale. As a matter of simple survival, a workers and peasants government in Bolivia would have to ignite proletarian revolution from neighboring Argentina, Brazil and Chile to the North American imperialist metropolis itself. *This* is the program of Trotskyism.

Consequences of a Defeat

The March strike cried out for a struggle for power, yet there was none. The strike was defeated from within by the sellout bureaucratic leadership. This was underlined by the fact that the miners simply packed up and went home when the COB executive, after a vote of 26 union delegates to 6, called off the strike. At a massive farewell meeting at the central station, the miners vowed, "*Volveremos*"—we will return. But in the aftermath of the strike's collapse—none of its key demands were met—the workers movement was demoralized and disarmed before the rightists' advance.

By the time of the elections, the middle classes had moved drastically to the right. This phenomenon corresponds to a historical law. As Trotsky wrote "On the Art of Insurrection":

> "At a time of national crises the petty bourgeoisie follows that class which inspires confidence not only in words but deeds.... If the proletarian party is not decisive enough to convert the hopes and expectations of the popular masses into revolutionary action in good season, the flood tide is quickly followed by an ebb; the intermediate strata turn away their eyes from the revolution and seek a saviour in the opposing camp. And just as at flood tide the proletariat draws after it the petty bourgeoisie, so during the ebb the petty bourgeoisie draws after it considerable layers of the proletariat."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 3

In July, the left got less than 10 percent of the vote while the right wing (including Banzer and Paz) received more than 60 percent. Many of these votes came from sectors which had previously voted for the UDP and supported the miners in March. And today the bourgeoisie prepares to bring the jackboot of repression down on the workers' necks. This is the price of the March defeat.

Incredibly, there are those who deny the failure of the March strike. At the POR's 28th congress, held in late March, Guillermo Lora declared: "The working class, and therefore the POR, was not defeated in the last general strike." The masses only "fell back," Lora adds, proclaiming: "This is our hour." The political theses declare: "The revolutionary situation is deepening" (*Masas*, April 1985). This triumphalist bombast was soon replaced with parliamentary cretinism, as the POR ran full lists of candidates, many of them

sympathizers, in each of the country's departments. But despite the ever-"deepening revolutionary situation," the POR received a scant 0.79 percent of the vote.

Lora is a classic centrist, whose abstract radicalism is accompanied by capitulation in action. The POR is capable of presenting a very left face, as in the "Workers to Power" program of its Revolutionary Union Brigade at the COB's September 1984 congress. Among the demands are occupation of mines and factories, workers control, armed defense pickets, state takeover of transport and banking, renounce the foreign debt, oust the official union leaders, down with the starvation government, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. *Yet in March this program was not raised in struggle.* Instead the POR limited itself to Lechin's demand for the famous "living minimum wage with sliding scale."

Lora started his "Trotskyist" career as an adviser to MNR union bureaucrat Lechin. In the 1952 "National Revolution" the POR declared its support for the "workers ministers" (i.e., Lechin & Co.) of the bourgeois nationalist regime. Having helped chain the workers to the MNR in 1952 (following the insurrection the POR reportedly controlled half the COB executive), in 1970-71 Lora again intervened in a promising revolutionary situation in favor of alliance with bourgeois nationalists. First he proclaimed the short-lived Popular Assembly "the first soviet in America," though it never challenged the government of General J.J. Torres. And when the populist general was ousted by Banzer, Lora formed a "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" with Torres, the Stalinists and Lechin (see "Centrist Debacle in Bolivia," *WV* No. 3, December 1971).

Today Lora opposes a call for soviets because he wants his own popular front. The political theses of the POR's last congress called on all "those who claim to be leftists" to form a "left front." This, says Lora, is the concretization of his "permanent" slogan for an "anti-imperialist front." And when toward the end of the March strike the COB tops called for such a left front, Lora's POR eagerly joined with Lechin's PRIN, a split-off from the MNR, and various fake-left "taxi parties" (so-called because their tiny membership could fit in a La Paz taxi) to provide a "radical" popular-front cover for the COB tops' maneuvers (*Presencia*, 20 March).

This "experience" of left-talking popular frontism is what Lora is referring to when he repeatedly declaims that "the reconstruction of the Fourth International will occur starting from the Bolivian experience." In an interview published in the Argentine *Politica Obrera* (28 February), he makes even more explicit his national parochialism, saying that the Bolivian situation "does not permit the POR to dedicate much attention to the international problem"! This national-"Trotskyist" is a second-rate version of Andrés Nin, leader of the centrist POUM during the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s; he has nothing to do with the revolutionary *internationalist* politics of Lenin and Trotsky.

As Trotsky wrote in his pamphlet *Lessons of October*, comparing the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923 with the victory of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer." Would-be revolutionaries in Bolivia must break decisively with the tradition of isolation, parochialism and capitulation to nationalism. A Bolshevik party to lead the valiant proletariat of the altiplano in the struggle for soviet power can only be built in an active fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. This is the only way out of the bloody cycle of popular fronts and military coups. ■

Young Spartacus

Time

SL/SYL (left) call for class struggle against apartheid, not appeals to capitalists' "conscience."

Apartheid State...

(continued from page 7)

terms. Of South Africa's $19 billion in foreign bank debt, two-thirds falls due within a year, almost half within six months. Such a lopsided debt structure is exceptional even by Third World standards.

Normally, there would be no question about rolling over these South African loans. But the situation in South Africa is anything but normal. The state of emergency imposed in late July and Botha's hardline speech on August 15 finally convinced international capital that South Africa was fast heading toward a bloody abyss. "The speech was so far removed from South African reality it breeds a sense of fear among businessmen," said a South African consultant for many U.S. firms. More starkly, a West German banker exclaimed, "I fear a bloodbath in which there will be no winners" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 September). If the apartheid state succeeds in restoring the social peace of the graveyard, as it did after Sharpeville, the Wall Street loans and multinational investments will flow back. In the meantime...

For decades liberals and reformists in the West have demanded "Divest, divest, divest!" in order to pressure the Afrikaner nationalist regime into reforming apartheid. Now, they have divestment—as much as they're ever going to get—for exactly the *opposite* reason. Foreign investors are convinced that the Botha regime will not make the concessions, even verbally, which they hope will dampen black unrest.

The flight of capital can only further depress the South African economy. As revolutionaries, we do not believe in "the worse, the better" in South Africa or elsewhere. Except in a period when the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid system is immediately posed, isolation from the world market is likely to result in massive dislocation and deprivation of black toilers, weakening their capacity to struggle.

Wall Street is not only concerned about saving white supremacy from itself in South Africa. It hopes, as do its political representatives in city halls, Congress and the White House, to exploit the "sanctions" and "divestment" issue to defuse the anger of a deeply alienated black population that sees all too clearly the parallels between racist terror in Soweto and in Harlem. Corporate America wants to convince black people that they have a "friend in Chase Manhattan."

But from Wall Street to the White House, the main enemy is at home! And every blow struck against that enemy by workers and their allies in this country is a real blow for black freedom in South Africa. As communists, we seek to unleash the power of the American proletariat for socialist revolution. The tremendous wealth and technology of this country, which have served to crush the oppressed of Africa and the rest of the world, must be placed in their service to build a socialist future free of want, exploitation and war. ■

Mitterrand...

(continued from page 5)

the French colonies against colonial oppression can expect worse. The sentencing of 17 pro-independence militants in Tahiti on August 27 to prison terms of up to five years, after a demonstration held in Papeete in March during which a policeman was wounded, is an example.

The Pacific nuclear test center thus represents the symbiosis of colonialism and anti-Sovietism. We Trotskyists demand immediate independence for all of the remaining vestiges of the French colonial empire, on the one hand because we want the liberation of the still-enslaved peoples, and on the other because in this country the existence of colonies has always been a powerful encouragement to reaction and bonapartism. Since the days of General Cavaignac [who slaughtered the insurrectionary French workers in 1848] up to the Algerian War, the gangrene always ends up reaching France itself. We say: Down with the *force de frappe*, NATO, ANZUS and the other imperialist war alliances! We stand for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against Reagan and Mitterrand's war drive.

Mitterrand has shown his willingness to defend the military capacity of French imperialism, whatever the cost. The popular front of May 10 [1981, date of election of the Mitterrand government], like *all* popular fronts, from the Kerensky government in Russia in 1917 to Allende's Chile, must give explicit guarantees to the bourgeois army, whatever "reforms" it has promised the masses, that it will never touch the sacrosanct core of the bourgeois state—the armed bodies of men which defend private property and in particular the officer corps. "Democratic" France's history has been marked by quite a few near- and real coups d'état (such as de Gaulle's takeover on 13 May 1958). One of Mitterrand's first gestures on coming to power was to amnesty all the officers imprisoned by de Gaulle for participating in the coup d'état against Algerian independence. And now he is seeking to use his prerogatives as "chief of armed forces" to keep as many as possible of his bonapartist powers after the inevitable electoral defeat [of his current parliamentary majority] in '86—as shown by the recent nomination of General Saulnier, his personal chief of staff at the Elysée [the French White House], to the post of chief of general staff of the armed forces.

What Justice for Fernando Pereira?

No "justice" can be expected from the investigations now going on in France, nor from the PCF's attempts to set up parliamentary committees to "oversee" the secret police. The French regime is one of the most bonapartist of all the advanced capitalist countries and in general parliament becomes virtually irrelevant as soon as things get hot. Furthermore, it is hard to imagine the French army giving PCF deputies access to "defense secrets" so that they can poke their nose into DGSE or DST [French counterintelligence] business.

The calm in the social climate this fall is extremely fragile. The colonies, from New Caledonia to Guadeloupe, are in turmoil. The workers of this country, French and immigrant, are far from resigned to being sacrificed on the altar of [economic] "restructuring." What is holding back the struggle, that of the working class in France and of the oppressed peoples of the colonies, is not so much fear of a right-wing government replacing Mitterrand, but the social-chauvinist and reformist line of the PCF. The government is discredited on all sides and everything it touches falls apart in its hands. The only progressive and realistic way out of the current disastrous situation is to fight for a workers government which will expropriate the capitalist class and try all the war criminals of French imperialism before a jury composed of their surviving victims. Vengeance for the martyred victims of French imperialism! ■

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U.S./South Africa Axis...

(continued from page 1)

the past two months alone, sending the South African economy into international crisis.

"The banks have accomplished in two weeks what politicians haven't done in years," was the ironic comment of the managing director of Barclays National Bank in South Africa. In terms of impact, the bankers' actions totally dwarfed the tokenistic sanctions bill promoted by the Democrats in Congress and Reagan's slightly weaker administrative sanctions designed to head off Congressional action. Reagan's sanctions "will have a negligible impact on the economy of South Africa," noted the *New York Times* (10 September), partly because they "only validate changes already in effect," such as the drying up of American credit.

The ban on the sale of Krugerrands is essentially symbolic, since South African gold will find its way into the world market in other forms, and the sale of nuclear power equipment was already ostensibly halted by Carter. The Democratic bill's provision for further sanctions within 12 months depends on the president's judgment whether or not South Africa has made "significant progress." There's little doubt Reagan will discover "progress" in South Africa, since to him that means a pile of dead black "terrorists." The slap-on-the-wrist effect of capitalist sanctions can be seen by the results of the long-standing arms embargo against South Africa:

> "The arms embargo, initiated by the UN security council in 1963 and since imposed by all western states, has had a highly specific effect. South Africa's arms self-sufficiency has risen from 40% to roughly 85% under the embargo. Its public-sector arms manufacturer, Armscor, is now the third biggest corporation in South Africa and its emphasis on tactical weapons has turned the country into a substantial net arms exporter."
>
> —*The Economist*, 30 March

Gubb/JB Pictures

Defiant blacks bury martyrs, draped with ANC flags.

In short, so long as the South African bourgeoisie remains in power with access to the world market—i.e., so long as capitalism survives there—the apartheid rulers will find ways around any sanctions. Even the vastly more upsetting actions of international financiers, which forced South African central bank governor Gerhard de Kock to make a hat-in-hand trip to Washington and London, can eventually be ironed out. "If and when the South African Reserve Bank manages to reschedule its debts, Swiss and West German banks will pick up the positions of the American banks," a London stockbroker told the *Wall Street Journal* (5 September).

The Cold War, Apartheid and Imperialist Hypocrisy

The primary demands of the reformist anti-apartheid movement—divestment of South African holdings and sanctions against South Africa—have been fulfilled, as much as they ever will be, yet the apartheid system remains unbroken and unyielding. This was underscored by Botha's infamous hardline speech of August 15. Only a fool or a Reaganite could peddle the latest "concessions" announcements by Botha & Co. as anything other than cosmetics for foreign consumption.

The proposal to give blacks South African "citizenship" is just hot air, since blacks will still be barred even from voting and the separate black "homelands" will be maintained. A government panel's proposal to abolish the pass laws is largely a recognition of reality, namely that hundreds of thousands of blacks have illegally flocked to the urban areas anyway. The panel's "reform" would replace the passbooks with a national "identity document" for everybody, including whites, thereby expanding police surveillance powers. One thing is certain: there will be no dismantling of apartheid so long as the present rulers remain in power, and they will not go peacefully.

The assumption of the divestment/sanctions movement really is that South African capitalism can be fundamentally reformed through the pressure of other capitalist powers, in particular the U.S. In this sense, the ANC, which advocates "people's war" and supports the United Democratic Front (UDF), which advocates nonviolent pressure, shares with capitalists like Harry Oppenheimer and David Rockefeller a desire for a "negotiated solution."

Botha went out of his way to publicly denounce as "treason" the visit of business leaders like Gavin Relly, chairman of Oppenheimer's Anglo American conglomerate, with the ANC. Despite recent statements by the ANC that there is nothing to talk about except the immediate handing over of power, they have long tried to woo liberal capitalists like Oppenheimer with promises of capitalist opportunity. "We have no intention of nationalizing everything," ANC second-in-command Tambo vowed recently. "We will have private property, private businesses and so on.... There will even be foreign investment" (*New York Times*, 7 September).

While the ANC mouths phrases about the working class being the "backbone" and "leading force" of the struggle, Tambo angles for a deal with the deadly enemies of the proletariat. Not accidentally, Anglo American was exempted from the gold mine strike of early September. The meeting with Anglo American chairman Relly took place September 13 in Zambia, and Tambo called the talks "a very important contribution."

The idea that American imperialism—which carpetbombed Indochina, A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and props up every tinpot despot on the face of the planet—can be pressured into pressuring their South African allies to dismantle apartheid is obscene. The hypocrisy of the American ruling class in lecturing the Afrikaners on "democracy" and "morality" is colossal. This country is built on the genocide of the native Indian population by European colonists. Can anyone imagine the Kennedys and Rockefeller Foundation calling for "majority rule" and "one man, one vote" in the U.S. if there were half a billion American Indians here? At times, proposals to "Americanize" South Africa are simply bizarre. The U.S. embassy in Pretoria is now suggesting a "complaints" mechanism for blacks "who have grievances about police behavior" (*New York Times*, 17 September). That's like calling for a civilian review board for Jews in Nazi Germany!

The divestment/sanctions lobby has always denounced Reagan's "constructive engagement" with Pretoria and looks to the Democrats in Congress to "disengage" U.S. imperialism from South Africa. But now Reagan has undercut the Congressional Democrats by slapping sanctions on South Africa through a presidential executive order. At the same time, Congressional Democrats have been carrying out Reagan's program by voting millions for counter-revolutionary terrorists from Nicaragua to Indochina. They also repealed the 1976 Clark Amendment, paving the way for Washington to fund South Africa's puppet terrorists in Angola, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA. And liberal Democrats, as well as the Reagan gang, demand the withdrawal from Angola of Cuban troops, who defend this besieged black African country from apartheid imperialism.

Have Reagan and the Democrats each sold out to the other? Not at all. *There is a bipartisan consensus within the American ruling class to go after the Soviet Union on all fronts.* South Africa, however, presents a certain problem for the Cold Warriors who run this country. Washington's alliance with this totalitarian, racist police state in the name of anti-Communism utterly exposes the "democratic" pretensions of the "free world." Thus America's rulers, now even the Reagan gang, are forced to hypocritically condemn apartheid.

From Detroit to Durban: Workers to Power!

The unsolvable dilemma for U.S. imperialism is that the apartheid regime is historically doomed by the black majority, making it an unstable ally, yet it still remains in power because it has all the guns, and is considered a bulwark of anti-Communism on the African continent. Anti-Sovietism, buttressed by ties of kinship between South African and American racism, led Washington to play a role in giving nuclear weapons to Pretoria:

> "The realization in Washington that there can never be any question of using US armed forces in a racial conflict in southern Africa—because of the importance of blacks in these forces as well as the likely provocation of riots in US cities—is compatible with a decision to provide South Africa with the ultimate deterrent....
>
> "Insofar as the survival of white supremacy in South Africa is seen in certain quarters of Washington as being in US interests, both strategically and in terms of corporate investment, this would appear to be the obvious solution. It is possible, then, that charges of a major conspiracy to give South Africa a nuclear capacity, in a deal with West Germany, Israel and Portugal—with the endorsement of the United States—may have at least an element of truth in them."
>
> —Barbara Rogers and Zdenek Cervenka, *The Nuclear Axis* (1978)

But South Africa, with its sophisticated industrial infrastructure, is also perfectly capable of getting its nuclear technology from its other friends, e.g., West Germany or Israel.

Smashing the U.S./South Africa alliance which means racist terror from Harlem to Soweto is integrally linked to the defense of the social gains of October—the expropriation of the capitalist class and the creation of a planned economy. It's necessary to extend proletarian revolution worldwide. The black workers of South Africa are not only the powerhouse for social revolution in their own country, but throughout the desperately oppressed and impoverished continent.

From Detroit to Durban, from the Appalachian coal fields to the Transvaal gold mines, workers to power! ■

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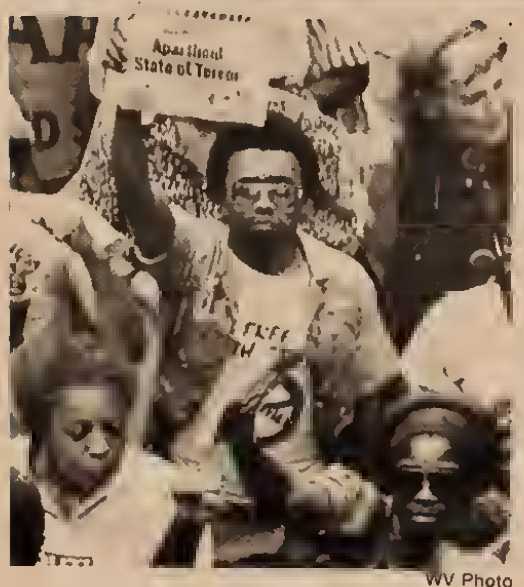

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Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!

27 August 1985

The Spartacist League has called for a demonstration October 3, outside the hearing of NYC chief medical examiner Elliot Gross. The call for the protest begins, "Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Edmund Perry—We Will Not Forget!" "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!" and "Down with Racist Cop Terror!"

The New York State Department of Health has charged the NYC coroner with gross incompetence and negligence. But Gross is far worse than incompetent. After Michael Stewart was bludgeoned to death by a cop lynch-mob, Gross *dug out his eyes* to hide the telltale blood specks proving strangulation. He's a criminal who belongs behind bars no less than the L.A. cops who beat Michael Stewart to death.

"Gross is Koch's Dr. Mengele," said Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for mayor. "The eyeball-gouging, cadaver-switching coroner covers up for racist cop murder, from black artist Michael Stewart to Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. It's a system. Koch's cossacks kill,—then the D.A. and coroner cover up the cops' crimes. Elliot Gross symbolizes everything repulsive in New York City that will be expunged."

Boenzi/NY Times

Dr. "Cover-Up" Gross, New York's Dr. Mengele, and his führer.

"Black youth gunned down by the cops in Harlem, racist police round-ups in Brooklyn, stun-gun 'torture precincts' in Queens—no one is safe," said Ed Kartsen, Spartacist Party candidate for Manhattan Borough President. "New York's unions and minorities must answer this wave of wanton cop terror with massive mobilizations of our own organized power."

In adding his support to the demonstration, noted civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn said, "The medical examiner's office, with the District Attorney's office in New York County, only illustrates the kind of alliance on the part of the ruling sections of the country in depriving the poor and oppressed of any real justice. The basic instrument for the poor and the oppressed to exert power in the community is through their actual physical presence at demonstrations which give a signal to the ruling class that they are not all-powerful."

At this time the Department of Health has not yet announced the site of the Gross hearings. But demonstration organizers say, "Wherever it is, Gross deserves one hell of a 'hearing' from the working people, poor, blacks, Hispanics and all decent people of this city. Be there October 3!" ■

Birmingham...

(continued from page 12)

Dresden after the WWII terror-bombing. The police occupation is like something out of a military coup: armoured cop vans parked on every side street, two cops every ten yards on Soho Road, militarised convoys of upwards of 20 vanloads of police rolling in and out of the area. On Tuesday night, cops in riot gear baton-charged a crowd of youth on Soho Road.

First and foremost it is necessary to mobilise to get the *police out of Handsworth now!* The overriding need is for *organised defence of the community* against the racist police reign of terror. However valiantly they resist, bottles and bricks from angry young kids is no match for the organised armed force of the police. For our part the Spartacist League commits itself to mobilising whatever resources possible in organising mass protest against the police occupation. In the face of open threats from Chief Constable Geoffrey Dear to start using rubber bullets, it is particularly urgent to resurrect the old Chartist demand for the right of all citizens to bear arms. Most importantly, effective defence of Handsworth against racist/cop terror means linking up with and mobilising the social muscle of the labour movement. Miners from South Wales and the Midlands whom the people of Handsworth generously supported during the strike must be called into battle. And alongside them, car workers from Longbridge, many of whom live in the area, and heavily minority bus and post office workers. **Defend Handsworth! Down with the Police Occupation/Dragnet! Drop All the Charges Against the Victims of the Cops' Dragnet! Cops Out of Handsworth Now! Build Integrated Trade Union-Centred Community Defence Guards to Patrol the Streets and Fight Cop Terror!**

Even as they watched Handsworth burn, the Tories, their cops and their kept media tried to instigate interracial violence with deliberate lies seeking to pit West Indians against Asians. There is a government conspiracy to provoke communal violence among the oppressed. Hard on the heels of its vicious onslaught against the miners, the government wishes to see the abused, oppressed, impoverished and unemployed sections of the society set at each other's throats. But when young black West Indians formed defence guards around Asian shops, everyhody in the community knew who the real enemy was. When Home Secretary Douglas Hurd, fresh from putting down Irish Catholics in Belfast, dared to show his face on Tuesday he was driven out in less than five minutes by a hail of bricks and bottles from black, Asian and white youth.

Racist cop terror, the Nationality Act, deportations—this is the order of the day in Thatcher's Britain. When the government dragged the Newham Seven through the courts for defending their East London Asian community against fascist terror, it was a clear signal to the racist killers in and out of uniform to proceed with impunity. Days after four of these heroic Asian youth were convicted, an eight months pregnant Asian woman and her three children were firebombed, murdered, in the same area. Now, according to a September 10 statement by the African/Caribbean Community of Handsworth, "A white vigilante group at a recent residents association meeting declared its intention to burn down the old Villa Cross bingo hall"—the first building to burn Monday night. Meanwhile the fascists of the British National Party are threatening to stage a race-hate provocation this weekend in Birmingham. These scum must be smashed by massive trade union/minority mobilisations! Down with the bosses' racist immigration laws!

Labour Party deputy leader Roy Hattersley ventured into Handsworth only to echo Thatcher's racism with his attacks on "acts of criminality." He should have been run out of the community too. And Hattersley's more "left"-talking Labour Party friends just want to sweep all the outrage and anger under the carpet with bullshit about "democratic control" and "accountability" of the racist killer cops. What can you expect from a party that imposed "virginity tests" on Asian women?

This city and this country are too far gone for band-aid "solutions" that do nothing for the oppressed. We say: organise the outrage! Fight for working-class power! The miners strike gave a taste of the vitally needed unity in struggle of all oppressed behind the power of the working class. It is the absence of a revolutionary working-class leadership which allows the pent-up anger and frustration over massive unemployment, squalid housing and racist/cop terror to be squandered in undirected dead-end outbursts of rage. From Reagan's firebombing of black Philadelphia to the streets of Handsworth today, the capitalist oppressors are waging war on racial minorities and workers. It's no accident that Thatcher and Reagan are the biggest boosters of the apartheid butchers in South Africa. The labour movement must be mobilised to defeat the racist rulers: to win jobs for all, to resist and smash racist terror. The brutally oppressed West Indian and Asian communities have a key role to play in building a communist vanguard party which can smash this whole rotten, racist capitalist system. *Mobilise to defend Handsworth against racist cop terror!*

—14 September 1985

Spartacist Party Campaign Needs $$$

The Spartacist Party Election Campaign Needs $$$! Wall Street, the slumlords and kill-crazy cops gave racist mayor Koch a "war chest" of over $5 million to "finish the job" on New York's working class and minorities. The working people's candidates, Stamberg and Kartsen, depend on your contributions to get out the Spartacist program of mobilizing New York's labor and minorities to "Kick Out Koch! Dump Trump! Smash Racist Cop Terror!"

Election law requires reporting names of people who contribute over $99. So because our party does not disclose names of individual contributors, we will not accept donations over $99 from individuals. Trade unions and other organizations, however, are more than welcome to donate larger amounts.

If you want to fight Koch/Reagan reaction, get involved! Send your contributions to: Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, c/o Box 444, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. And stop by our campaign headquarters at 41 Warren Street in lower Manhattan, Monday through Thursday, 5-8 p.m. or Saturday, 1-5 p.m., or call (212) 267-1025.

Lea Hall Miner Speaks Out In Defense of Handsworth

We print below excerpts of a solidarity message by miner Wally Roberts to a defense campaign meeting organized by the Afro-Caribbean Self-Help Organisation, in Handsworth, Birmingham, September 12:

I want to thank you for inviting me to speak. I'm from Lea Hall, it's in Rugeley. I was on strike for 12 months and I'm a supporter of the *Workers Hammer* and the Spartacist League. After our experience of the strike, everyone knows police were used to break the strike and are racists, how they oppress and harass daily minorities in this country. We will never forget the bond that was forged between us and the minorities who supported us so generously.

On my way here I saw a sight I haven't seen since the strike, a line of cop vans waiting all along the Pershore Road. The police occupation of Handsworth has to end. The dragnet arrests must be stopped. Trade unionists and black, Asian, Irish communities have the same enemy and must fight together. I felt duty-bound to come. I'm not speaking in an official capacity for the NUM, but I know a number of miners who have already said they want to stand with you in any action called in defence of the community and those jailed, arrested and beaten up by cops....

I have no illusions about the leadership of the unions but the fight must be taken up by the unions. Unions have power in this country that the bosses and the government can't ignore. I would like to see integrated defence—black, Asian and white—calling on the strength of the unions, in the same way as happened during our strike when black, Asian and white workers struck against racism defending Zed Mills.

The police occupation and persecution of Handsworth should not go unprotested. If the community here organises protest action, which I believe would be a very good thing, I know the *Workers Hammer* will make every effort to assist you and alert trade unionists as we've already tried to do.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Candidates on New York Radio

"Koch Is Reaganism in NYC"

The following statement by Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg for New York City mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president was broadcast on WBAI in the "Election Night Special" program on the NYC primaries, September 10, hosted by Robert Knight.

Stamberg: This is Marjorie Stamberg. I'm the candidate for mayor of the Spartacist Party and with me is Ed Kartsen. We think [the primary] shows that what you've got in New York is a tale of two cities. You've got Koch and Donald Trump the Condo King and you've got these upscale Upper East Siders driving around town in their stretch limousines—and at the same time you've got an army of homeless living in colonies in the subway tunnels and in Grand Central Station. And that division is one of the reasons that we say every problem in New York, whether it's the homeless, whether it's the question of the rampaging cop brutality, whether it's unemployment, shows up the need for socialist revolution in this country.

We don't think it's just a local or national question either, because you know Koch brags that he's gotten the City Council to divest funds from South Africa and he goes down to Washington and he cries crocodile tears about South Africa, meanwhile his police are shooting black people down in Harlem. So on August 13 at the big protest against South African apartheid, Ed Kartsen and myself were there, and we were calling for a one-day New York City strike to stop the racist terror from Harlem to Soweto. And the Spartacist campaign is talking to people in this city about labor/black mobilizations to stop the race-terrorists whether in their white sheets or blue uniforms. And that's the kind of fight that we're going to be bringing to the election November 5. And here's Ed Kartsen.

Karlsen: As far as the politics of this campaign goes, they're leaving out some of the critical issues which Marjorie just mentioned. Koch has brought Reaganism to New York City, just like black mayor Wilson Goode brought Reaganism to Philly in a big way by bombing the home of MOVE members and burning down a section of that city, killing eleven people including children. That was a Reaganite atrocity, and Reagan, while he's preparing for war against Nicaragua, Koch is carrying out a war against the unions, minorities and poor people in this city, driving them off of Manhattan with cop terror and rents that make it impossible for working-class people to live on this island.

Knight: This is WBAI New York, where you heard a statement on tonight's race from two what would conventionally be called minor party [candidates]—at least numerically speaking—the Spartacist Party, which has a searing analysis of the divisiveness of the politics that they characterize the mayor candidates of waging. We've heard from Marjorie Stamberg and Edward Kartsen of the Spartacist Party campaign. And they will continue to be running for mayor and Manhattan borough president respectively. ■

Ed Kartsen campaigns at Caribbean Day celebration in Brooklyn.

WV Photos

Marjorie Stamberg speaks with leader of Phelps Dodge copper strike at NYC labor day.

Defend Black, Asian Youth in Britain!

Thatcher's Cops Riot in Birmingham

On the night of September 9, the mounting outrage of the heavily black and Asian Handsworth section of Birmingham, England erupted. With beefed-up police squads roaming minority communities looking for an excuse to riot against the residents, ghetto youth battled the cops for two days. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has revived against the vulnerable Indian, Pakistani and Caribbean populace the savage martial law tactics she deployed against striking miners only a few months ago. Even after a "truce" was declared, Handsworth remains under police occupation. Army helicopters buzz overhead and truckloads of troops rumble through the area, while cops seek an excuse for more headbusting as they bait ghetto residents with racist obscenities.

In desperately poor Handsworth the minority unemployment rate is 60 percent and only one out of 20 West Indian youth has a job. "If a white man walks down the street the police don't stop him but they do every time if it's a black man," said a white resident. As one black youth put it, "Every night on the T.V. you see how the black youth is fighting back in South Africa against apartheid. The same thing is going on here, man. So we must fight back" (*New Statesman*, 13 September).

Post/Sipa

Thatcher's thugs in blue occupy Handsworth ghetto, as desperate black and Asian youth explode in anger.

Our comrades of the Spartacist League of Britain have sought to mobilize in the Handsworth ghetto, among miners and other workers, demanding "cops out" and integrated trade union-centered community defense guards against cop terror. On September 14 the police arrested three SL members in Handsworth for distributing the leaflet printed below. Cops even went around ripping the leaflets out of the hands of ghetto residents. Our comrades were finally released, under the threat of unspecified court action, after being held for nine hours.

Spartacist League of Britain Leaflet

Thatcher and her cops are out for black and Asian blood! The line of the police and the powers that be Monday night in Handsworth was: Let it burn! And that meant two Asian men burnt alive. Then the police subjected this heavily black and Asian community to a vicious dragnet and occupation, arresting more than 90 people. Racist rags like the *Sun* scream for the blood of "black bombers," including a man whose only "crime" is that he hates the cops for almost blowing his young daughter away just like little John Shorthouse got it a few weeks ago.

For months the cops have been turning the screws tighter and tighter on the Handsworth community, looking to provoke an excuse for a massive police invasion. Last Monday they did it. Four days later Lozells Road looks like

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 388 4 October 1985

For a Fighting Workers Party!

Soweto to Harlem:

Rojo/Cambio 16

AP

Botha's cops smash march of Cape Town residents demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela, August 1985. Koch's cops smash blacks protesting closure of west Harlem's only hospital, September 1980.

Smash Racist Terror!

On September 24, a Spartacist forum titled "From Soweto to Harlem: Smash Racist Terror!" was held at Memorial Baptist Church in Harlem. The speakers were Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg, for New York City mayor, and Ed Kartsen, for Manhattan borough president. We print below their edited presentations.

South African Revolution Awaits Its Lenin

Marjorie Stamberg: From Soweto to Harlem, it's a system of racist terror. The harassment, intimidation, terrorization, and now the bombing of black America goes back to the system of chattel slavery in this country. It took the Civil War, the second American revolution, to topple slavery in the South, and it will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution to emancipate black people from their double oppression, as wage slaves segregated at the bottom of American society.

In South Africa today, a civil war is looming—and it will take nothing less than that to do away with the system of apartheid slavery. But for there to be a progressive outcome, for the hour of liberation of all the oppressed to strike, this must be a *class* war. It's the black proletariat in that country which has the power to bring the gold mine owners, the industrialists, the bankers, their politicians and their army, the whole apartheid system to its knees. From South Africa to the U.S., we're fighting for that workers revolution, and that is what the Spartacist Party campaign here in New York is all about.

Campbell/Sygma

South Africa's 600,000 black miners are the powerhouse for workers revolution.

In this country, the bourgeois politicians from the Teddy Kennedy liberals to the Reagan Republicans are scrambling around looking for their Bishop Tutus, looking for "moderates" in order to save South African capitalism for the "free world." They've deluded themselves into thinking it's just a simple question of reforms—maybe a South Africa-style civil rights movement. But formal elimination of Jim Crow in this country still did not free blacks from their oppression which is rooted in the racist capitalist economy. And particularly in South Africa, where there's a four-fifths black majority, it's crystal clear that the question is *power*. It's something Botha understands—and that is why they're digging in. In that society, "one man, one vote," a simple democratic principle, means the end of white domination, and the Afrikaners are prepared to fight to the death to defend their privileges.

For a full year now, intense apartheid repression has been unable to suppress the black revolt, which continues. "We are slaves now and we cannot be slaves any longer," a leader of the Crossroads township near Cape Town said recently. So the bourgeoisie from here to South Africa is asking despairingly, like this issue of *Newsweek* did, "What can be done?" But South African blacks are asking another question, they're asking "What Is to Be Done?"—echoing the title of Lenin's book that laid the foundations for the Bolshevik party in Russia. They're asking what is to be done because they're looking for the road to revolution. The *Newsweek* article went on to say of the young anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa: "Their revolution awaits its Lenin." And in fact, building a revolutionary workers party is the burning question of the South African revolution today.

As Leninists and Trotskyists, one of our cardinal principles is to face reality squarely, to speak the truth to the masses no matter how bitter. And if the bourgeoisie is trying to delude itself that it can get by with a couple of reforms, most of the left in this country is also trying to delude itself that revolution is just around the corner in South Africa, that the ANC [African National Congress] has got Botha on the run. But the bitter truth is that as long as the struggle continues along purely national lines, just white vs. black, with justice on one side, and the guns on the other, it is not going to be apartheid that is buried, but the oppressed black, "coloured" [mixed-race] and Indian masses. Because, brothers and sisters, those townships were built so they can be easily sealed off; the whole structure of apartheid is designed to perpetuate massacres and they are preparing to carry them out. But without black labor, which created South Africa's golden riches, the apartheid system cannot function. That is the key.

Double-Barreled Imperialist Hypocrisy

The struggle against white supremacy in South Africa has shaken up black America like nothing since the civil rights movement. The reason is clear, because black people here see in apartheid slavery a magnified mirror of their own oppression. I don't need to tell the people in this room about the racist police terror in New York City. Mary Bumpurs is in this room tonight. Oh no, there's no apartheid in this country, like in the Crossroads township where they send the army in to evict black township dwellers. No, in this country they just send in the police emergency squad with a double-barreled shotgun, *both barrels*, to evict a black grandmother

continued on page 6

Mary Bumpurs, Veronica Perry

Victims of Racist Terror Speak Out at Spartacist Forum

SEE PAGES SIX AND SEVEN

Racists Pretending to Be PLers? Hard to Tell the Difference

Letter to PL

30 September

Milt Rosen, Chairman
Progressive Labor Party

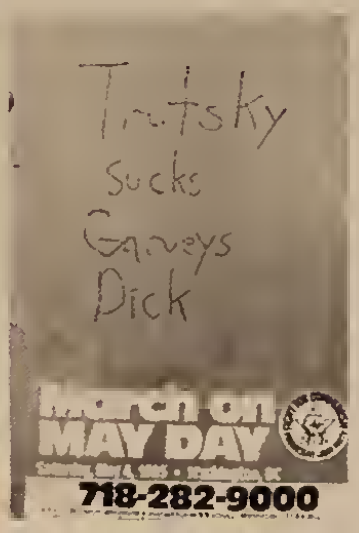
Dear Comrade Rosen:

We enclose photographs of vandalism against our New York public office on September 21, which show obscene slogans and a number of Progressive Labor stickers over the entrance (glue was also poured into the locks and other damage was done). On the face of it, we must assume that some deranged supporter of your organization did this to our office, although of course this is utterly not proven. It could conceivably be the work of a deranged racist anti-communist driven into a frenzy by our election campaign opposing racist cop terror, if such an element had a way to get a large supply of PL stickers. In the event this act arose in or around your organization, we are certain you will want to look into it and we are confident you will deal with the parties involved in a way you deem proper.

We enclose the brochure published for our working-class communist campaign for Mayor and Manhattan Borough President. As a self-declared working-class communist organization, you might wish to consider critically supporting our candidates.

Fraternally,
Spartacist League

WV Photos



Weird racist vandalism defaces front of Spartacist campaign office in lower Manhattan.

Who Was Marcus Garvey?

When we found the repulsive remark "Trotsky sucks Garveys dick" scrawled on our New York public office door among a plastering of Progressive Labor Party (PL) stickers, we naturally gave the political significance of the act some thought. While the political gulf between Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" nationalism and revolutionary Marxism is very wide, we must recognize that in a period of social reaction Garvey gave black people a platform to protest their miserably oppressed position in the world the imperialists created out of the carnage of World War I. He had millions of followers around the globe then, and many still revere him as the leader of the first mass black nationalist movement in America and as the father of modern black nationalism. For example, Malcolm X's father was a Garveyite preacher. Whatever the vandal's intended purpose, the content of his calling card is an anti-gay and anti-communist racist slur.

Marcus Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1887. Moved by the grinding exploitation and miserable living conditions of Caribbean black workers, particularly on the vast sugar and banana plantations, Garvey tried in vain to organize unions and to appeal to the Jamaican government to ameliorate black labor's misery. In 1914 Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). The UNIA was motivated by a vision of worldwide racial pride and unity. According to Garvey, "The only wise thing for us ambitious Negroes to do is to organize the world over and build up for the race a mighty nation of our own in Africa" (*Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*).

The end of the war brought recession and mass unemployment, compounded by the return of millions of soldiers, black as well as white, to civilian life. Organized labor, with a few honorable exceptions like the Wobblies, was hostile to the black worker. The Jim Crow labor movement increased employers' ability to set white against black and to exploit blacks as scab labor. However, black participation in industry and the armed forces generated enhanced self-confidence, and for the first time since Reconstruction there was mass black resistance to racist terror.

The defeat of the militant postwar strike wave and the 1919 race riots paved the way for government reaction and the rise of Ku Klux Klan terror. But in a period of defeat and reaction, Garvey's nationalist perspective appealed to tens of thousands of American blacks precisely because it caught the disillusionment and demoralization that leads to both anger and escapism. It was no coincidence that the height of Garvey's influence in the reactionary 1920s corresponded to the peak of Ku Klux Klan activity.

Garvey's "Back to Africa" fantasy embodied a defeatist acceptance of segregation and his emphasis on "racial purity" led to his notorious 1922 meeting with leaders of the KKK. However, the profoundly racist American government saw *any* mass black protest movement as a threat. The feds framed up Garvey for "mail fraud," put him behind bars and deported him from the country in 1927. It was the labor movement's duty to defend Garvey against government victimization. Would PL have come down on the side of U.S. imperialism on this one?

We do not claim to know exactly what was bothering this presumed PL supporter when he vandalized our office (Trotskyism? oral sex? homosexuality? miscegenation? Jews?). We do not know the real source of this vandalism or in whose service it was committed. But the racist slur about Garvey and Trotsky amidst the PL stickers brands the perpetrator. ■

TROTSKY

Closer to the Proletarians of the "Colored" Races

Writing of a letter from black South African supporters, Trotsky underlined the danger of Stalin's policy of class collaboration which led to the beheading of the 1927 Chinese Revolution by Kuomintang strongman Chiang Kai-shek. Trotsky stressed that for the enslaved toilers the achievement of genuine democracy and national emancipation requires the proletarian conquest of power.

LENIN

I have received a copy of the letter dated April 26, 1932, sent by an organization of Negro comrades from Johannesburg. This letter, it seems to me, is of great symptomatic significance. The Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) can and must become the banner for the most oppressed sections of the world proletariat, and, consequently, first and foremost, for the Negro workers....

In their letter, to which 24 signatures are appended (with the notation "and others"), the South African comrades expressed particular interest in the questions of the Chinese revolution. This interest, it ought to be acknowledged, is wholly justified. The working masses of the oppressed peoples who have to carry on the struggle for elementary national rights and for human dignity, are precisely those who incur the greatest risk of suffering the penalties for the muddled teachings of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the subject of the "democratic dictatorship." Under this false banner, the policy *à la* Kuomintang, that is, the vile deception and the unpunished crushing of the toiling masses by their own "national" bourgeoisie, may still do the greatest harm to the liberating cause of the toilers. The program of the permanent revolution based on the incontestable historic experience of a number of countries can and must assume primary significance for the liberation movement of the Negro proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, "Closer to the Proletarians of the 'Colored' Races!" (1932)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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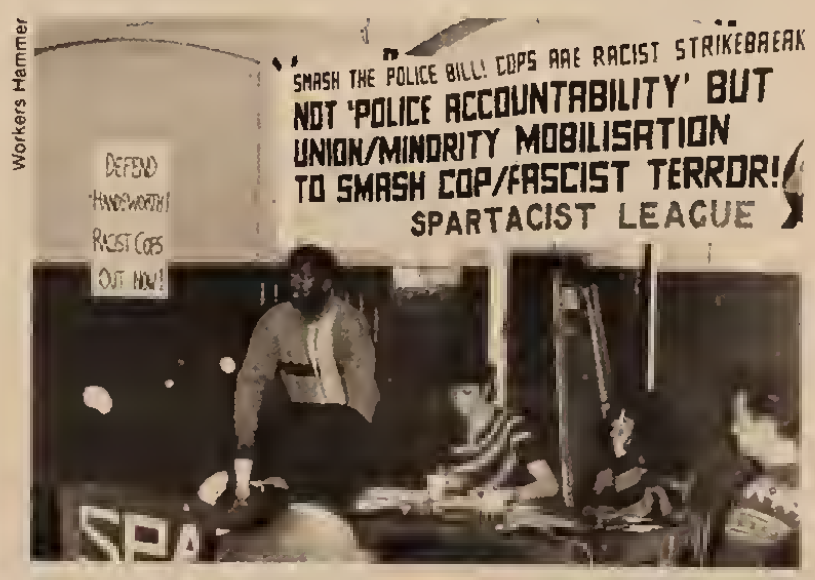
No. 388 **4 October 1985**

British Ghettos Explode

"Workers Must Defend Brixton, Handsworth"



Black Yorkshire miner speaks at emergency Spartacist League of Britain meeting held September 18 in police-occupied Handsworth ghettu uf Birmingham. Blacks, Asians and whites defied siege cunditions to attend "Racist Cops Out Now" meeting, giving the lie to the bourgeoisie's attempt to alibi cop provocation as black vs. Asian communalism. Within three weeks of the Birmingham outrage, London cops invaded the home of Cherry Groce, 38-year-old black mother of six, and shot her in the back while she was sleeping! Now integrated crowds of angry protesters in Brixton have taken to the streets again against Prime Minister Thatcher's murderous thugs. The SL/B is fighting for integrated trade union-centered defense guards to smash racist cop terror.

NYC Campaign Notebook

"We're building a revolutionary workers party, a party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky. That's what this campaign is all about," say the Spartacist Party candidates, Marjorie Stamberg for New York City mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president.

In 1920 the Communist International declared that a truly Bolshevik election campaign "must be conducted not as a drive for the maximum number of parliamentary seats, but as a mobilization of the masses around slogans of proletarian revolution."

Today, whether it's soapboxing at Woolworth's at 125th and Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard, speaking to union meetings and college classes, or mobilizing for demonstrations against racist cop terror, the Spartacist election campaign in New York City 1985 is in the Bolshevik spirit.

* * * * *

Marjorie Stamberg was a telephone operator and member of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) for nine years. On September 17, she was invited back to speak at a union meeting of Local 1150, where president Jimmy Pratt announced, "I want to introduce someone that's a candidate for mayor of New York. We don't have Ed Koch here or Carol Bellamy. We have a former member of our local that is on the ballot."

Marjorie said she had just been down on the picket lines of striking CWA Western Union workers: "I pass by their strike lines on the way to my office every day. You see maybe a handful of picketers there, and then five security guards, and then five or ten city police who are supposedly there to protect the security guards.... This gives you an idea of the nature of this government."

We need a workers party, she said, to fight for racial equality and defend minorities against racist attack. Marjoric denounced the recent incident where a Confederate flag was carried in the Labor Day parade, right here in New York City:

> "Brothers and sisters, that flag is a provocation and a threat, it is historically the flag of slavery, it is the flag of the Ku Klux Klan, a threat to all working people, the Jewish people, the black people, and has no place in the workers movement in this country.... It is no accident that there are Confederate flags turning up in New York in an atmosphere where Ed Koch and his police are running rampant in a wave of racist police brutality."

A number of black CWAers nodded in agreement. Marjorie emphasized, "That's one of the reasons we're running in this campaign—to mobilize labor and minorities to stop this racist police terror."

* * * * *

Ed Kartsen was a signal maintainer in the New York City subways until recently, and a candidate for president of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 in 1983. Ed also attended City College, and on September 28 he went back to CCNY, at the invitation of black lecturer James Small who invited the Spartacists to make a presentation to his class on the politics of the Harlem community. Kartsen pointed to the wave of police killings in NYC, indicting Koch's administration for "political lynching."

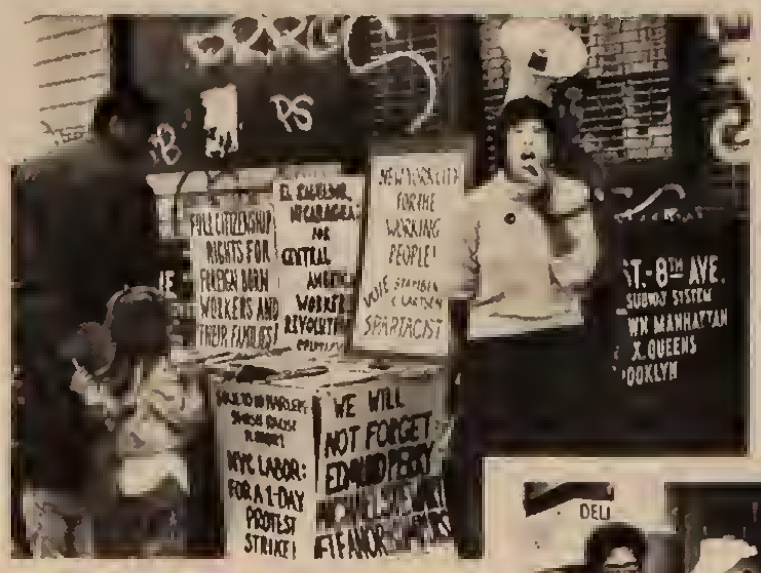
There was a pervasive sense among the students that liberal integrationism has failed. A debate ensued over the perspective of black nationalism versus the SL's Marxist strategy of revolutionary integrationism. A number of students equated nationalism with militancy. The discussion ranged over the history of the civil rights movement and the fight against slavery, coming to a head over the American Civil War. When one student argued that emancipation from chattel slavery did nothing for black people, Ed raised the heroic role of black troops in the Civil War, adding: "Probably one of your ancestors picked up a gun and shot a Confederate soldier."

Kartsen summarized the outcome of that bloody conflict as a historic, though incomplete victory for American blacks. The task today is to "Finish the Civil War!"

* * * * *

On September 19, Ed Kartsen and Reuben Shiffman of the Partisan Defense Committee gave a forum at Columbia University on "South Africa, Razor's Edge." At Columbia, opposition came from the social-democratic League for a Revolutionary Party, who attacked the SL for our position on the subway shootist, Bernhard Goetz. Kartsen replied that "the liberals in this city made Goetz the issue, not the killer cops" because their target was gun control: "It was the issue of someone who wasn't a cop, and defended themselves."

Saying, "We don't think there's a clear issue in the case of Goetz; this guy has to take responsibility for his own actions," Ed pointed out: "The liberals made this an issue because they didn't want anyone independent of the racist cops to have guns. They will talk about sanctions against South Africa, but they will not talk about jailing the killer cops, about abolishing the anti-gun laws, about the right of armed self-defense of the people of this city against cop terror.... The only people who are going to talk about that are people who have the program of revolution. That is the Spartacist League."



WV Photos

Spartacist candidate Marjorie Stamberg soapboxing on Lower East Side (left); at CWA rally protesting layoffs (below left); Ed Kartsen campaigning at Labor Day parade (below).

* * * * *

There are eight million stories in this city, and we're a small party. So the Spartacist campaign has concentrated on Harlem/Upper West Side, the Lower East Side and downtown Brooklyn as our centers of activity. Each Saturday you'll find Spartacist teams out soapboxing in one or more of these areas, and comrades are developing into pretty good street orators. SYLer Cindy Beckum told the crowd in front of Woolworth's, on 125th Street: "I go to Borough of Manhattan Community College. That's the school Michael Stewart used to go to before his life was snuffed out by the racist cops in this city.... If you're black in this city, it's a green light to be murdered. The only organization that has been addressing the issue of cop terror in this city is the Spartacist League."

At the Fulton Mall in downtown Brooklyn, transit worker Victor Cora stressed that the fight against Koch and Reagan must be an internationalist fight. "Reagan has declared war against Nicaragua, an economic blockade and aid to the 'contras.' This is the first step towards war with the Soviet Union. And the reflection of this at home is repression against working people, against blacks and other minorities. PATCO, a union of about 15,000 members—they all got fired because they dared to strike against the U.S. government. We all have to pay for that war drive—our social services are being cut, black people are being murdered on the street with impunity.... We have to build a workers party."

* * * * *

Spartacist supporters have been regularly coming down to 111 Centre Street, where the trial of six transit cops in the killing of black artist Michael Stewart has been going on for the last several months. The whole sham procedure exposes the nature of racist capitalist "justice." Dozens of witnesses saw the cops bludgeon the young black man, surrounding him as he lay handcuffed face down on the pavement, repeatedly kicking and choking him with their nightsticks. But D.A. Morgenthau torpedoed the first grand jury investigation, and now only six of the eleven cops in the racist lynch mob are on trial. Even they are not charged with murder, but slap-on-the-wrist counts going from reckless endangerment to perjury.

Each day Mr. and Mrs. Stewart are there in court, in the first row, as the cops' battery of lawyers beat down the witnesses. There are no objections from the "prosecution," which would rather have no trial at all. And the cops and their buddies sit across the aisle smirking. On September 14, Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen attended a memorial for Michael Stewart at Underwood Park in the Clinton Hill section of Brooklyn, where he grew up. Mrs. Carrie Stewart spoke of her painful

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Spartacus Youth League
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DEMONSTRATE!

Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Edmund Perry—We Will Not Forget!

Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go! Stop Racist Cop Terror!

Stop New York's Racist Mayor and His Dr. Mengele! Be There!

Initiated by **Spartacist League**

Partial list of endorsers:

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54 West 174 Street Tenant Association, Bronx
Benny Foster, chairman, Track & Power Division, Transport Workers Union Local 100*
Ramona Hernandez, professor, Borough of Manhattan Community College*
Ray Isner, chairman, Clifton-Morenci Labor Unity Council*, striking Arizona copper worker
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Tenants Organizers Create Safe, Inhabited Neighborhoods (TOCSIN)
Welfare Action Coalition, Bronx

*Organization listed for purposes of identification only

Thursday, October 3, 9:30-11:00 a.m.
2 World Trade Center
NEW YORK CITY

FBI "Anti-Terrorist" Dragnet in Puerto Rico

Free the Macheteros!

In a series of dawn raids in San Juan, Puerto Rico August 30, more than 200 FBI agents, backed up by local police, rounded up eleven alleged members of the pro-independence group "Los Macheteros." Two others were seized on the mainland. Dressed in camouflage fatigues, faces painted and carrying automatic rifles, the colonial political police burst into the victims' homes, holding families at gunpoint, then hauling off "suspects" who were chained hand and foot. Arrest warrants were not presented until hours after the fact, while the FBI stormtroopers searched the homes for "evidence."

Puerto Rican demonstrators proclaim: "FBI, the Real Terrorists."

The arrested Puerto Rican nationalists were accused of involvement in the 1983 heist of $7 million from a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford, Connecticut, an operation for which the Macheteros proudly took credit. Using the Wells Fargo case as a pretext, the FBI dragnet went after the pro-independence movement in general. SWAT teams raided more than 30 homes on the island for which they had no warrant, including that of Puerto Rican chess champion Manuel Moraza and others. The offices of the leftist journal *Pensamiento Critico* were ransacked and one of its editors, Jorge Farinacci, was among those arrested.

In a Washington press release, U.S. attorney general Edwin Meese and FBI director William Webster hailed the Gestapo-style sweep as part of an "anti-terrorist" campaign. The Reaganite cold warriors used the opportunity to fuel their anti-Soviet drive, declaring "Cuba's aggressive support of terrorism has not gone unnoticed" (*Washington Post*, 31 August). Webster claimed to have information placing the FBI's primary target in the case, former Wells Fargo employee Victor Gerena, in Cuba. But at court hearings in Hartford, where the 13 suspected Macheteros are being held under RICO "conspiracy" charges, the government is using hearsay "evidence" to justify keeping them in "preventive" detention without bail or under bails of up to $1 million.

Hasty extradition hearings were staged on Sunday, September 1, after the arrested *independentistas* had been denied habeas corpus. The government tried to discourage protests by holding the hearings at 7 a.m. under heavy police guard, including sharpshooters on top of the federal building at Hato Rey. Nonetheless, hundreds of protesters demonstrated outside and others solidarized with the pro-independence fighters inside the courtroom. The raucous scene was punctuated by cries of "Long live free Puerto Rico!" from the chained prisoners, echoed by their supporters in the gallery. After the hearings the *independentistas* were whisked away in Navy helicopters to the huge Roosevelt Roads base and flown to the mainland.

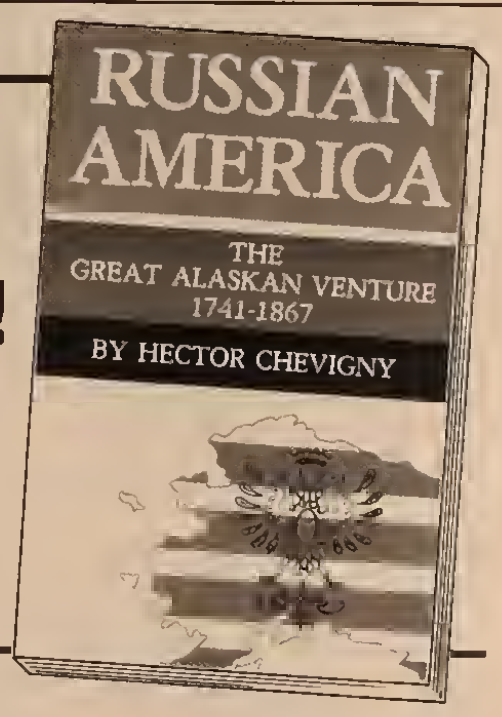
In ironic contrast to this huge government "anti-terrorist" operation, the day before the FBI terror raids, 42 counts of perjury were dropped against ten Puerto Rican police officers responsible for the cold-blooded 1978 murder of two *independentistas* at Cerro Maravilla. Claiming that perjury wasn't defined in Puerto Rico's penal code, the district judge ruled that the state could not prosecute (*El Mundo*, 30 August). Earlier, kidnapping charges against the cop spy who set up this assassination were dropped by a district court on the grounds that he was only following orders (the case is now under appeal before a Superior Court). Thus these state terrorists, already whitewashed by two Puerto Rican and two federal Department of Justice investigations, still go unpunished seven years later.

The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party (Macheteros) has been active since the late '70s, mainly on the island. Unlike the FALN, which has engaged in indiscriminate terror such as the 1975 bombing of the Fraunces Tavern restaurant in New York City, the Macheteros have carefully targeted the imperialist government apparatus. They have landed some effective blows, such as the 1981 attack on the Muñiz air base in San Juan, which destroyed nine jet fighters, the bulk of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard fleet. The Puerto Rican National Guard has played a prominent role in the numerous U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras and Panama, part of Washington's counter-revolutionary war in Central America.

The Macheteros have also scored some publicity coups, such as distributing thousands of dollars (from the Wells Fargo job) worth of toys to children in Hartford and San Juan last January on Three Kings Day. Indeed, even the liberal bourgeois daily *El Diario/La Prensa* (2 September) has described Gerena as a modern-day Robin Hood. While the Macheteros militantly oppose colonial rule, their nationalist guerrillaism offers no way forward for the Puerto Rican workers. They stand in the tradition of the 1950 Nationalist Party revolt at Jayuya and similar forlorn gestures. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League seek to unite Puerto Rican and American workers in common struggle against Yankee imperialism, from Central America to the Caribbean and the U.S.

As we noted in our article, "Militarism and Repression in Puerto Rico" (*WV* No. 373, 22 February), "the FBI has chosen Puerto Rico as the testing ground for its 'anti-terrorist' guidelines of infiltration, disruption and provocation." The Spartacist League has fought the FBI's sinister "terrorism guidelines," and won a small but significant victory in our suit which forced the FBI to drop their terrorist-baiting "definition" of the SL and recognize us for what we are, a Marxist political organization. This attack on the Puerto Rican *independentistas* is a threat to all opponents of U.S. imperialism. Defenders of democratic rights demand: Free the Macheteros! FBI, CIA out of Puerto Rico! Immediate, unconditional independence for Puerto Rico! ■

The Russians Did Come!



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New York, NY 10116
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From the book:

"The Russians were, moreover, given to mating quickly with the women of lands they penetrated. Always the children were baptized."

"The first of the promyshlenniki [treppers and traders] to come to the Aleutians, where the Tsar wes indeed far away, illustrate the view that ultimate frontiers draw the psychopaths."

"Yet [Catherine the Great] took real if spasmodic interest in Russian America and did more about it than her predecessors.... [She sought to] 'impress upon the hunters the necessity of treating their new brethren and countrymen, the inhebitents of our newly acquired islands, with greatest kindness....' Though at the time ol Catherine's accession the advance on Americe had been in progress nearly twenty years, no word of it had reeched the governments of the West.... Catherine...let out the truth.... Spain had the sharpest reaction, ordering her viceroy in Mexico to prepare forthwith for defense and to occupy more of the western coast. Upper California came quickly into being, as Franciscan missions and military presidios were built, beglnning with San Diego in 1769."

"[Barenov, the new manager of the colony] wes old for this kind of life, forty-four. As he wes showing, he had been unable to take even six weeks in an open boat, eating only raw fish and sleeping on wet beaches at night."

"...a beginning et a relationship was made when a leading Kenaitze chief pledged himself to support a ... t, giving hosteges, as was the custom. On his part, Baranov had had to promise to take the chief's daughter to wife. He may not have thought the price too high. Though not yet a full-grown woman, she was derkly beautiful of eye eatures, and carriage."

"By means he had often had to devise himself, [Baranov] had put Russian America on the political mep, formally enlarging the empire by nearly a third."

"The Aleuts were now to be classed as civilized, though they still lived by many of their old primitive ways. As was symbolized by the samovar that stood in each of their half-buried dwellings, they were Russian subjects, so defined in the second charter."

"A nation [Russia] having smell desire to sell did so to a nation [the U.S.] that was not eager to buy, their motives the belief they would please each other. History does not invariably make sense."

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Sinister Farrakhan and Racist Pig Koch Whip Up Race War

LOS ANGELES—When black nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan spoke at the Inglewood Forum here September 14, he created a political storm. The frequently cheering audience of almost 15,000 mainly middle-class blacks heard him say, "I have a problem with Jewish people... because I am declaring to the world that they are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the Black people of America and the western hemisphere, are... God's people" (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 19 September). Pushing his latest "black capitalist" scheme, Farrakhan called blacks who patronize businesses owned by Arabs, Koreans and Vietnamese "the mammies of America." He concluded that "40 million blacks can be as wise and manipulative as the Jews in America are today."

The sinister anti-Semite Farrakhan declared last year that Adolf Hitler, the bloodiest racist murderer in history, was a "great man." His admiration for fascist killers is not just historical. In the audience at the Forum, as a personally invited guest, was none other than KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger. Farrakhan's obscene overture to the Ku Klux Klan, whose burning crosses and lynch ropes have spread racist terror in this country for the last century, is suicidal for black people. Even as Farrakhan was spewing his anti-Semitic filth inside, outside the Forum, the Jewish Defense League, Guardian Angels and a small group of Nazis in full regalia were screaming for blood.

When Farrakhan takes his Jew-baiting big mouth to New York October 7, the situation threatens to be even more explosive than in L.A. The rabid Zionist mayor, racist pig Ed Koch, is inciting people to "speak out" against the man he characterizes as a "Nazi in a clerical collar." While piously saying he hopes there would be no protests, Koch gives the green light for racist violence, saying "there will be people... who in justifiable anger—indeed, fury—will do that." In New York City, with its huge Jewish and black populations, Koch is setting the stage for murderous race riots.

UPI

Conrad/NY Times

Black demagogue "Hitler was a great man" Farrakhan, above. Koch hails Israeli would-be führer Sharon, architect of Shatila butchery. Koch and Farrakhan want to turn New York into Beirut West.

Farrakhan: Shill for Black Democrats

Elements of the white bourgeois establishment as well as his supporters portray Farrakhan as a present-day version of Malcolm X. Nothing could be further from the truth. Malcolm was a courageous fighter against the American ruling class, who attacked its black front men like Martin Luther King as harshly as he did the white racists. A year before he was killed, Malcolm X broke with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam and denounced all forms of racism. For example, he repudiated his earlier opposition to interracial marriage.

Elijah Muhammad's sect wanted to destroy Malcolm, and one of the leading hatchet men in their hate-Malcolm campaign was Louis X, better known today as Louis Farrakhan. Farrakhan wrote in *Muhammad Speaks* (4 December 1964): "Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape.... Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death." Two months later Malcolm X was, in fact, killed. Whether or not Elijah Muhammad's people actually killed Malcolm—which they may have—they wanted him dead. And Louis Farrakhan was the No. 1 fingerman.

Where Malcolm appealed to militant black youth, Farrakhan appeals to would-be black capitalists. In Los Angeles he announced that next year his organization "POWER" (People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth) would begin producing and marketing a line of soaps, toothpastes, detergents and other toilet and household goods aimed at capturing $200 billion in black spending. A retired civil servant who attended the L.A. talk said that what appealed to him and those like him about Farrakhan was "the promise of financial stability for blacks" (*New York Times*, 16 September).

Farrakhan is no more a champion of black liberation than Johnson Publications, owners of *Jet* and *Ebony*, who presently have a big chunk of the segregated ghetto market the Black Muslim demagogue is trying to get his hands on. To be sure, there are some militant blacks who take Farrakhan's blowhard talk of "independence" from the white capitalist masters as good coin. Don't be fooled. Remember, when Farrakhan gained national attention last year it was as a supporter of Jesse Jackson's campaign in the Democratic Party presidential primaries. It was on Jackson's behalf that he made his notorious "Hitler was a great man" speech.

Phony leftists in this country rallied to Mr. Black Capitalism and even defended the anti-Semite Farrakhan. But not the Spartacist League. We said at the time that Jackson's role was to hustle the black vote for Walter "Big Loser" Mondale. And that's exactly what happened. Farrakhan was the shill of the shill for Mondale. And he's still shilling for the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism. In L.A. Farrakhan declared, "I think we need a change of governor. Maybe we would do better with Mr. Bradley."

For the last dozen years, ex-cop, pro-cop "Uncle Tom" Bradley has been the Democratic mayor of Los Angeles. Twenty years after the Watts "riots," conditions in the L.A. ghettos are worse than ever. For young blacks, a job is like Halley's comet—something you've heard about but never seen. Cop terror against black people in Southern California is notorious even in this violently racist country. Among the victims was five-year-old Patrick Mason, the black child who was killed while watching TV in his own home. Killer cop Anthony Sperl was awarded a $30,000 bounty pension for this racist murder. Bradley also helped keep the Russians out of the '84 Olympics, using a "terrorist" scare to justify unleashing the LAPD with their Blue Thunder high-tech weaponry on the population.

Farrakhan's "anti-establishment" rhetoric is a ploy for the black Democratic mayors, who have been loyal front men, hatchet men and firemen for Reaganite austerity. And now they're running scared. The black revolt against apartheid in South Africa has electrified black America and awakened a desire to struggle against Reagan racism and reaction at home. The BEOs (black elected officials) are naturally anxious to keep the heat off themselves. Farrakhan's "black capitalist" and anti-Semitic demagogy is useful in *deflecting* black struggle against the real enemy.

Significantly, Bradley resisted pressure from Jewish groups to denounce Farrakhan before his L.A. speech. Commenting on the relationship between the local black establishment and the nationalist demagogue, the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (22 September) wrote:

> "Local black leaders have a problem. They have committed themselves to conventional politics as the primary means for improving the lot of black constituents and they have raised

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Farrakhan—The Man Who Wanted Malcolm X Dead

Death threat (right) by Farrakhan (Louis X) against Malcolm X (below). Black Muslims whipped up frenzy against Malcolm when he came out for militant anti-racist struggle.

Don Charles

Muhammad Speaks
—4 December 1964

By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque, he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has b e s t o w e d upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.

Soweto to Harlem...

(continued from page 1)

hehind on her rent in the Bronx. And hy the way, that triggerman cop Sullivan is back on the job—we saw him August 13 at the big anti-apartheid demonstration at the UN. The triggerman has turned fingerman, and he was up there on the police surveillance unit shooting videotape of the demonstrators. Of you and of me.

And we don't need to tell the people in this congregation about police terror. This was Edmund Perry's church. And of course, there's no apartheid here—hut Edmund Perry had the misfortune of heing on the "wrong side," the Columbia side of Morningside Drive without a pass. And there may be some Haitian brothers here, who were there at that demonstration August 3 when Koch, to back up his pal Duvalier in Port-au-Prinee, sent a eop horseback charge wading into a crowd of peacefully demonstrating people in midtown Manhattan. And you know also about the system of police eover-ups in this eity. There is a blue wall of silence all right, and it extends right up to the mayor, and into the district attorney's office, and to Koch's coroner, Dr. Gross tbe ghoul, the one who gouged the eyes out of Michael Stewart.

Right now, that cover-up is continuing into the so-called trial of the transit eop lyneh moh who murdered Michael Stewart, which is going on down at Centre Strect. To date, a hearing scheduled for Octoher 3 on state charges against Elliot Gross is still supposed to take place. We say Gross is not just incompetent or negligent—we say he's a criminal and he ought to he in Attica along with those eops who murdered Michael Stewart. And we're calling a demonstration outside the hearing, and we would hope everybody here would

Schiasson/Gamma

Black youth defiant. Anti-apartheid revolt needs proletarian leadership.

come down to that.

So over South Africa, we see the staggering, consummate hypocrisy of the American ruling class. Today Ed Koch was on the radio calling on Reagan to get him to ban all South African planes from landing in this country, and to ban all South African ships. Ed Koch is the bosom buddy of General Sharon; Koch walked in a parade in Queens with this general who organized the massacre at Sabra and Shatila. The hypocrisy of him condemning South African apartheid is really heyond belief. And besides the hypocrisy, we are not for a standing ban on all things South African. It is not as if the revolution is about to seize power and a little shove would push it over. In these conditions, who would be hurt most from such a standing ban? It would he the black workers.

And yet these people—Reagan, Koch—are the people the liberals and reformists today are appealing to for "sanctions" against South Africa. It is tbeir government that was responsible for My Lai, that turned South Vietnam into a moonscape, that dropped the atom bomh on Hirosbima and Nagasaki. The American ruling class *exterminated* the people who were here before they eame. And don't forget the many millions killed by slavery and the slave trade. Don't forget how the American ruling class mowed down the black power militants in this country, to wipe out that movement. "Divesting" themselves from South African stocks won't wipe the blood from their hands. It is a monstrous lie to tell black people that they have a friend in Chase Manhattan, or Edward Koch, or Ronald Reagan.

Moreover, the whole liberal strategy of pressuring Washington and Wall Street to pressure their junior partners in Pretoria and Johannesburg *will not help the struggle for the South African revolution one whit.* In the last montb we have seen "divestment" on a billion-dollar scale. Reagan has decreed sanctions, which was the program of the Democrats. You have seen just about as much imperialist pressure on the apartheid regime as you're going to get, and the regime has dug in. And while divestment hasn't helped South African hlacks one whit, it has helped Chase Manhattan's bottom line. Right now, with the South African economy in trouble, divestment is good business.

The United States is certainly propping up its anti-Soviet ally. They don't want that key naval hase at Simonstown to fall into the "wrong hands." The U.S. needs a regional gendarme to police southern Africa. And there is a strategic consensus on South Africa in the Amerlean ruling elass, Democrats and Repuhlieans alike, based on the anti-Soviet war drive. They both demand witbdrawal of Cuhan troops from Angola. Well we *hail* the Cuhan troops in Angola as the main line of defense against apartheid imperialism. Real solidarity with our South African brothers and sisters heroically struggling against apartheid means class struggle at home. We say: from Detroit to Durhan, workers to power!

For a South African Bolshevik Party!

The *New York Times* has a perceptive reporter in South Africa these days by the name of Alan Cowell. There was a story in the paper about a week ago where Mr. Cowell had met several young anti-apartheid lighters in a black township near Cradock, in the Eastern Cape province, where a huge Soviet banner was unfurled at a funeral attended by tens of thousands last July. Unfurling that Soviet banner was a sign of defiance against the apartheid regime. Now that hammer and sickle tells a lot ahout the present radicalization of South African black youth. One young man Cowell interviewed, "Comrade Memory," told him that victory meant release of Afrlean National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. Mandela was jailed under the Suppression of Communism Act, and for more than three decades South Afriea's rulers have been saying the only alternative to apartheid is eommunism. That's okay hy us, hlack youths in the townships are saying,

Veronica Perry: "We Will Not Stand for KKK in Blue Uniforms"

Veronica Perry is the mother of Edmund Perry, the 17-year-old black scholarship student, graduate of Exeter Academy, who on June 12 was shot to death by a plainclothes cop on Morningside Drive near Columbia University. Mrs. Perry addressed the following remarks to the audience at the Spartacist forum, September 24, at Memorial Baptist Church in Harlem.

I'd like to say good evening to everyone and giving honor to God because He is the forerunner of all struggles and all battles. And I would like to thank each and every one of you for supporting me and my family on behalf of my son Edmund Perry. As you all know and are fully aware, it is a

Edmund Perry

The Perry Family

struggle, and it is the system that I and others out there have to fight against.

Because I am black and poor and live in Harlem they thought my son was just another "nigger," no one to be eared about or thought ahout. They found out that he was not only not just another black boy, that he was a very special and unique individual, that he had earned scholarships that sent him to the best places that this world has to offer. He had touched so many people in such a positive manner to let them know that we must all stand together as sisters and brothers, that there is no such thing hecause the color of my skin is different than yours that I should be superior or inferior to you. He let them know at Phillips Exeter Academy that he was a strong yonng hlaek man who was determined to come back to his eommunity and to let others from his community sbare some of the advantages that he had.

It was very hard for me back in July to even think ahout him being gone. But now time does make it easier. He is in Heaven so I am rejoicing hecause I had the privilege of having a son like Edmund Perry who, most mothers can't say, but I can say, never gave me a moment's problem. He never had problems at home, in school or in the street. And here where I stand he was baptized at 13 and gave his life over to Christ. So I am sure that when he went on his way, the way that the Lord would have him, he spoke up strong and courageous.

I was told just recently that Exeter will be a different place beeause of Edmund Perry. He made the young people up there with all of their money stand back and respeet him as a black man. Because he could intellectually be right on target with them, athletieally be superb to them, and socially have all of the women that they would like to have. So he didn't leave laeking for anything. As one of his schoolmates said,

WV Photo

Veronica Perry, mother of Edmund, at Spartacist forum.

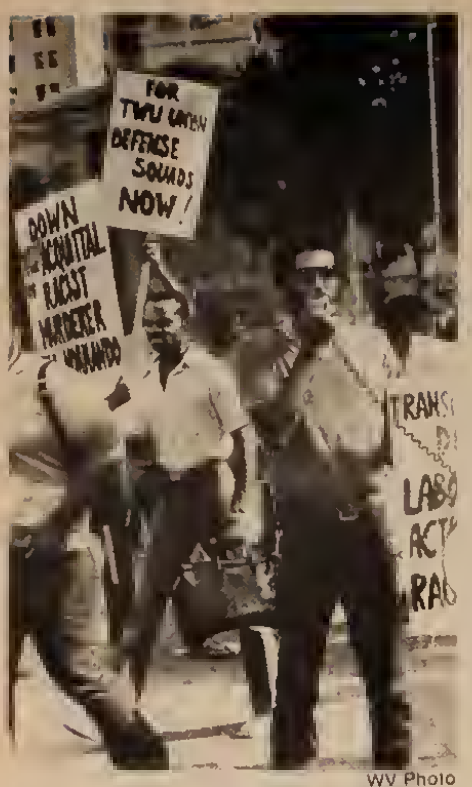
"Ed won't miss us, hut we will delinitely miss him." Beeause he touehed so many. I've had people from all raees eontact me for condolenees and lend me their support in anything that they could do to help.

There is one thing that all of you in this room could do to help. Make sure that this never ever happens again, that a young hlack, Hispanic or white youth—w'' 'h we haven't heard of yet—gets shot and have the offieer told by the system that he works for "you did nothing wrong." Any ime anyone takes a life, you've done something wrong. So keep on with your struggle. And remember that it does not take a lot of money, it takes a lot of people saying the same thing on one aceord, knowing that we will not stand for the KKK in hlue uniforms, we will not stand for the KKK as our mayor or as our president, that we will not stand for our sisters and brothers in South Africa being ruled by a few. We will not stand for it.

Only by standing up and saying "No more, Mr. Reagan. No more, Mr. Koeh," and Governor Cuomo, you have to stand up and say also that I'm with the people of New York who say no more of this police hrutality. We don't want those middle-of-the-road people, because if you're middle-of-the-road you may split and not know what you're doing and we don't need any more of that. We have enough splits and polarizations in this New York City.

So I thank you for being here, for allowing me to speak, and I do apologize for having to run out on you, but as I am chairperson of District 3 School Board, I do have other obligations. It's real important that you know that not only in the struggle against police brutality, but in our sehools we have a lot of things that are needed. We need people like yourselves who are interested in making a system change; you have to change the ideals and the thoughts of those people who teach your children.

So the young man who's sitting here, take in what you hear tonight. Because in your later years, when you beeome their age, you will need to know all there is about polities, about the Democratie system, about the Republiean system, about the socialist system, about the Right to Life. You have tons of political people, and in the United States of Amerlea, the only thing that eounts is the power to vote. So make sure that when you reach 18 you have a voter registration card in your hand. And when it comes time to go to the hallot, even if you don't know who you want to vote for, go and vote against who you don't want. Then you'll more than likely make the right eholee. ■



WV Photo

Brooklyn courthouse, July 1983: Kartsen rallies transit workers against whitewash of lynch mob murderers of black TWUer Willie Turks.

"South Africa is a capitalist country, and that has oppressed us," 14-year-old Lucas told the *Times* reporter. "So now, all of us, in Cradock, are Communists."

They may not know much about communism; however the most conscious elements are clearly groping for a road to revolution. A banner at a recent funeral called on the ANC, "We are ready, give us AKs." But it will take more than a few thousand Soviet assault rifles to bring down apartheid capitalism. *Business Week*, an organ of American capitalism, recently ran an editorial on "What Pretoria Fears More than Rioting in the Streets"—namely, the power of black labor. Marx said of capitalism that it created its own gravedigger in the proletariat. And the six-million-strong black working class of South Africa, which extracts the diamonds and gold, which runs the industry, will be the gravedigger of apartheid.

A two-day general strike last November brought the Transvaal to a grinding stop. And last month the threat of a gold mine strike was met by an army mobilization as if for war. Yet in the past 12 months of rolling revolt in South Africa the black working class has been limited to isolated skirmishes. Both the ANC and AZAPO, the leading black nationalist organizations, talk a lot about how the workers are the "principal force," the "fundamental force," and so on. But then the ANC sits down in Zambia to talk with Anglo American Mining Corporation. And just to make sure the talks are not snagged, Anglo American was exempted from the aborted gold strike. So the proletariat is still pulling the cart of nationalism.

Even if the Afrikaners were to crack this time around, what would you get? Some kind of Zimbabwe solution, where Nelson Mandela's picture would be on the currency, they'd cut a deal with Anglo American and supposedly it's "non-racial" capitalism. Meanwhile you've set the stage for all-sided genocide between the Afrikaners, the English, the coloureds, the Indians, the Xhosa, the Zulus, just as Mugabe sets the Shona against Nkomo's Matabeles in Zimbabwe. But the difference is, comrades, that South Africa doesn't have to go the nationalist road. A racially integrated internationalist workers party, forged in struggle against all forms of nationalism, could create a black-centered workers republic in which there would be a place for whites as well, which could marshal South Africa's tremendous resources on behalf of the entire starving continent.

The hallmark of British imperialism was the policy of "divide and rule," and the apartheid rulers have sought to recreate tribalism which was weakening with the emergence of a modern industrial economy. So the ANC and United Democratic Front are based on the Xhosa, and include the Indian Congress, while [Zulu] chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha goon squads do the dirty work for Botha. Last year Botha's scheme for phony Indian and coloured "parliaments" backfired, and instead there was a massive boycott that united them with the black population. So what happened in August of this year was Buthelezi's Zulu Inkatha launched pogroms against the Indian community in Durban, including tearing down Gandhi's house which had been a museum.

So when this happened what did the UDF do, what did the ANC do, what did AZAPO do? They wrung their hands. Nationalism cannot overcome communalism and tribalism because it does not attack capitalism at its roots. The meeting place for the proletariat is the mines and the factories, where Xhosa and Zulu, the Mozambicans and Botswanans and coloured are thrown together, and there's even been the occasional basis for episodic unity with the white skilled workers in some of the plants. What should have happened during the Natal pogroms is the formation of racially integrated workers defense guards to protect the Indian community. But approaching the working class would have required a *proletarian* perspective.

That is the program of a revolutionary workers party. In tsarist Russia every time there was mass unrest, they would try to make the Jews the scapegoats and they unleashed the Black Hundred pogroms against the Jewish ghettos. But during the 1905 revolution the workers' soviets from Moscow to Petersburg and Warsaw organized proletarian defense guards to protect the Jewish community. There is a book, *Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary*, which talks about how in Warsaw in 1905, Jewish and Polish workers stood guard together 24 hours a day, block by block, house by house, defending the ghetto. They waited for those race-terrorists to come, and when they did they gave them a lesson they would never forget. A Bolshevik party, as Lenin said, must be the tribune of the people. And this defense of the most oppressed by the class-conscious proletariat was key to breaking open the tsarist prison house of peoples, laying the basis for the 1917 October Revolution.

The Question Is Power

So Reagan calls for "constructive engagement" with Botha. The Democrats want constructive disengagement. But both of them are trying to reform apartheid. So last week the U.S. embassy in Pretoria came up with a new proposal to solve South Africa's problems: they said Botha ought to establish a civilian review board! You know, after the army busts down your door, drags you off to prison, tortures you, murders you and dumps your body on the roadside, then you'll have some place to appeal to! What's next, residency requirements for the SS?

Of course you laugh, because you see the absurdity of such a proposal in a situation where it's clear that police brutality is not the acts of a few "rotten apples" but of a system. But let's apply that lesson to the United States. One of our opponents in this election is the Communist Party, which is running on the "People Before Profits" ticket, and they're calling for the "democratization of the police"...through a civilian review board. But it's ludicrous to think that you can "democratize" the cops. As Marxists we understand that they are the armed fist of the capitalist class. They exist to keep the ghettos down and to crush strikes.

We do not look to the capitalist state, but to building the power of our own forces. The Spartacist League calls for

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Mary Bumpurs: "They're Not Going to Get Away with What They Did"

Mary Bumpurs is the daughter of Eleanor Bumpurs, the 67-year-old black grandmother who was shot to death by an NYPD "Emergency Service Unit" in her Bronx apartment last October 29. We print below her remarks at the recent Spartacist forum in Harlem.

WV Photo

Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary.

Good evening to everyone. I'm surprised, I am. You know, it's not easy standing before you or anyone else, since what happened to my mother almost a year ago. But through the grace of God, and I have to say that—if it wasn't for Him, I wouldn't be standing here or anyplace else. Because that was an experience that I've never experienced before, death. For 39 years I didn't know what death was about, and to lose your mother in that kind of a way, that's pretty painful.

I would like to just clear up a couple of things. In the papers they used this, she being psychotic or something or other. This woman had seven children, she raised them without my father being in the house. She raised us to the best of her ability, she made us go to school. We went to school, acknowledged the 12 years that the system gives you. We accepted that, we started our own families. She was of age that she didn't need us to live with her, she lived by herself, she could take care of herself. As I heard, as you read, she was supposed to be behind in rent. Well, if you're behind in rent one month or two months, they're going to take your lives for it. Whoever's been behind in rent better catch up quick, because they're going to get you next! Believe me.

Other than that, they did not try to locate some of the family. Their first point was, I believe, and it couldn't have been anything else, they thought this woman had no one but herself. They thought there was no one to stand behind her whatsoever. But they got a big surprise when they went in on her, and I believe this to the bottom of my heart—my mother was a very aggressive woman.

My mother told me a story, when I was about 13 years of age, about the

NY Daily News

Eleanor Bumpurs

experience that she had with the Ku Klux Klan. This was in North Carolina. I know nothing about North Carolina. She saw homes burnt down by these men in white sheets. When we use sheets, we put them on the bed, we don't put them on our bodies. She saw these homes being burnt, she saw black people being taken in the woods and beaten to death. This is something she told us. I've never experienced, so all I can say is, I felt the pain, I was not there.

She sat and she told us all the dreadful things that happened to her in her lifetime. She did not instill hatred in us. It was for us to come to that conclusion by ourselves, which I am standing here to say, no, I can't, I won't find time to hate anyone. Because that's a big word. When you start hating people, to me you end up killing people. Now this is how the Ku Klux Klan to me is, in disguise in *my* city, which is New York City, in the blue uniforms. I don't hate them either at this point. But there's a big dislike, because they did take something from me that they or no one else can replace.

I've been fighting, I'm going to continue on fighting, because there was an injustice done to me. And all I'm asking for is justice. She left seven children, she left ten grandchildren, two on the way, which she won't see, but somehow or another, I believe she will. My two brothers were in the service for this United States here. Once they heard what had happened to my mother, they immediately had no reason to serve the USA again, because why are you fighting over there when you can't get justice here? They got out of the service, they're now home, and we're all pulling together, hoping that we'll get some kind of justice out of this. The appeal came through for the 26th, this coming Thursday. If it gets thrown out again, all I can do is try to put it back in there again.

Because I'm determined that they're not going to get away with what they did. They hurt a lot of us. And it's not fair. There's no way they can ever justify it and give us anything, because there's nothing they could give us back in the place of what we lost. And speaking for my family that couldn't show up, because everybody has those different hours of working, I thank you for letting me just speak those few words to you, and as long as you keep the strength, I'll keep the strength. Because I believe as a people we will overcome whatever this is the system has become today.

Thank you. Now there was a point here that two people are dying to hear. This is what "our" mayor did. Thanksgiving Day, last year, when this happened in October to my mother, he came to my house, with his condolences as he says. He came in with a box, a white box. He offered it to me. What was in there? Two dozen chocolate chip cookies. I'm supposed to be a fool, I don't understand that he's sweetening up my mouth so I won't talk, or I won't fight this thing! You know, what the hell you bring me two dozen chocolate chip cookies for? He really thinks I'm a dummy. Listen, God gave me this, I didn't ask Him. No one can sit here and say well, listen, I'd rather be yellow than to be this color, or whatever. He didn't give me a choice. He said Mary, here it is, either you live with it, or whatever.

So, old Koch brings me two dozen chocolate chip cookies, to let me know that I'm what, a chocolate chip little "nigger"? He didn't sweeten my tongue up enough to stop me from fighting for what was mine. ■

Soweto to Harlem...

(continued from page 7)

labor/black mobilizations, for integrated armed defense guards based on responsible union men and women, to stop the racist terrorists. This is the strategy that has kept the Ku Klux Klan off the streets, from San Francisco to Detroit, culminating in Washington on November 27, 1982, when a 5,000-strong black labor-centered mobilization initiated by the SL stopped the Klan from marching in the nation's capital. And this was what the Spartacist League called for in 1964 in defending the Harlem ghetto masses against the *police* riot.

From Robert Williams in North Carolina, and the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense, to Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party, the right of armed self-defense against racist terror has been a touchstone of the struggle for black liberation in this country. And if you read the recent book by Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem During the Depression*, you will see how the Communist Party during the '30s organized mass defense squads against evictions. So when the police would go in and bring people's furniture out on the street, 500 people would be organized and they would go through the police lines and take the furniture back in. In 1964 we said that tenants councils and block organizations that already existed in Harlem could form a natural basis for the organization of defense patrols which could become the embryo of the workers militia which will defend the coming American revolution.

This holds true today. We're running in this election as a platform to call for the forging of a fighting workers party, that can organize labor/black mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms, that can organize mass defense of workers' strikes, strikes that *win*, strikes that will wipe anti-strike legislation like the Taylor Law and reduce it to the piece of toilet paper that it ought to be! I see some of the brothers from the TWU [Transport Workers Union] here tonight, and everyhody remembers the 1980 transit strike when all of the Democratic bigwigs, both Koch and Bellamy were on the Brooklyn Bridge organizing union-busting. You remember Koch down there, hollering "How'm I doin?"—and Bellamy leading the joggers across the bridge to work with big smiles on their healthy faces. Well, we needed a fighting workers party to lead a mass march down there and *close* the bridge, so those yuppie joggers would have turned around and high-tailed it back to their Brooklyn Heights townhouses and stayed home for the day!

Now we are not pollyannish about this. And we know, once we start talking about strategies that bring the financial and political capital of U.S. imperialism to a halt, pretty soon we're going to be going eyeball to eyeball with the 82nd Airborne. Just like the British *Economist* said of the recent gold strike, they called it "The strike nobody dares to win," because it was clear that a strike at that time required revolutionary leadership and posed the question of power. That is why the South African army was ready to go in and smash that strike. Any serious class struggle poses the question of power. What the Spartacists are about is building a party to lead the working class and the oppressed, on the streets, in the factories, on the picket lines, the battle lines of the class struggle. Building a party that will be the tribune of the people, the memory of the working class, incorporating the lessons of past struggles into the strategy for socialist revolution.

WV Photo

Mary Bumpurs addresses Spartacist forum in Harlem. Spartacist candidates Ed Kartsen, left; Marjorie Stamberg, right.

The courageous struggle of South African blacks against apartheid has inspired a fight against racist oppression worldwide. Recently West Indian youth in Birmingham, England who are up against Maggie Thatcher's racist cops repeated over and over, "Soweto and Handsworth, Same Fight." And our comrades in the Spartacist League of Britain agitated for mobilizing the muscle of organized labor to defend Handsworth against Thatcher's police terror, appealing especially to the miners who had experienced plenty of the same during their year-long strike. Our comrades in the Trotskyist League of France held a demonstration in Rouen calling on port workers to "hot cargo" South African coal. Here in New York, following the imposition of a state of emergency in August in South Africa, we were calling for a one-day political strike against police brutality from New York City to South Africa.

So the struggle against white supremacy in South Africa inspired revolutionary fighters all over the world. And the bourgeoisie has noticed. You know Leon Sullivan, the black minister who sits on the board of General Motors and who designed the "Sullivan Guidelines" for good behavior by American capitalist corporations in South Africa. He recently warned the United States Congress that if South Africa explodes, "Riots would occur in Harlem and other cities all over this country." The rulers of this country fear that revolution in South Africa could spark revolutionary struggle here at home. And how right they are. They fear it, we're for it.

From its very inception, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky closely linked the struggle for black liberation in America and Africa. "The history of the American blacks has prepared them to play a major role in the liberation struggle of the entire African race," proclaimed the Comintern's Fourth Congress in 1922. We of the international Spartacist tendency seek to continue the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky, fighting to reforge the Fourth International as a world party of socialist revolution. We'd like you to join us. From Soweto to Harlem—Smash racist terror!

Ed Kartsen: The murder of Edmund Perry brings the issue of racist terror to the streets of New York City, the question of racist terror here. Racist terror in New York City as related to racist terror in South Africa is an issue that has been left out of all the major political events of the ruling-class politicians, in the form of chiefly the Democratic Party, in the last primary and around the demonstrations that they participated in.

And everyone is aware, day in and day out, of scores of people shot down in the streets. In New York City Koch carries out a policy to terrorize poor minorities and unions. That police terror is designed to keep unions passive, to keep the poor and minorities of this city passive in the face of exorbitant rents, of joblessness, of decay of all of the public services and conditions of life in the city.

The South African regime props itself up through the type of terror that you see in the newspapers every day, in order to maintain a high level of exploitation against the South African working class. Not only are demonstrators being shot down in the streets. If you look at the response on the part of the South African police and army to the threat of miners going out on strike—which was massive repression and massive terror—it's a clear indication of what that state apparatus exists to do. And that is to oppress, to pacify the unionized workers of South Africa, as well as the population at large.

Capitalism's decline is marked by heightened violence. That goes for this country as well as South Africa. On Osage Avenue in West Philly that was demonstrated very clearly in one of the most gruesome cases of legal lynching that has ever occurred in this country, where eleven members of MOVE and their children were consciously—and planned well in advance—burned to death in their home.

America no longer has the ability to dictate to every country in the world what government it can or cannot have. This was the direct result of the victory of the Vietnamese workers and farmers, who smashed the American government's attempt to subjugate Vietnam to America's imperialist domination after the Vietnamese successfully drove out the French.

Reagan is at this very moment preparing the groundwork to carry out in Nicaragua the same type of war that was carried out in Vietnam. While Reagan is trying to curb his image as an open supporter of apartheid in South Africa, he is meanwhile planning to kill Nicaraguans at the same rate that Vietnamese were murdered by the U.S. in Vietnam. In South Africa about 1,000 have been slaughtered in the last year. In Vietnam, nearly 1,000 were killed *every day*, which also involved some of the most sadistic forms of murder.

Despite the tremendous power of American imperialism, the Vietnamese Communist Party prevailed. It succeeded in driving out the U.S. army and its Vietnamese collaborators. And unlike Nicaragua today, the Vietnamese Communists in Hanoi didn't have the indigenous capitalist ruling class in their country to promote rightist generals and form a fifth column and sabotage the ability of the Vietnamese to fight successfully against the U.S. army.

The middle-class lawyers and teachers who presently run the government in Nicaragua have a choice. And that choice is either to carry forward the revolution to its conclusion, to expropriate the bourgeoisie and consolidate the armed peasants and workers in the form of a non-capitalist government; or allowing the pro-capitalist elements to successfully sabotage and destroy that country in the light of an inevitable invasion by the "contras" and the U.S. army.

Genocidal Bloodbath or Workers Revolution

It's revolution or death there. And in South Africa the choices are very similar. That's why I raised this example first tonight. Over the next 30 years there will be three critical possibilities that South Africa will face. In the short term, the Boer-centered government may succeed in its campaign of terror and prevail again and consolidate a Boer-centered apartheid dictatorship after a bloodbath which makes the present rate of killing look minor. In the long term, there's another possibility and that is the crushing of the Boer dictatorship throughout most of the regions of South Africa by a Zulu dictatorship which will repress black workers' unions and all non-Zulu tribal and racial groups.

There is a third alternative, the alternative that we want to see in South Africa. And that is the establishment of workers rule in South Africa that will destroy the apartheid system, expropriate the mines, the industries of South Africa, and unite ethnic groups including anti-apartheid whites and establish a planned economy that will raise South Africa's productive power to the height needed not only to liberate South Africa, but also to be a center of

Der Spiegel

Apartheid state of siege. But South African black workers have power to bury apartheid and establish their own rule.

Spartacist Forums

South Africa: Razor's Edge

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Don Alexander, SL Central Committee
Guest Speaker: Stan Gow, ILWU Local 10 Executive Board
Editor, *Longshore Militant*

Friday, October 11, 7:30 p.m.
145 Dwinelle Hall
UC Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535
BERKELEY

Saturday, October 12, 7:30 p.m.
Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin (at Geary)
For more information: (415) 863-6963
SAN FRANCISCO

revolution in southern Africa that will eliminate the chief cause of poverty, which is imperialist exploitation.

Today South Africa is a stage set for an eight-sided genocidal bloodbath. The major ethnic groups are the unarmed Zulus and the highly armed Boers, who are of course in the comfortable position of holding state power. Historically, there are two groups of English speakers, English nationals and non-English nationals. There are the Ndebele tribe, and also the Xhosa. And there are of course the populations of coloured and Indians.

Boer nationalists have no love for the English and this goes pretty far back in South African history. British rule at the time of colonization of South Africa was based on the model of British rule in India, which was to integrate some sections of the population into areas of government administration. The Boers were counterposed to that idea and as the British attempted to expand their control in southern Africa, a war broke out between the Boers, who were Dutch settlers, and the British. The Boer War lasted from 1899 to 1902, and while the British were militarily successful, the Boer population retained a majority inside the country. As the British attempted to institute voting for certain sections of the non-white population, they ran hard up against the Boers' conception of white supremacy. So there was a compromise, the South African Act of 1909, which instituted apartheid. The British won the war, but the Boers won the peace.

The group in South Africa which is caught right in the middle of this multi-sided genocide is the coloured population. They're highly educated and skilled. They're culturally Western. The Trotskyist movement in fact in the past had a significant number of followers amongst the coloured population. And they're going to get it from both sides. They'll get it from the apartheid government as well as Zulus who follow chief Buthelezi, who have recently carried out pogroms against the Indian population.

What looms in South Africa as one of the major forces, as I mentioned before, is the black working class. The critical question for the South African working class, in terms of using its social power to overturn apartheid, is whether or not it can get the revolutionary leadership needed in order to lead it out of its present conditions of oppression. The coloured population stands as the primary source for providing this kind of leadership. The success or failure of the consolidation of a revolutionary party that will lead the South African working class to smash apartheid will determine whether there is going to be an eight-sided bloodbath, or whether there will be socialist revolution in South Africa.

Given the overwhelming power of the Boer nationalists, they are capable of forcing a bloody settlement, if the present conflict goes in the direction of a race war. In the long run, they could occupy the only plush area that exists in South Africa, and enforce that settlement with nuclear arms. The Boers already occupy much of the plush areas on the western side of the Drakensberg Mountains. This area is called the Orange Free State. It does not occupy substantial territory, but it represents some of the best land on both sides of those mountains. In fact the Drakensberg mountain range has plush areas on both sides, and the Boers can leave the rest of South Africa, which is largely desert, for the Zulus and other tribal groups, and attempt to survive in that area.

The ANC's politics of reform through a compromise with the South African businessmen is more than completely utopian. Because South Africa is one of capitalism's weakest links, its future can only be more and more despotic and violent government. The South African mines are the base of the South African economy. Without gold and diamonds there is no South African economy. The working class if it withheld its productive force would bring that economy entirely down. But right now it has a leadership which is tied to the ANC. Only a new leadership based on a revolutionary proletarian perspective, which can break the workers from their political support to the ANC, can enable the working class to succeed in revolutionary struggle against apartheid.

Koch is Reaganism in New York City

What I'd like to do is bring this question closer to home. Reagan's support to the government of South Africa is not really conditional on how much terror or how much repression that government is carrying through, but rather is based on the determination to consolidate the South African army and its supporters as a base, for example against the Cubans defending Angola. Which is consistent with what he is trying to do internationally—prop up his anti-communist rightist terror forces.

Koch is to New York what Reagan is to the world and America. While Reagan is preparing to go to war against Nicaragua, Koch is carrying out a war against unions and minorities in this city. Very recently Dr. Elliot Gross's case has come to the forefront of public opinion, as one of the primary elements behind covering up the latest murders that have occurred. He is the one who gouged the eyes out of Michael Stewart in order to prevent the proof that Michael Stewart had in fact died because of being beaten and kicked by eleven cops. Elliot Gross has been compared by us to Dr. Mengele, who carried out sadistic experiments against concentration camp victims.

Michael Stewart was the son of a retired transit worker. And transit workers in this city have often been the targets of racist attack. Willie Turks was another example—the black transit worker who was beaten to death just outside his work shop in Gravesend, Brooklyn. Very recently there was a group of Chicago transit workers who demonstrated what transit workers in this city could do in defiance of their union leadership. A bus driver had accidentally killed seven people in a car,

WV Photo

April 1980: Transit strikers march across Brooklyn Bridge. Break with racist strikebreaking Democratic Party! Build a workers party!

when the car cut in front of his bus. He had no control, it was a tragedy. Racists in that city wanted to make this an issue because the bus driver was black and the people in the car were white. Even the families of the people who were killed did not want to see this issue dragged in the mud as a black vs. white race issue. But the cops and the pro-Klan elements inside the city administration wanted to make it a race issue, and started a campaign in the newspaper about how this bus driver was incompetent and had intended to murder the people in the car through sheer incompetence and through moving at a tremendous speed.

Well, transit workers in that union got fed up. And they went to their union leadership asking for action to defend this bus driver, who had been handcuffed to his hospital bed by the police! You know, he was also injured in this accident. Well, the union leadership, like the union leadership in this city, told those transit workers that there's nothing that could be done, and this is a non-union issue. Those transit workers did not accept that and mobilized independent of that leadership and in defiance of it. Five hundred strong, outside of police headquarters, they faced down the Chicago police, who are notoriously violent. They didn't dare attack this group of transit workers, because they represented the social force that could result in that city getting closed down. And so they won. The charges were dropped against the bus driver. The handcuffs were taken off.

Democratic Party liberals and their allies in this city have used protests against apartheid as really a cover-up. The latest wave of state terror in South Africa resulted in a demonstration outside the UN. A demonstration that was primarily led by black Democrats, but also contained a lot of militant workers and black people who consider apartheid as repulsive as racist terror in this country. But the leadership of that demonstration made no attempt to link up what Koch was doing in this city to what Botha was doing in South Africa. Koch got away with demonstrating in Washington as an anti-apartheid militant! And this lie which the black Democrats let Koch get away with allowed him to march boldly on Labor Day, along with contingents which had "End Apartheid" signs.

The message of Labor Day in this city was cover-up of race-terror in New York City. This message was not lost on Ku Klux Klan and Nazi fascist supporters and fascist-lovers. A few of them were actually seen at the Labor Day march carrying a Confederate flag, in the IBEW contingent. There'd better be no room for the Confederate flag anywhere in the labor movement. It will take a united struggle of black and white workers led by a vanguard party to smash the anti-union campaign that's going on in this country, and that means it's necessary to smash those same creeps with their swastikas and Confederate flags, because they represent anti-unionism, the ideology of race war and attempts to undercut any ability of the working class to unite and carry through a class-struggle victory.

So, in conclusion, I'd like to state that what we stand for in regard to the struggle against apartheid is what we stand for in regard to the struggle against capitalist oppression everywhere. South African labor can crush apartheid if it has a revolutionary party, a party that fights to place the class power of the working class at the head of a movement to smash apartheid, and smash the economic system which supports apartheid. Such a party would break through the bloody dead end of race war.

In New York City, like Chicago, transit workers must play a chief role to lead their union out of the dead end of being tied to the Democratic Party. Black people in this city can lead the way by breaking with the Democratic Party. The ANC's policy of collaboration with the ruling class in South Africa must be broken in order for the South African masses there to be successful. So we need a revolutionary party. We need a party that will smash apartheid, and smash the policies of apartheid, from Harlem to Soweto. We need to smash apartheid with workers revolution. ■

Laurie Bloomfield

Inkatha, thugs of apartheid's sinister Zulu chief Buthelezi, commit anti-Asian pogroms in Durban.

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ET: New Name, Same Game?

SAN FRANCISCO—As we were demonstrating against apartheid here on September 7, who should show up but the so-called External Tendency? But guess what—the ET is now the BT. Their placards were signed: "Bolshevik Tendency (formerly the External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency)." Well, as Max Shachtman reportedly quipped: "The smaller the group, the longer the name."

Regular readers of *WV* are familiar with the ETs, a cliquist clot of embittered white ex-members who individually quit the SL after losing their appetite for class struggle and revolution during the Reagan years. If the ET/BT had any claim to political coherence, which they don't, they might have dubbed themselves the MT—Menshevik Tendency. For insofar as they have a political profile it is rightist: slavishly conciliatory to the pro-imperialist union bureaucracy, worse than "colorblind" on the black question, recoiling from the Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union, shot through with virulent, whining, philistine anti-Leninism (see "From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning," *WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984).

Overlaying the ET/BT's general Menshevik profile are certain grossly pathological deformations. Thus, this grouping evinces blood lust red in tooth and claw, albeit of a highly vicarious sort. A grotesque recent example is their position that the innocent victims of Reagan's anti-Soviet KAL 007 provocation got what they deserved. We said the Russians were right to shoot down what looked like a military aircraft; like the Russians, we deplored the loss of life and laid the responsibility at Reagan's door. The ET would like to see us reveling in death, the better to fulfill the self-justifying fantasies of anti-communists.

The ET professes to find "social patriotism" and a "flinch" behind the SL's refusal to hail pointless bloodshed in Lebanon. When Reagan sent Marines into Beirut in a spectacularly disastrous move, and a bunch of those Marines got blown up, *WV* said "U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" This was in deliberate counterposition to our response to the U.S. invasion of the tiny black island of Grenada, where we said "U.S. Out, Dead or Alive!" Unlike in Vietnam or Nicaragua, where there is a just cause to be supported and the U.S. is the military might on the wrong side, there is no progressive side in the present Lebanese quagmire. To this day nobody

WV Photo

ET wasn't there when thousands of black unionists and youth rallied behind our leadership to face down KKK provocation in streets of Washington in 1982. ET has plenty of energy for lying attacks on SL, no stomach for revolutionary struggles in Reagan's America.

even knows *who* blew up those Marines! And now that four Russians have been kidnapped and maybe murdered by one or another of those shadowy communalist groups, is the ET going to happily hail this atrocity as another blow for the self-determination of the oppressed?

The ET said we'd gone soft on American imperialism and sneered that our Lebanon slogan represented our "latest application of some longstanding Gandhian-Trotskyist tradition of reverence for life." Here the ET betrays its philistinism and cynicism—Marxists do indeed have a reverence for human life. Unlike pacifists of the Gandhian tradition, who preach nonviolence only to the oppressed and offer up martyrs in the thousands upon this altar, Marxists, as Isaac Deutscher pointed out, have "laid bare the roots of violence in our society, which the others have not done."

The ET's arguments are antithetical to a Bolshevik policy toward the armed forces. As we wrote in "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984), "For Marxists there is all the difference between the men in the field and those who sent them there to die." Thus during the thoroughly squalid Falklands/Malvinas war—where we advocated the defeat of both the Tory butchers and the Argentine military junta—we unequivocally denounced Margaret Thatcher's gratuitous sinking of the Argentine ship *General Belgrano*, which sent 360 sailors to their deaths. To whom were we selling out when we deplored this war crime by the perverse Iron Lady? If the ET/BT were to apply Occam's Razor to this puzzle, they could deduce that maybe we just don't believe in wanton killing.

The ET's bloodthirstiness is usually directly proportional to their physical distance from the political events in question. But there is one exception to this rule: they have shown a real commitment and appetite to get, to damage, to destroy the Spartacist League, by any means.

Not surprisingly, this has led them, as the saying goes, to lie down with dogs and get up with fleas. The ET has resorted to COINTELPRO-style provocation against us, has embraced fascistic thugs, and has tried—through lies, insinuation and provocative behavior—to set us up for state harassment and worse. The flip side is their studied indifference to the victimization of our supporters by the bourgeoisie. Clearly not worried about the possibility of repression of the tiny ET, these renegades are marked by a cavalier disregard for and attempted sabotage of our struggle against witchhunting and state terror, exposing their professed orientation toward our ranks as utterly fraudulent.

Those who are guided by intense subjective malice as a political program are just asking to be someone's tool, witting or unwitting (sometimes both). Perhaps some ET/BT supporters tell themselves that their lying allegations of "violence" against the SL are "merely" in the service of the reformists and centrists of the popular-front swamp who need excuses to seek to exclude us and suppress our Trotskyist views. But applying the criterion *cui bono* (who benefits) to the ET/BT suggests answers ranging from the merely unsavory to the downright sinister.

So far, the ET has not made any public explanation of its name change. Originally they presented themselves in purely organizational terms, i.e., "external" to the one organization on the planet that they conceded had a revolutionary program. During its three years of posturing as upholders of the banner of genuine Spartacism, the ET has managed to win not one single recruit from the SL. Even most of our ex-members have steered clear of this vicious lash-up. The ET's German cothinkers have urged them to seek greener pastures elsewhere; perhaps the newly incarnated American BT has had some offers from somebody seeking used-up anti-Trotskyists at bargain prices.

Consider the ET's odd behavior at the SL Central Committee plenum held over the summer. That meeting was attended by the vast majority of the SL membership, ostensibly the target of ET propaganda and recruitment efforts. Upon hearing that the ET had some materials to bring to our members' attention, and concerned to avoid screaming fights in the lobby of the hotel, we urged the ET to get a room and said we'd direct interested comrades there between plenum sessions. The ET got a room, we announced it in our opening session, but when comrades headed over during the lunch break... the ET had already packed up and left! They did not return. The explanation that offers itself is that the ET is utterly demoralized and/or that their reasons for turning up at our plenum were other than to distribute literature and engage our members in polemics.

Now enter the Bolshevik Tendency. Tendency of what? Tendency to what? Presumably we will be informed in due course. But we suspect it's a change in the name to better play the ET's game: get the SL. The ET anti-Spartacists for hire may have found their original name a liability with the "left" betrayers they associate with. It reminds us of a cartoon from the sixties, which shows police beating bystanders at an antiwar demonstration. One cop is beating a respectable-looking citizen who protests. "But officer, I'm an anti-Communist!" The cop replies, "I don't care what kind of Communist you are" and continues to club his victim. The ET's popular-frontist friends' response to the word "Spartacist" is like the devil's to holy water.

So what is the ET, rechristened BT, up to? Rumors abound that they are playing footsie, at least, with the local henchmen of one Nahuel Moreno, Argentine adventurer supreme, whom we sincerely urge widows and orphans not to entrust their life savings to. We use the plural "henchmen" advisedly, as the two wings of the Morenoites in the U.S. are at each other's throats. Said ET persons overwhelmingly quit the SL of their own will, which they claim was not free (a couple were expelled for individual malfeasance, and we would only wish them on our worst enemies, which may be coming to pass). To these birds we say, have a good time in Nahuel Town, and perhaps the Peace and Freedom Party. And a word to those seeking anti-Spartacists for hire: *caveat emptor*—let the buyer beware! ■

CORRECTIONS

Our article "The Soccer Wars" (*WV* No. 381, 14 June) on the bloody carnage at the Brussels European Cup match incorrectly referred to the Italian team as the Milano Juventus; the Juventus are the Torino team.

In *WV* No. 382 (28 June) our article on the pope plot trial gave the date of a meeting between assassin Ali Agca and the deputy chief of Italian military intelligence as March 1981; it should have read March 1982. And the amount of funds missing from the Vatican-controlled subsidiaries of Banco Ambrosiano was not $4 billion, but $1.4 billion.

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Farrakhan...

(continued from page 5)

> expectations with their optimism about what that politics can accomplish but they cannot deliver the goods.... In short, local black leaders are ready targets for black rage."

They might consider the fate of black collaborators of the apartheid regime. So these black misleaders alternately woo and gently "criticize" their brother Farrakhan—because they need his demagogy to block integrated working-class-led struggle for black liberation.

Provoking Race War

Louis Farrakhan is an enemy of black people not only because he ties them to the Democratic Party of Mondale, Ed Koch and George Wallace. As we wrote during the Jackson campaign, Farrakhan is dangerous precisely because "his rhetoric of race war can be exploited by the KKK-backed Reaganites to incite race-terror. Remember the 1979 Greensboro, North Carolina massacre in which five anti-racist militants and leftists were gunned down by the Klan and Nazis (accompanied by government agents) in broad daylight! All-white juries have repeatedly freed these fascist killers, thereby providing legal sanction to racist murder. At bottom, Farrakhan has only his mouth while the white Hitler-lovers have the guns and friends in high places" (*WV* No. 355, 25 May 1984).

When Farrakhan spoke in L.A., the Jewish establishment raised a hue and cry and were joined by the Nazis backed up by their friends in high places, like California governor Deukmejian. When these "notables" attack Farrakhan for racism and bigotry, it is revolting hypocrisy. Where was the outcry when Orange County cops shot little Patrick Mason to death in his home? Where was the outcry when L.A. cops shot pregnant Delois Young, a black woman, in the stomach at her front door, causing her to lose her baby?

And while these "democratic" hypocrites were condemning Farrakhan, the Nazi scum were outside the Forum spreading their genocidal message for blacks, Jews, Latins and all the oppressed. Powerful integrated labor/minority mobilizations should have swept these fascists off the streets! But the criminal policies of labor lakers, BEOs and Jewish leaders emboldened the Nazis to parade at a place where 15,000 blacks were gathered. The audience in the Inglewood Forum was being set up for slaughter. While Farrakhan was peddling toothpaste and detergent inside, thousands of blacks were being hog-tied in the face of the fascist threat on the outside.

Malcolm X—though he never found the class-struggle road to black liberation, the program of revolutionary integrationism—recognized the role of the Nation of Islam in hog-tying the black masses. In January 1965, Malcolm sent a telegram to George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party: "This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and...that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation" (*Malcolm X Speaks*).

The racist mobilization provoked by Farrakhan in L.A. is small potatoes compared to what could happen in New York City. Los Angeles' black mayor Bradley is a semi-ally of the nationalist demagogue. But New York's Ed Koch is the closest thing to a Jewish fascist in this country, and he holds a piece of state power. He is whipping up a frenzy over Farrakhan's scheduled appearance at Madison Square Garden. Between them, the anti-Semitic demagogue and the Zionist pig are threatening to bring the murderous bloodletting of Beirut to the streets of New York.

For Koch to denounce Farrakhan for "racism and religious bigotry" is like Adolf Hitler denouncing ultra-Zionist leader Jabotinsky for the same. Koch's cops treat black and Hispanic youth like they were West Bank Palestinians. And on Koch's right flank stand the fascistic Jewish Defense League, formed by Meir Kahane (a.k.a. Michael King) in the late 1960s. The JDL's first targets, before it started terrorizing Soviet diplomats, were black nationalist activists and

UPI

Democrats' "Rainbow Coalition": Jesse Jackson gladhands George "Segregation Forever" Wallace in 1983.

white New Left radicals. In a city with over two million Jews, Farrakhan's shrill anti-Semitism could provide the JDL with a mass base for race war. And in a race war in this country, blacks will lose. It will be pretty ugly for Jews too.

Black America is under attack, and Louis Farrakhan is giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Not only did he in the 1984 Democratic Party primaries stump for Jesse Jackson, who then stumped for Mondale; following Mondale's defeat, Farrakhan announced he was "happy Mr. Reagan won," cheering the slashing of welfare and social programs for blacks as an opportunity to "prove that black people can make it without a handout" (*Chicago Tribune*, 12 November 1984). And now the sinister minister Farrakhan is openly allying with fascists, namely California KKK leader (and former Democratic senatorial candidate) Tom Metzger.

According to the *Washington Times* (30 September), mouthpiece of Sun Myung Moon's ultraright political-religious cult, Grand Dragon Metzger was one of ten members of a "White American Political Association" personally invited by Farrakhan to attend the L.A. rally. Metzger's outfit, also known as the White American Resistance, or WAR, made a cash donation to Farrakhan as "a gesture of understanding." "They want their own government and their own territory and that's exactly what we want for them and for ourselves.... They speak out against the Jews and the oppressors in Washington," Metzger was quoted as saying.

When the Fascists Were Driven Off the Streets

Since the destruction of the Black Panther Party in the early 1970s, the most significant break in the cycle of defeat, bullshit and run-around for black people in America was the powerful Labor/Black Mobilization against the Klan in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Initiated by the Spartacist League, this mass action brought out more than 5,000 black workers and youth, stopping the KKK lynchers from marching in the nation's capital. This was one of the few occasions in recent years where blacks were not on their knees. And the Marion Barrys, Jesse Jacksons and Louis Farrakhans were nowhere to be seen.

Ex-civil rights leader Marion Barry, now the Democratic mayor of Washington, had insisted along with Reagan's Department of Injustice that the racist terrorists should be allowed to march. But thousands were lined up at the foot of Capitol Hill to make sure the cross-burners would not terrorize D.C. "One, two, three, four—it's time to finish the Civil War!" the crowd chanted as they marched the route the KKKers had threatened to take. It was a day that black people could be black and proud, because with the red leadership of the SL they fought back and defeated those who would exterminate them.

The Spartacists are the champions of black freedom in this country, because our program for world socialist revolution is the only road to black liberation. It's high time for the working people and oppressed to take up the fight for a workers government that will put an end to this rotting, racist system, sweeping aside its defenders no matter what color of the rainbow they reflect. For labor/black defense against racist terror! Build a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party! ■

Campaign...

(continued from page 3)

two-year struggle to expose the truth about the murder of her son.

* * * * *

On September 26, Spartacist supporters picketed jointly with the Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee outside the state appellate court at 25th and Madison. The appeals court was hearing a demand for reinstatement of criminal charges against Stephen Sullivan, the Emergency Services Unit cop who "evicted" the black grandmother from her Bronx apartment last November by blasting her with a double-barreled shotgun. The dozen protesters chanted, "Remember Eleanor Bumpurs—Stop the Killer Cops!"

The D.A.'s office, of course, accepts the cops' racist lie that an infirm grandmother was a physical "threat" to the police who kicked in her door. In court, the "prosecution" noted Sullivan's record as a "hero" cop and apologized, "Sometimes our heroes make mistakes." Sullivan, he argued, should be charged with "reckless manslaughter"—his "mistake" was only in firing the second blast which hit Mrs. Bumpurs in the chest, *after* the first shot had blown off her hand. Cop Sullivan's lawyer said there should be no charges, since the blast was not "reckless" but intentional. "This shooting came within police department guidelines," he emphasized.

Koch said the same when 10,000 armed cops surrounded the Bronx courthouse last February, demanding the charges against Sullivan be dropped. Of course racist murder *is* standard operating procedure in the NYPD. So a compliant judge threw the charges out of court. The Spartacist campaign says that organized labor should be leading tens of thousands of workers in action to smash the racist terror in the streets and ghettos of New York. ■

Spartacist Party Campaign Needs $$$

The Spartacist Party Election Campaign Needs $$$! Wall Street, the slumlords and kill-crazy cops gave racist mayor Koch a "war chest" of over $5 million to "finish the job" on New York's working class and minorities. The working people's candidates, Stamberg and Kartsen, depend on your contributions to get out the Spartacist program of mobilizing New York's labor and minorities to "Kick Out Koch! Dump Trump! Smash Racist Cop Terror!"

Election law requires reporting names of people who contribute over $99. So because our party does not disclose names of individual contributors, we will not accept donations over $99 from individuals. Trade unions and other organizations, however, are more than welcome to donate larger amounts.

If you want to fight Koch/Reagan reaction, get involved! Send your contributions to: Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, c/o Box 444, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. And stop by our campaign headquarters at 41 Warren Street in lower Manhattan, Monday through Thursday, 5-8 p.m. or Saturday, 1-5 p.m., or call (212) 267-1025.

Fascist Attacks...

(continued from page 12)

individual. But as a spokesman of the Humanist Party pointed out: "It's a result of the political climate of the Reagan administration." Racist terrorists are emboldened when black babies are firebombed and murdered in Philadelphia, when Reagan puts flowers on Nazi SS graves. Abortion clinic bombers are officially certified as *not* terrorist by the FBI, and federal agents serve as Klan/Nazi triggermen, as in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The SFPD wondered that a small group of harmless "peace" types like the Humanist Party would be a target of the anti-Semitic bomber. Why? The Reaganites have made "secular humanism" a dirty word. The Senate voted to ban expending educational funds on it. For the New Right secular humanism is a godless conspiracy, a popular front of bleeding-heart liberals, socialists and communists who want to subvert the U.S.A. by opposing bombings, maimings and witch burnings.

But it's not just Reagan who emboldens the racist terrorists. The Democrats won't stop the fascists any more than the Republicans. They want to maintain these crazed, Soviet-hating shock troops as a reserve to terrorize blacks and unions when "legal" means aren't enough. For "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein it's the chickens coming home to roost. In April 1980 Feinstein insisted that the Nazis had the "right" to celebrate Hitler's birthday at the Civic Center; only a 1,500-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the SL kept the Nazi vermin off the streets.

Last year the San Francisco mayor insisted the Confederate flag be flown in the Civic Center, until we tore down the banner of slavery for good. And it was Feinstein who belittled the cop display of the swastika. If the thugs in blue and fascists in white sheets think they've got a green light to terrorize blacks and Jews it's hardly surprising. Anyone who thinks Feinstein is going to clean up the fascist scum is rendering himself defenseless. It will take determined labor-centered anti-racist defense guards to crush the racist terror attacks. ■

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CHICAGO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Fascist Bomb Attacks Against Jews, Secular Humanists in S.F.

For Labor/Minority Defense Against Nazi Nightriders!

SAN FRANCISCO—Less than a month after cops here brazenly displayed a Nazi swastika in a police van while "patrolling" an anti-apartheid demonstration, a fascist terrorist placed bombs at the offices of a small liberal political organization, a synagogue and the home of a rabbi.

Shortly after midnight on September 16, a bomb wrapped in anti-Semitic leaflets exploded at the offices of the Humanist Party, blowing off the door and shattering windows in nearby buildings. Fortunately the two party workers inside were not injured. The following morning a pipe bomb was found fastened to the door of a synagogue school at Congregation Beth Sholom in the city's Richmond district.

The six-inch long, two-inch diameter fragmentation grenade was intended to kill and maim. It was planted on the first day of Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, when hundreds of worshippers were gathered, including a large number of children. Later that day another bomb was found and dismantled at the San Francisco home of Rabbi Jacob Traub.

After the bombings the fanatic right-wing Zionist Jewish Defense League (JDL) offered to provide patrols to prevent further attacks. The SFPD and liberal Jewish organizations were aghast, seeking instead to promote confidence in the police—the same cops who only a few weeks before flaunted a Nazi poster at a demonstration against the execution of South African militant Benjamin Moloise. The SF "swastika" cops are going to protect Jews against terrorist attack?!

The Spartacist League says anti-racist labor-centered defense guards drawn from all those on the fascists' deadly hit lists are urgently necessary to stop this murderous anti-Semitic nightriding. In 1976 racists repeatedly firebombed the home of black International Harvester worker C.B. Dennis, a member of the UAW, when he attempted to move into a white suburb of Chicago. The cops did nothing to stop the terrorists. But SL supporters and other militants in the UAW initiated a union-sponsored defense guard outside Dennis' home. It was not bombed again.

The latest bombings are part of an escalation of rightist terror attacks in San Francisco. In November 1984 a Holocaust memorial in Lincoln Park was desecrated. Last May a bomb was discovered in a classroom in the School of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University shortly before a black history class was to meet in that room. That same month the offices of rock impresario Bill Graham were destroyed by a firebomb just after he led a protest against Reagan's trip to Bitburg to salute Nazi stormtroopers. In July, a bomb was left hanging on the door of the Congregation Adath Israel synagogue.

Repeated police "investigations" resulted in nothing. But this time Mayor Feinstein and the cops were embarrassed. The firebombing spree got wide press coverage, following the August newspaper and television accounts of the cops' swastika, exposed and publicized by the SL. Suddenly a cop remembered that all of these attempted bombings bore a striking resemblance to a case he had worked on in 1980, when a rightist thug, Coy Ray Phelps,

Knowland/Oakland Tribune

May 1985: After anti-Nazi rock promoter Bill Graham protested Reagan's salute to Hitler's SS at Bitburg, fascists firebombed Graham's office.

had used the same kind of pipe bombs with egg timers as detonators.

Phelps has now been charged for four of the bombings, including the SF State attempt. This scum has a track record a mile long: his arrest in 1980 followed an investigation of a death-threat telephone service which agitated callers to "kill niggers and white traitors." He now claims to be the head of a virulently anti-Semitic, anti-black, violence-mongering organization called the "Holy Brotherhood Church." Publications of the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations Church and other racist filth were found in his garage.

Phelps claims to have been "unemployed" for 26 years (!), yet had enough extra cash to print and distribute fascist literature, manufacture bombs and cart them around in his van. He had an arrest record, but was always released. How did he support himself and stay out of jail? We are reminded of Gary Rowe, the killer of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo, and other informer/provocateur types used by secret police agencies of the capitalist state.

The FBI, of course, says they believe Phelps acted alone. In cases like this, especially where there is widespread outrage, the state always tries to prove that these are the acts of a single sick

continued on page 11

Nassau D.A. Marches with "Right-to-Life" Bigots

Defend Abortion Rights!

The following press release was issued September 16 by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee.

On Saturday, September 14 "right to life" bigots targeted the Bill Baird abortion clinic in Hempstead, Long Island, intimidating women patients inside with ghoulish effigies and cries of "Murder, Inc." and "butchered babies." Ominously, Nassau County D.A. Dennis Dillon was leading the protest, even as Baird was reporting death threats and calls that "this building will be firebombed before the day is out." The Spartacist candidates today denounced this outrage, saying: "Abortion is supposed to be legal in this country. D.A. Dillon's presence on the picket line offers open solidarity of the state with the anti-abortion terrorists."

Marjorie Stamberg, candidate for mayor, said: "From D.A. Dillon to the NYPD 'off duty' cop who attacked and arrested a woman outside a Brooklyn abortion clinic last March, this official state terror against working people and minorities must be stopped! In scores of firebombings and hundreds of other attacks on abortion clinics, it is pure chance that no one has yet been killed. But death is written all over the 'right to life' campaign of terror, as vicious reactionaries seek to drive working-class and poor women back to the rusty coat hangers in the back alleys."

Ed Kartsen, candidate for Manhattan borough president, noted, "The anti-abortion terrorists have felt the wind in their sails and the nod of approval from the White House. It is no accident that the lunatics who seek to roll back women's rights are the same vicious racists who would drive blacks back to slavery, like Ku Klux Klansman John Burt, convicted bomber of the Pensacola, Florida abortion clinic."

These are no hollow threats against Bill Baird, pioneering advocate of abortion rights. Six years ago, Baird's clinic was firebombed with 50 women inside. Yet D.A. Dillon let off the murderous arsonist with a ludicrous seven months in a mental hospital! Baird's clinic in Hempstead was the first in the country. It was in large part due to his militant efforts that the right to abortion became a national issue in the 1970s. Baird has been shot at, beat up, spat on, arrested and jailed eight times by his count.

Stamberg pointed out: "Of course, it's never the wives, daughters and mistresses of the rich men who rule this country who suffer—they've always been able to get their abortions, whether legal or not, in plush privacy with every consideration. No, poor, young teenagers and working-class women are most hurt by this violent reactionary offensive. Free safe abortion on demand is a desperately needed fundamental right."■

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 389 X-523 18 October 1985

Anti-Sex Bigots Target Everybody

Reagan and AIDS

AIDS—it's a terrihle epidemic that so far has killed half of the poor victims that have contracted it. Over 13,800 people in the United States have the disease; every six to ten months the number doubles. Caused by a virus that destroys the body's immune system, almost all victims are dead within two years of diagnosis as their bodies are wracked by infections which they cannot fight. There's no cure and no treatment. But mushrooming far beyond the medical impact of AIDS is another, far more dangerous epidemic: fear and hysteria exploited by Reagan reaction as a springboard for sexual/social counterrevolution.

Gay men, who account for almost three-quarters of the victims, were the first targets. When incidents of AIDS were initially reported just over four years ago, Moral Majorityites rubbed their hands in glee: a disease that got gays, drug addicts and Haitians (since dropped from the high risk category)—all groups high on the White House's shit list. For Reagan, AIDS was better than the neutron bomb. White House aide Patrick Buchanan sounded the horn of sin and damnation: AIDS was "nature's retribution" on gays because "they have declared war upon nature." Now the cutting edge of reaction has moved to the schools where frenzied racist bigots collude to keep kids with AIDS out. With fear of a sexual Armageddon reported daily in the newspapers (the July 1985 cover of *Life* magazine read "Now No One Is Safe From AIDS," with a picture of a nice white family underneath), reactionaries have pounced upon AIDS as their banner in their war on sex, any kind of sex.

Behind the fear is the fact that modern medicine is still unable to deal with this tragic epidemic. Two years ago we ran

UPI Pozarik/Gamma-Liaison

AIDS hysteria fuels Moral Majority bigotry. Left: racist demagogue Jerry Falwell in tête-à-tête with Reagan. Right: Queens, New York parents kept thousands of kids out of school to prevent lone AIDS child from attending.

an article in our women's journal on "AIDS and the 'Mortal Sin' Scam" (*Women and Revolution* No. 27, Winter 1983-84) which stated:

> "It isn't surprising that such a paranoid, neurotic reaction to the victims of a truly terrible disease can be generated. In this deeply racist and homophobic society, AIDS hysteria compounds the already ingrained superstitions and prejudices encouraged by bourgeois society."

We do not have ready-made answers to the problem of disease and don't pretend to expertise where medical technology has so far failed. But as Marxists we seek to approach general social questions in a scientific and rational manner. And we fight for a society in which resources can be mobilized on the basis of social needs, not according to what the drug companies find profitable or what's left over after the trillion dollar war budget. To the Reagan reactionaries in the Moral Majority and others of that ilk, science and the principles of the Enlightenment are the devil's work. These inquisitors would like to roll back science, to breed fear, to engender the superstition and helpless terror of previous centuries when man felt himself entirely at the mercy of nature.

AIDS: The New Leprosy

Hysterical fear of a disease which cannot he transmitted by casual contact has engendered deep, howling discrimination against AIDS victims. Gays are treated like the rats in the bubonic plague-ridden Middle Ages. AIDS victims are the new lepers—shunned, outcast, fired from their jobs, denied housing and health and life insuranee, even thrown out of home by their own families. Funeral directors won't embalm their bodies. Many dentists refuse to treat them. Nurses leave patients helplessly lying in their own excrement and refuse to help them eat when they are unable to feed themselves. Lambda Legal Defense Fund of New York reports cases where dying patients were refused permission to have visitors in

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White House Warriors Whip Up

Skyjack Jingoism

Reagan gets to play Rambo in the White House briefing room. Four navy fighter planes intercept an unarmed Egyptian civilian airliner carrying four incompetent Palestinian terrorists, and the American ruling class and media are celebrating like it was the D-Day invasion of Normandy all over again. So we're in for another orgy of flagwaving and chants of "USA! USA!" The last time around was two years ago when Reagan raped the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada. And now, too, we can see the ugly face of racist terror hehind all the jingoism. The very morning America was "standing tall" again, the California offices of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee were bombed, killing the group's regional director, Alex Odeh, and injuring seven. Where is the outcry over this despicable act of terrorism?

Reagan boasts of a great triumph of U.S. military prowess and intelligence: "We did this all by our little selves." But a lot of knowledgeable people suspect it was all set up beforehand. The Italians—perhaps riled hy Reagan's macho posturing—let the cat out of the bag:

> "Senior Italian officials asserted early today that the transport to Italy of the hijackers...was the result of a wide-ranging accord between the United States, Italy, Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Organization.
> "The sources said Egyptian officials notified the Italians of the flight of the four hijackers from Cairo to Tunisia."
> —*New York Times*, 11 October

Some "daring raid"! The entire Sixth Fleet, a floating airport in the Med, managed to detect a single Egyptian civilian airliner but somehow they managed to "miss" a squadron of 16 U.S.-made Israeli fighters which hombed Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in Tunis.

So it was a deal. The U.S. gets to flex its military muscle at no risk. Italy gets to try the Palestinians who hijacked its cruise ship. Egypt gets rid of the hijackers while being ahle to claim it didn't turn them over to the U.S. Israel gets a dead American Jew, which is what they always wanted. And the PLO gets screwed.

The stupid Palestinian hijacking of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* seemed heaven-sent for Reagan's, and Israel's, purposes. Just when the political heat was building up over the criminal U.S.-backed bomhing of the PLO headquarters in Tunisia (see the article "Israel's State Terrorism" on page 3), four Palestinian guerrillas did everything to undermine sympathy for

continued on page 4

Marjorie Stamberg on Black Radio:

"The KKK Doesn't Ride in Moscow!"

On September 30, Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York City mayor, appeared on a WLIB radio afternoon talk show with host Gary Byrd. WLIB is the leading black station in New York. The half-hour interview concluded with call-in questions and responses, which we print below.

Byrd: WLIB, you're on the air with our guest. Go right ahead.

Caller: Hi, this is Dr. Bruce again. Miss Stamberg, I'm listening to what you're saying, and maybe this might be the salvation to get rid of Koch. 'Cause I did vote in the primaries without any luck at all. But I'm liking what you're saying, and I was always an advocate for a third party. Because I think the two-party system is outdated here in America. What I want to ask you, not only [about] police brutality, but what are you going to do, when I vote for you? Are you on the ballot?

Marjorie: Yes, we are on the ballot. We'll be on the independent slot on November 5, both myself and my running mate Ed Kartsen who's running for Manhattan borough president.

WV Photo

Ed Kartsen, Spartacist Party candidate for Manhattan borough president.

Byrd: All right, what are you going to do about the financial situation that we have here in New York?

Marjorie: Well, we call for the expropriation of the banks, of the big Wall Street interests, in the context of a fight for socialist revolution. Because we do think there is plenty of money right here in New York City. But as I said, we think there's a tale of two cities. Right now the city is being run in the interests of the Donald Trumps, the big real estate interests, in the interests of Wall Street, in the interests of the bankers. And these are the same people that are the core of the racist capitalist system, from here to South Africa.

So we are not like the Demoerats and the Republieans, who say, 'well, vote for me and I'll set you free.' We can't make those promises. We don't feel that we can do anything for the working people of this city, outside of a broader struggle. And that is really the point that we are trying to make here.

Byrd: WLIB, final call, go right ahead, please.

Caller: Gary, how are you? I'd like to speak to your guest, please. Are you black?

Marjorie: No, I'm not. I'm a Jewish girl from Philadelphia, I've been in New York for 20 years...

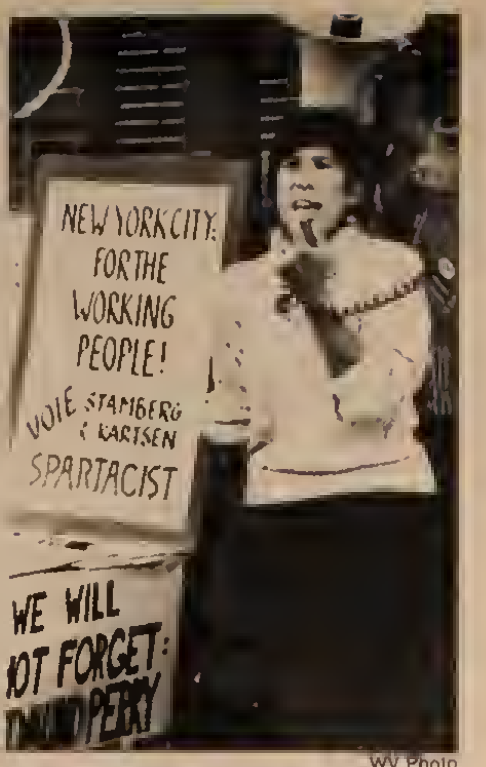
Caller: I'm from Philadelphia myself, come to think of it. But what I really want to ask you is that I spent 27 years in the Marine Corps. I have been to five Communist countries. I have been in Cuba two times. And I see nothing... we're bad enough off with capitalism. Now, Communism, it just doesn't work. We need something else.

Marjorie: Well, I beg to differ with you, very strongly. My father came from Russia during the time of the tsar, my mother's family comes from Poland. And in that period, when they lived in Russia, every time there was any kind of unrest, the tsar would bring in what they called the "Black Hundreds"...

Caller: I'm quite aware of this.

Marjorie: ...and these were the people that would come in and lead racist pogroms against the Jews. Now, since the time of the 1905 Revolution and again most importantly in 1917, it was the integrated workers defense guards, of Jewish people, of Russian people, within the context of that fight for socialist revolution, that organized to put a stop to that racist terror against minorities. And that is the kind of thing we are trying to do here.

And I would say to you, sir, that although we have our differences with the present hureaueraey of the Soviet Union, there's one very important fact there. And that is that the Ku Klux Klan does not ride in Moscow. The people that live in Moscow do not have to be afraid that their government is going to drop a bomb on their city, in order to send black people and minorities a message, the way Reagan did in this country.



WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for NYC mayor.

Caller: Ma'am, I have heen to East Germany. I have seen people there.... I tell you that if I had the choice, I'd rather be here. Even though it's no damn good here. But I'm not telling you what people have told me. I'm telling you what I've seen. I've seen people, you're talking poverty...just like the capitalist system. A few people benefit, the majority suffers. You have an Iron Curtain there, all right? We have an invisible curtain here, but we don't have any money to get out of here. We need something else.

Marjorie: Well, again, I heg to differ with you very strongly. Let me tell you one statistic. And that is that the present rate of infant mortality in Harlem is much, much higher than even in the most rural and backward sections of Cuba. And the difference is that that's a country that kicked out its capitalist dictatorship. And that's a country that although it has many problems, has begun to organize society in the interest of the working people. Now, there's many problems, but we have mueh to defend in the Soviet Union, in Cuba. And that's one thing that we want to make very elear, that it's a part of our fight here in New York City, where we're living in Reagan's America, who threatens everybody. ■

TROTSKY

Trotsky on "The Three L's"

The German Spartacists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were revolutionary internationalists and founders of the Germàn Communist Party. Trotsky defended Luxemburg against both her Stalinist detractors and centrists who exaggerated and generalized her political weaknesses into an anti-Leninist theory of "spontaneity."

LENIN

The crisis of proletarian leadership cannot, of course, be overcome by means of an abstract formula. It is a question of an extremely prolonged process. Not of a purely "historical" process, that is, of the objective premises of conscious activity, but of an uninterrupted chain of ideologieal, political, and organizational measures for the purpose of fusing together the best, most conscious elements of the world proletariat beneath a spotless banner, elements whose number and self-confidenee must be constantly strengthened, whose connections with wider sections of the proletariat must be developed and deepened—in a word, of restoring to the proletariat, under new and highly difficult and onerous conditions, its historieal leadership. Thc latest spontaneity confusionists have just as little right to refer to Rosa as the miserable Comintern bureauerats have to refer to Lenin. Put asidc thc ineidentals which developmcnts have overcome, and we can, with full justification, place our work for the Fourth International under the sign of the "threc L's," that is, under thc sign not only of Lenin, but also of Luxemburg and Liebkneeht.

—Leon Trotsky, "Luxemburg and the Fourth International" (June 1935)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 389 **18 October 1985**

A Didactic Error

The latest issue of the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (Oetober 1985), in a statement on the New York City election eampaign, makes the following assertion:

> "Only one of the announced candidates for Mayor of New York has any program that addresses these [housing, transportation, police terror] and other critical problems facing working New Yorkers. That candidate is Andrea Gonzalez, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party."

BIDOM is puhlished by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, made up of long-time cadres of the SWP expelled in the notorious "age purge" a couple of years ago. The statement endorsing Gonzalez is part and parcel of its standing policy of trying to win readmission to Jack Barnes's organization. The FIT prides itself on being "anti-sectarian," which in the reformist vocabulary usually denotes support for some popular-front scheme or another against "ultralefts" who hold the class line. But here we have a genuinely sectarian position, subordinating the truth to their line appetites. It is a flat error, and an instructive one.

In fact, the SWP is not the only working-elass tendency running in the NYC election. The Communist Party and the Spartacist League are fielding credihle candidates—CP leader Jarvis Tyner for mayor on the "People Before Profits" ticket, and Spartacists Marjorie Stamberg for mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan horough president, respectively. The SL and the CP, in its fashion, are also "addressing...critical prohlems facing working New Yorkers." The question is, in the service of reformism or revolution?

Perhaps, comrades of the FIT, you might take a moment to discuss the *politics* of the respective working-class tendencies in the NYC eleetions.

IAF

U.S.-supplied israeli warplanes demolish PLO headquarters in Tunis, kliiing 70 and wounding many more.

Parrot/Sygma

Israel's State Terrorism

It was just after 10 a.m. on October 1. Eighteen Israeli aircraft had flown 1,500 miles across the Mediterranean to reach their target just south of Tunis: the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Eight of the U.S.-supplied high performance jet fighter-bombers (reported to be either F-16s, F-15s, or both) swept low to avoid radar detection, screamed over the Tunisian coast and unleashed their payload of devastation and death below. Seventy Palestinians and Tunisians were killed, another 100 wounded. Stating the simple naked truth, Tunisian foreign minister Beji Caid Essebsi called the raid an act of "state terrorism."

Israeli war minister Yitzhak Rabin bragged about the terror strike: "The long arm of the IDF [Israeli "Defense" Forces] can reach terrorism wherever it is located." Israel fights "terrorism" the way the Mafia fights crime. The Zionist rulers are international terrorists and outlaws who think they can strike any target, any time, anywhere, in the service of forging an *Eretz* ("Greater") Israel that stretches from the Nile to the Euphrates.

For them, law and national boundaries, international codes of conduct and diplomatic norms mean less than nothing. The present Israeli foreign minister is Yitzhak Shamir who as leader of the ultraright Stern Gang was personally responsible for assassinating Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations-appointed mediator during the 1948 Israel-Arab war. When a Libyan commercial airliner strayed over the Sinai in 1973, the Israeli air force blew it out of the sky, sending more than 100 passengers and crew to a fiery death. In that same year Israel's international Murder Inc., the Mossad, committed a machine-gun assassination of an innocent waiter in Norway because he was suspected to be a PLO cadre. When Iraq started the construction of a nuclear reactor Israel bombed it to smithereens, although it is one of the world's best advertised "secrets" that Israel has possessed nuclear weapons for more than a decade.

Karl Schumacher

As Reagan hosts Jordan's King Hussein, the butcher of Black September, Israelis bomb Near East "peace process."

For Israel, every Palestinian is a "terrorist," every refugee camp a "free-fire zone." Using the pretext of an assassination attempt against their ambassador to Britain (which may have been a Mossad job to begin with) Israel staged its 1982 *blitzkrieg* into Lebanon, culminating in the siege of Beirut and the genocidal holocaust of Shatila and Sabra. Thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese were massacred, tens of thousands more were rendered homeless and sent into a new diaspora. Israel still arrogantly patrols the Lebanese coast as if it were its own, wantonly hijacking boats; today the Star of David serves as the skull and crossbones in the eastern Mediterranean. Using the pretext of three Israelis killed aboard a yacht moored in Larnaca, Cyprus, Jerusalem's terror strike in Tunisia was just another bloody day's work for these Zionist gangsters with state power.

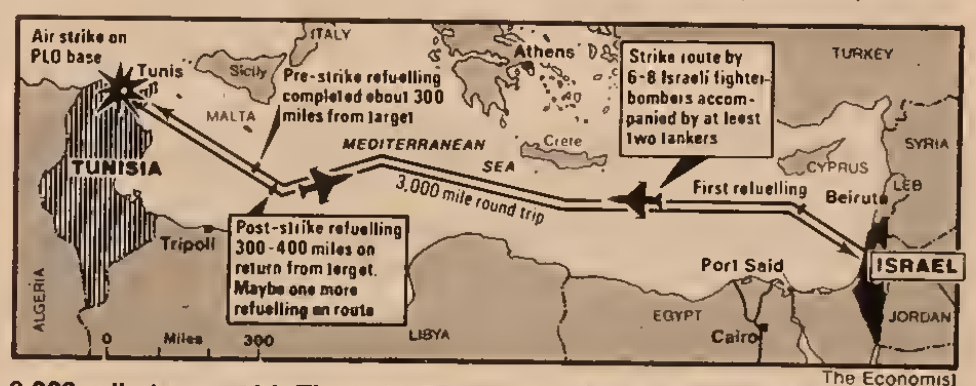
"Israeli-American Ambush"

Washington claimed it had no foreknowledge of the Israeli terror strike in Tunisia, but there was no way such a mission could have been conducted without U.S. complicity. The U.S. Sixth Fleet patrols the Mediterranean as if it were an American lake. At the time of the raid the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* (from which Reagan's skyjack was launched) and her seven ship escort were patrolling the eastern Mediterranean as part of a NATO exercise called "Display Determination"! A PLO spokesman at the UN claimed the U.S. helped jam Egyptian radar along the way while the British press reports the U.S. supplied satellite photos to the Israelis to aid their strike. The fighter-bombers, tankers and reconnaissance planes used for this deadly mission were all "made in the USA"—and in large measure paid for by the USA, too.

Israel's terror strike is fully in keeping with Reagan's "international terror" campaign with its blood-lust calls for "pre-emptive" and "retaliatory" strikes. So it was hardly surprising that the most ruthless and bloodiest terrorists in the world, the U.S. imperialists, were quick to endorse the Israeli bombing as a "legitimate...expression of self-defense" in the words of that White House minister of disinformation, Larry Speakes. The principal target the Israeli murder mission missed was PLO leader Yasir Arafat. As he stood amidst the rubble left by the Israeli jets, Arafat commented bitterly about Washington: "It was a very important message which I have received today." Later, he aptly called the attack "an Israeli-American ambush."

U.S. "Peace Process" Bombed

But the Israeli raid would also appear to have chosen an awkward target and come at an awkward time for the U.S. While Israel remains the most important American military ally in the Near East, the Reagan administration has sought to gather together all the "pro-Western" powers in the region into one grand anti-Soviet "strategic consensus." Given that the region is a seething cauldron of murderous nationalist



The Economist

3,000-mile terror raid: Zionists believe they have the right to bomb anyone, anywhere, anytime.

enmities, such a "strategic consensus" is an imperialist mission impossible. The Zionists recognize only one strategic consensus: the only "moderate" Arab is a dead Arab.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia was particularly miffed by the U.S. endorsement of the Israeli raid, since no Arab country can claim to be more "pro-Western" and "moderate" than his. Bourguiba has long stood for peace with Israel and took the PLO refugees from Beirut only under U.S. pressure. Further, Tunisia is the only Arab country with elements of constitutional democracy, an independent labor movement and which still has a substantial Jewish community of 5,000 (to the chagrin of Zionists). Tunisian Jews sharply condemned Israel's outrageous bombing and a delegation representing the chief rabbi of Tunis attended a funeral for the victims.

The Israeli raid took place one day after Reagan was entertaining Jordan's King Hussein at the White House. Reagan sees in the Hashemite monarch—whose kingdom, crown and army were the artificial creations of British colonialism—a key player in the Near East anti-Soviet "consensus." The Pentagon wants to sell Hussein $2 billion in advanced military hardware, including F-20 fighter jets and Hawk antiaircraft missiles. But this proposal has been blocked in Congress. On this issue Israel has more Senators than Reagan.

The White House sees a possible "solution" to the Palestinian "problem" in Amman's potentate who is known as the Butcher of Black September for suppressing a September 1970 uprising of Jordan's Palestinian majority, slaughtering more than 10,000 Palestinians. Under this scheme, the Israeli-occupied West Bank, seized from Jordan in the 1967 war, is to be returned either in whole, or more likely in part, to Amman as a Palestinian "mini-state."

Arafat, having sold his fighters into exile for American "protection," now sells the PLO flag to serve as Amman's puppet in a West Bank bantustan. From Washington's standpoint the precondition for this is that the PLO explicitly accept UN resolutions 242 and 338 by which the PLO recognizes Israel in exchange for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. Arafat may have been on the verge of doing just that: But Israel has no intention of giving up these territories, so Arafat had to be stopped.

By launching a murder raid against the PLO's headquarters, the Zionist leaders figured they could get rid of the "Arafat problem" for good, or at least sabotage the U.S.' "peace process." Israel demonstrated exactly what it thought of these UN resolutions during its siege of Beirut when the temporary silence of fragile cease-fires would be broken by massive shelling precisely at 2:42 and 3:38. As Arafat stated while looking over the wreckage that was once his headquarters: "Israel has bombed the peace process."

Just before the Tunis raid, Reagan had expressed confidence that Israeli-Jordanian talks could start by December. The raid clearly demonstrated otherwise. Trying to recoup some of the diplomatic damage done by the Israeli bombing the White House seemed to back off from its initial endorsement and take the contradictory line that the raid was "understandable" but "cannot be condoned." But on October 6 Secretary of State Shultz phoned Shamir to

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Skyjack...

(continued from page 1)

their cause. Of all nationalities, they hijacked an Italian ship. (Italy is known to be friendly to the Palestinian cause—no doubt, Libyan oil helps.) They threatened a cross section of Europeans and a handful of Americans, and then to top it off, they apparently wantonly and criminally murdered Leon Klinghoffer, an elderly Jewish American confined to a wheelchair.

Of course, for Reagan the lives of white middle-class Americans are the only ones that count in the world—Tunisians, Palestinians, Italians, Egyptians, you name it, all are expendable as far as the White House is concerned. There wasn't even a show of concern for the hundreds of Italian crewmen aboard the hijacked ship. The Soviet Union reminded the world of an even more egregious act in the past. In 1970 two right-wing Lithuanians hijacked a Soviet Aeroflot plane and murdered a flight attendant. This pair of terrorists were eventually granted *asylum* in the U.S., where officials refused Soviet extradition requests.

AP

Day after Reagan's skyjacking of Egyptian plane, terrorist bombing in Southern California kills Alex Odeh, leader of American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

The crimes of Palestinian terrorists pale before those of the Israeli Zionists whose terrorism has behind it state power. The Palestinian terrorists are the product of an oppressed and desperate people. Some of the *Achille Lauro* hijackers are reported to be survivors of the Sabra/Shatila massacre, organized by Israeli war criminal Ariel Sharon.

The *Achille Lauro* hijacking played right into the hands of the biggest and most dangerous terrorists of all, the U.S. imperialists. Reagan's skyjacking of an Egyptian airliner encourages him to think he can be military policeman of the world. "We will do this again if the opportunity presents itself," hoasts White House spokesman Larry Speakes. One of the effects of Reagan's unbridled imperialist arrogance in the name of "fighting terrorism" is that Americans traveling abroad are *more likely* to become targets of nationalist terrorism.

The most frightening part of the whole affair is the maniacal pleasure Reagan and Pentagon chief Weinberger displayed over skyjacking an unarmed civilian airliner. Remember these men have their fingers on the nuclear button. We had better be thankful that the Russians are not pushovers and they are certainly not unarmed. We had better get rid of our violence-crazed rulers before they get rid of us. ■

Israel...

(continued from page 3)

assure him that the U.S. still considered the raid "legitimate" and authorized the Israelis to make his views public.

Israel Wants War

The Israelis want no peace talks—they are already planning the next war. In the Israeli mainstream press, such talk is open, as in this typical excerpt from the authoritative *Ha'aretz* (4 July):

> "The introduction of advanced fighter planes and of mobile land air missile batteries into Hussein's Army might force Israel to react in advance with a preventive blow against this Army.
> "...even when a war breaks out where Jordan takes no part, there will be no choice but to use Israeli forces, especially the Air Force, to strike at Hussein's Army a preventive blow to neutralize its offensive capacity."

And here's another typical quote from *Davar* (1 July):

> "The Soviet regime is the principal source of international terrorism.... Syria is the root of terrorism in the Middle East, especially against the state of Israel. The western world in general and Israel in particular must cut off the head of this cancer, if necessary by force....
> "The conception must include preventive warfare against terrorism irrespective of its activities in the field."

Noted Israeli civil rights advocate Israel Shahak, who supplied these quotes in his newsletter (30 July), commented pointedly that such venomous clarion calls are "not in any way exceptional so far as the declarations emanating from the highest military and political circles in Israel are concerned. What is more, they are fully in accord with the Israeli strategical thought, as it developed from the creation of [the] State of Israel."

Meanwhile the Israeli electorate is deeply polarized. Large sections of the Hebrew-speaking population, especially the youth of Near Eastern Jewish origins, have moved to the *right* of both governing "Labor"/Likud coalition partners, embracing openly fascistic sentiments for genocide of Palestinians articulated by Meir Kahane. At the same time a section of the Hebrew-speaking population of European origin is growing weary of living in a Zionist garrison state, with its 1,000 percent inflation, confiscatory war-budget taxation, the growing theocratic powers of the orthodox rabbinate who have become the ayatollahs of the Zionist state, and the endless state of war and state of siege in the occupied territories and with the neighboring Arab states.

The Zionist rulers bombed the Reagan-Hussein "peace process" because *they need war* to recover from their humiliating retreat from Lebanon, to reassert their domination of the occupied territories as part of *Eretz Israel* and to unify the deeply polarized Hebrew-speaking *Volk* (people). Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon, because they behaved like Nazi SS stormtroopers, managed to turn every sector of that bitterly divided cauldron of national, communal and religious animosity and irredentism—including the largest grouping, the Muslim Shi'ites—into hate-filled enemies of Israel.

Likewise, in the West Bank the Israelis have systematically eliminated through murder and expulsion all the moderate Palestinian leaders who ran in the 1976 Israeli-sponsored municipal elections and who would be willing to come to terms with both Amman and Jerusalem. In reviewing a book by Israeli academic Moshe Ma'oz called *Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank*, Avishai Margalit wrote in the September 26 issue of the *New York Review of Books* that by the time the book was finished, "it turned out that all but one of the mayors he deals with were no longer mayors: all were deposed, some were expelled (Muhamad Milhem and Fahd Qawasma), some were badly wounded by 'non-moderate' Jewish terrorists (Karim Khalef and Bassam Shak'a)."

While kill-crazy Zionist settlers run amok with their Uzis and grenades (generously supplied by the Israeli military authorities) a new generation of Palestinian youth is *fighting back*. They are reminiscent of black and "coloured" youth of South Africa in their courage and in the justice of their cause, the struggle to regain their birthright. As the *New York Times* Jerusalem correspondent Thomas Friedman wrote, "These Palestinians have known no other life than that of Israeli occupation, and they refuse to accept the docility of their elders." Friedman quotes the noted military correspondent for the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, Zeev Schiff: "The events which are occurring [in the occupied territories] are the buds of a civil war" (*New York Times*, 3 October).

But like the black and coloured youth of South Africa, these Palestinian youth with kitchen knives, pistols and an occasional grenade in hand face a one-sided overwhelming preponderance of force on the side of their oppressors, and they lack a Marxist political leadership that can show them the proletarian road to national liberation. Within the PLO there is a division of labor between Arafat the "diplomat" and shadowy groups like the Palestine Liberation Front which commit indefensible grisly terrorist stunts to provide a fig leaf as Arafat sells out the Palestinian birthright to the Butcher of Black September, the imperialists and the Zionists, if only the latter would play. The other factions of Palestinian nationalism are only divided on which Arab despot and enemy of the Palestinian people to sell out to this week.

The Israeli rulers want war and they have their fingers on the nuclear trigger. A leading U.S. authority, Colonel William V. Kennedy, referring to data gathered by American spy satellites, reports that during the 1973 Near East war:

> "Israel's Jericho surface-to-surface missiles were armed with nuclear warheads in a frantic three days of activity centred around Dimona in the Negev. These 20KT warheads could have been launched against targets in Cairo or Damascus, and a political decision had been made that if Israel's borders were violated the country would unleash a quick flurry to warn Arab forces that continuation of the war would result in their own destruction."
> —*Intelligence Warfare* (1983)

Another Israeli-Arab war in the context of the American-led anti-Soviet war drive threatens to rapidly escalate into nuclear confrontation between the U.S. and USSR as almost occurred in the 1973 war. The Near East can become the trip wire for World War III, posing the military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and imperiling the very survival of humanity.

But Israel is not South Africa, the Zionist rulers have neither the human nor material resources of the Afrikaners, nor are the Hebrew people as a whole living off the superexploitation of Arab labor as whites live off of black labor in South Africa. Of course, Israeli capitalists increasingly rely on super-exploited labor from the West Bank, but no matter how fanatically anti-Arab, the Israeli Jew of Near Eastern origin is hardly better off than the Palestinian laborer from Galilee or Hebron. Nationalism is a dead end for the oppressed Palestinians, Zionism is a deathtrap for the Jews of Israel. The urgent requirement is a revolutionary party of Arab and Hebrew workers to fight for the genuine realization of the right of self-determination for both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew peoples in a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

WV Photo

Week Five Totals

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Cop Murder of Anti-Nazi Protester Sparks

German Youth Revolt Against Gestapo Measures

Protesting a neo-Nazi meeting recently in Frankfurt, West Germany, anti-fascist militant Günther Sare was run over by a police water cannon. The killer cops were acting under the orders of the Social Democratic (SPD) interior minister of the state of Hesse. Thousands of angry demonstrators throughout the country lashed out against this cold-blooded state murder. For several nights West German cities presented an eerie scene as flames leapt from burning autos while police helicopters swept the streets with powerful searchlights. Hundreds were arrested. A total ban on demonstrations was decreed in Frankfurt.

The West German state made it clear that it will brook no challenge to its "authority." For months, Christian Democratic federal interior minister Friedrich Zimmermann has been pulling the strings in a mounting attack on leftists. Last year this notorious right-winger and his so-called Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*—West Germany's "democratic" Gestapo) launched an "anti-extremist" smear campaign equating leftists with fascists and prominently displaying the *Spartakist* logo of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands along with Nazi swastikas (see *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984).

The police murder and subsequent uproar in the streets has rocked the shaky Bonn government. On October 9, two to three thousand people came to the funeral of Günther Sare to pay their last respects. Our German comrades took part in a September 30 Frankfurt protest with signs including: "Vengeance for Günther Sare! Jail the Murderers!" and "Stop Cop/Nazi Terror by Mass Actions of Unionists, Foreign Workers and Jewish Organizations!"

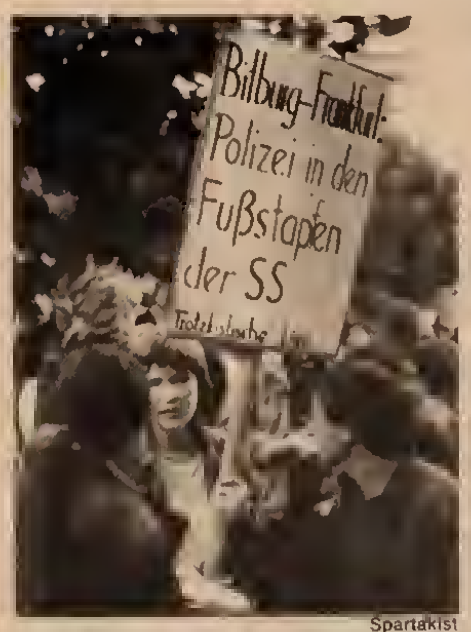
We reprint below a translation of a TLD leaflet that was distributed at the 4,000-strong Hamburg protest, October 6.

Der Spiegel

Under order of local Social Democratic officials, West German cops surround anti-fascist protesters in Frankfurt.

Bitburg in Action: Cops Kill for Nazis

On September 28, 36-year-old locksmith Günther Sare was brutally murdered by Frankfurt police in a savage water cannon assault as over 700 unionists and leftists protested a fascist NPD [National Democratic Party] meeting in Frankfurt am Main. In an attack planned at the highest levels with Zimmermann's *Verfassungsschutz*, cops surrounded the protest in the proletarian Gallus district and unleashed an orgy of murderous violence to protect the Nazi scum from the enraged protesters. This grisly premeditated murder must be avenged by the working class! Jail the killer cops!



Spartakist

German Trotskyists of the TLD say, "Bitburg-Frankfurt: Police follow in SS footsteps."

For the present West German state—Hitler's heirs—Cold War II at home means open season on all those who dare to express their hatred of the fascists. The West German cops got their orders in Bitburg over SS graves. Now, in Frankfurt and a whole host of other West German cities, the bosses' hired killers are marching in the footsteps of the SS—just as in Philadelphia, Brixton, South Africa; just as they step up their pogroms against immigrant workers. And yet the response of the German nationalist "left" is to turn to precisely this state and to appeal to the bourgeoisie that ran Auschwitz to stop the fascists.

This was no "routine" demonstration and no "routine" cop attack. German and immigrant workers, women, oppressed minorities and youth know that the NPD means genocidal racism and anti-Semitism—Babi Yar, Bergen-Belsen, Auschwitz. And the eruption of volatile protests shows that a lot of people are burning with rage to smash this scum and their bloody terror now. This struggle is in the vital interest of *all* the oppressed, and it strikes at the very heart of capitalist rule. What's necessary to draw together these struggles, and consistently lead them in the strategy of the proletarian seizure of power, is a revolutionary workers party!

The "far-sighted," "left" nationalists, taking the SPD bureaucrats' cue, do their utmost to lead all protest to the altar of capital. The Greens prostrate themselves before a state savagely slashing democratic rights and with a worker's blood fresh on its hands, begging abjectly that it ban the fascists and "demilitarize" the cops as a better prop for capitalist rule. The Stalinist DKP [German Communist Party] beseeches the state to have its cops do the clubbing "to protect democracy and no longer to protect the enemies of democracy," i.e., to go after the real enemies of the constitution. They turn their backs on the demonstrators and hail demonstrating police in Kiel as class-struggle unionists (*Unsere Zeit*, 1 October). Drop all charges against anti-fascist protesters! Stop the police manhunt!

The enraged German bourgeoisie is hell-bent on ruthlessly smashing the broad potential in the population for struggle against fascist terror, in order to galvanize the masses for the anti-Soviet war drive. Frankfurt is in a state of siege. Two days after the protest the latest Stammheim trial began against three accused militants of the RAF [Red Army Faction—referred to by the media as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"], another chilling reminder of what the bourgeoisie has in store for those leftist opponents it brands as criminals. Protesting youth are smeared as "terrorists" and "chaos mongers"—"inferior people" who deserve nothing but torture and death. According to the smear, "red equals brown" [communist equals Nazi], but the real targets are the left—as shown by the Hesse *Verfassungsschutz* Report for 1984, reprinted in the SPD-dominated *Frankfurter Rundschau* only days before the anti-Nazi protest. Today the cops murder for the brown-shirt scum; tomorrow the bosses would not hesitate to use them to do their bloody work against the entire organized working class.

Once again the SPD bureaucrats play the role of the bourgeoisie's "bloodhounds" in organizing state repression. Günther Sare was murdered under the administration of Hesse's violence-baiting SPD minister of the interior Winterstein. On their way home in the evening, horrified Frankfurt residents need hours to get through the police cordons. Turning a corner they may find themselves driving toward a tank with a machine gun turret, like the ones used by the Federal Border Police. All this, courtesy of Winterstein. A cop is a cop, and an SPD party card makes no difference, as Trotsky said of the Weimar police.

The ÖTV (government employees) unionists who were there on September 28 are representatives of the only class that can lead youth, immigrant workers and other minorities in the struggle to stop the fascists and cop terror. On September 29, five thousand people—youth, workers, decent people—demonstrated spontaneously, but the DGB/SPD tops held back the trade-union ranks from organized protests. To unleash the power of the unions, to combat mass unemployment and the state-of-siege conditions the bosses are now giving them a taste of, militant unionists must break the stranglehold of their reformist misleaders and forge a class-struggle leadership which stands on the program of proletarian revolution and under the leadership of the revolutionary party. Such a party would have sought to mobilize militant contingents of several thousand metal workers from Opel and other big plants on September 28 to teach the fascists a lesson they would not soon forget.

The current explosion of outrage poses the need to break politically with "left" German nationalism at a time when the Social Democrats—yesterday's "pacifists"—are literally crushing protesters to death in the service of Cold War. Class struggle must blow apart the class peace (*Burgfrieden*) of German imperialism! Only a fight led by a multinational revolutionary Trotskyist party to establish a workers government can do away with fascism and endless capitalist terror. Jail the killer cops! Stop Nazi/police terror through mass actions by the unions, immigrant workers and Jewish organizations! ■

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
(Editor)

Open Letter to the Communist Party

The following statement was issued October 15 by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee.

According to the *Daily World*, New York State Communist Party leader and mayoral candidate Jarvis Tyner has said the CP's "People Before Profits" slate would "challenge other candidates to debate." The Spartacist Party, running Marjorie Stamberg for NYC mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president, accepts your challenge.

A look at the respective platforms will show that the difference between the CP and Spartacist campaigns is the difference between reformism and revolution.

• "People Before Profits" calls for a "united slate of progressives," and indeed, the Communist Party is not running in its own name in this election. This bogus "anti-Koch unity" is an attempt to keep opposition to the racist mayor tied to the capitalist Democratic Party. The PBP dropped a CPer as candidate for city council president in order to put on George McDonald, a self-described "independent Democrat." And the *Daily World* crows that your Brooklyn city council candidate Maria Ramos was a delegate to the '84 Democratic National Convention and a leading local organizer for Jesse Jackson in the Democratic primary.

The Jackson campaign, which included tea and pecan rolls with George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace, was to bring out the black vote for Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale. You had no problem with this, of course, because the CP's whole "Dump Reagan" campaign was aimed at electing Democrat Mondale as a "lesser evil." Tying the working class to the capitalist Democrats has been the CP's stock in trade since the days of the People's Front when you backed FDR and his Dixiecrat veep in '36. And don't forget the 1972 fiasco when Gus Hall admitted that 30-40 percent of your party, including CCers, voted not for the CP ticket but for Democrat George McGovern.

The PBP campaign is explicitly to *pressure* racist mayor Koch. The *Daily World* quotes Jarvis Tyner saying that "this election needs to be dramatically pressured from the left," and "Koch can be forced to acquiesce to community pressure." The Trotskyists say working people, blacks, all the oppressed must *break* from the Democrats. The Spartacist platform says: Kick out Koch! Down with the partner parties of the capitalist ruling class! Build a fighting workers party!

• Racist cop brutality is running rampant throughout the city, particularly in black and Hispanic neighborhoods. You call for "democratization of the police" through a civilian control board. This is the same tack taken by Reagan's ambassador to Pretoria who recently called on South Africa to set up a complaint board on police brutality, as a way of defusing the black revolt!

From Soweto to Harlem, what we're dealing with is a *system* of racist terror. As Marxists, we understand that the police of the capitalist state can never serve the interests of the working people; as the armed fist of the ruling class they are professional strikebreakers and enforcers of racist oppression. The Spartacists call for mass mobilizations of the working class and oppressed, for armed integrated union defense guards of responsible men and women, to stop the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms.

• With an army of 60,000 homeless in the streets and rents skyrocketing out of sight, the housing squeeze is a big reason why NYC today is hell for working people. The PBP platform criticizes Koch's budget as a boondoggle and calls for construction of 50,000 new housing units, but Koch beat you at your own reformist game, calling for construction of 100,000 units! The actual shortage is far larger—even by official statistics 175,000 New Yorkers are waiting for public housing.

And who's going to build it—rent-gouging real estate speculators like Donald Trump who pull Koch's strings? PBP calls for an end to tax abatements on luxury developments, pressuring the banks to change their portfolios, demanding "that New York banks, which have over $5 billion invested in South Africa, divest their holdings and reinvest in New York." We say you can't solve New York's housing crisis without an assault on the capitalists' "sacred" property rights: Expropriate the real estate robber barons and banks! Homeless should seize Trump City!

End tax abatements, divest, reinvest? The "Communist" Party's program has nothing in common with communism. Asked once what kinds of hills the Bolshevik representatives should put forward in the tsar's Duma, Lenin reportedly replied: "You had better introduce a 'Bill' stating that in three years time we shall take you all, black-hearted landlords, and hang you all on the lamp-posts. That would be a real 'Bill'." Bolsheviks look not to the capitalist state but to the organized power of the working class.

• The CP's campaign to pressure Koch has a certain logic, since your own program is only slightly to the left of the mayor's, and often not even that. On South Africa, the PBP calls for "divesting all city funds from companies that do business with South Africa." Koch brags he's *already* divested city council funds—*meanwhile his cops are shooting down black youth in Harlem*. Koch calls for petitioning Reagan for total sanctions against South Africa; CP/PBP candidate Tyner calls this "a positive move," but urges people to "bypass Koch's letter" and write their own.

Now the divesters have got their wish, pressuring Reagan to ban Krugerrands, getting the banks to hedge their options and pull billions of dollars out of South Africa. How has this helped blacks in South Africa struggling for their freedom? The Spartacist campaign says: no divestment illusions in blood-sucking imperialists—for international labor action! At the August 13 anti-apartheid demonstration, Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen called on labor to shut down New York with a one-day protest strike against racist cop terror, from Harlem to Soweto.

• The PBP campaigns to keep New York harbor a "nuclear free port," because "the seven ships to be homeported at Staten Island would make New York an active participant in the arms race and a prime target in the event of war." As if it isn't already! This absurd plan would supposedly keep the Big Apple immune from the dangers of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive (while everybody in Jersey gets zapped). Besides, if the U.S. got a Staten Island navy port activated, the Soviets could knock it out with a single cruise missile—which is a good thing.

Ed Koch, the man you seek to "pressure to the left" so he will make more "positive moves," is a rabid anti-Soviet mad dog. Lately he's been shooting his mouth off at the UN equating the USSR and South African apartheid! Marxists oppose U.S. imperialism and the whole military establishment, not arguing about where any one item in the Pentagon's arsenal should be located. The Spartacist candidates forthrightly call to: Defend the Soviet Union, birthplace of the first workers revolution! For workers democracy, for revolutionary internationalism—return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

You say "People Before Profits." We say the capitalists put nothing before their profits. The PBP program is for pressuring the bourgeoisie, from Koch to Rockefeller. The Spartacists say, as Frederick Engels wrote of the housing crisis a century ago, that the only solution is "abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life and labour by the working class itself." We are running in this election, as the Bolsheviks did—as a platform to mobilize the working class and the oppressed in the struggle for proletarian revolution. ■

Anti-apartheid march, New York City, August 13: While Stalinist CP (below) appeals to Wall Street to reshuffle its South African portfolio, Spartacist League (left) stands for class struggle from Harlem to Soweto.

WV Photos

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Anti-Trotskyists Revile Our Vietnamese Martyrs

We reprint below an article published by our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand in Australasian Spartacist *No. 113, October/November 1985.*

When it comes to betraying revolutionary principle, the Australian Socialist Workers Party always likes to go their U.S. counterparts one better. Where the American SWP politely debates fascist Klansmen on TV, the Australian SWP apologises for the genocidal Croatian fascist Ustashi. And when Jack Barnes denounces Trotsky and the doctrine of permanent revolution as ultraleft dogma, Jim Percy openly glories in one of the ugliest episodes in the annals of Stalinist butchery: the 1945 murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, martyred for their militant opposition to the reinvasion of Vietnam by imperialist troops at the end of World War II. Now these Australian reformists have renounced Trotskyism altogether.

The disparate, and increasingly desperate, groupings that make up the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) have long lived with the glaring contradiction between their professed Trotskyism and their actual political practice of sucking up to social democrats, nationalists and Stalinists. In the case of the Australian SWP, that contradiction has finally resolved itself. The August 28 issue of their paper *Direct Action* announces they are splitting from the USec, openly expressing the dream of reformists everywhere, to obtain "mass influence" on the cheap, renouncing and denouncing Trotskyism in the most categorical terms. SWP national secretary Percy proclaimed:

> "In the end, our political position is a total negation of the whole reason for the existence of the Fourth International.... I think it was wrong to form the Fourth International in the first place.... In the end the organisational form cut off Trotsky and the Trotskyists from any other possibility of development of the Communist movement."

Today, says *Direct Action*, the Cuban Communist Party, the Salvadoran FMLN, the Nicaraguan FSLN and the Vietnamese CP are "dynamically and creatively" dealing with political developments. Percy & Co. neglect to mention other "creative" organisations they have embraced lately, including the Croatian pro-fascist HDP and the American Democratic Party. Australian SWP conferences heard speeches by Peter Camejo, a consummately cynical former honcho of the American SWP, and John Trinkl, the resident anti-Trotskyist and anti-Spartacist for the rad-lib Stalinoid New York *Guardian*. Last year, Camejo and Trinkl supported black Democrat Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition," and the *Guardian* endorsed the Mondale-Ferraro Democratic Party ticket against Reagan in the '84 elections.

Australasian Spartacist

Melbourne Sun

Polish Consulate, Sydney, December 1981: Australian SWP and fascistic "Captive Nations" cabal in "solidarity" with Solidarność' aborted counter-revolution, above. Now, SWP honcho Jim Percy (left) in solidarity with Stalinist massacre of Vietnamese Trotskyists.

The latest issue of the American SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (23 September) has 27 pages devoted to the split by their Australian ex-comrades. An article by Steve Clark labels a 1984 pamphlet by Australian SWP leader Allen Myers on *The Vietnamese Revolution and Its Leadership* an "Accommodation to Stalinist Positions." That's putting it mildly. Myers shamelessly *defends the murder of hundreds of Vietnamese Trotskyists*, the leaders of workers militias who 40 years ago fought against the British and French colonialists welcomed with open arms by the Stalinist-led Viet Minh. Myers writes of the August-September 1945 Saigon insurrection:

> "During this extremely perilous period for the revolution, the Saigon Trotskyists appear to have outdone themselves in pursuing a sectarian, ultraleft line that would have prevented any real struggle against the imperialist enemy[!]. During the mass demonstration on August 21, for example, the Trotskyists 'unfurled a huge banner of the Fourth International. According to an observer sympathetic to the International Communist League, they carried banners and placards reading:
>
> "'Down with imperialism! Long live the world revolution! Long live the workers and peasants front! People's committees everywhere! For the people's assembly! Arm the people! Land to the peasants! Nationalize the factories under workers control! For a workers and peasants government!'"

According to Myers, the fact that 30,000 people joined the Trotskyists only made this "ultraleft posturing" of the Trotskyists more "dangerous"!

> "The decision to disarm the Trotskyists before they went from words to actions was obviously a wise and necessary one....
>
> "It was at this time that leaders of the Trotskyists and of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists were executed. According to most sources, the executions were ordered by Tran Van Giau.
>
> "The Trotskyists and their nationalist allies had made a major contribution to the near-destruction of the revolution in the South. Preventing further damage, if necessary by physical repression, was imperative."

Tran Van Giau, says Myers, was forced to go through "*kiem thao* (self-criticism)" because of "excesses." But not the Australian SWP—they *hail* this murder.

Percy & Co. indulge in a little *kiem thao* themselves for their past "misjudgment" of the Vietnamese Communist Party as Stalinist and apologise for their former adherence to "the false schema of the theory of Permanent Revolution." Myers' pamphlet, unanimously adopted by the Australian SWP leadership in October 1984, rivals the dirtiest Stalinist frame-ups against Trotskyism from the time of the 1930s Moscow trials. Today *Intercontinental Press* says this is an attempt to justify "a crime against the revolution *that can have no justification*." Yet this vile anti-Trotskyist diatribe was openly distributed at the USec's "12th World Congress" earlier this year without a peep from any of the participants!

We Spartacists, who seek to continue the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky, published a pamphlet in 1976 defending the Vietnamese Trotskyists against such despicable slanders. *Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam* was dedicated

> "to the martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists. The most uncompromising fighters against imperialism, they led the 1945 Saigon insurrection against the reinvading colonialists. For this heroic struggle they were massacred not only by the French and British expeditionary forces, but above all by the Stalinist Viet Minh. Today renegades from Trotskyism hail the Vietnamese Stalinists... absolving them of responsibility for the vile murders of Ta Thu Thau and hundreds of other Vietnamese Fourth Internationalists. But the international Spartacist tendency proudly upholds the banner of Vietnamese Trotskyism."

The 1945 Saigon Insurrection

Following Stalin's line of collaboration with the Allied forces in World War II, the Stalinist-led Viet Minh cooperated with Kuomintang China against the Japanese. When the defeated Japanese withdrew their occupation forces in 1945, the Viet Minh held effective state power. Betraying the aspirations of the Vietnamese masses for independence, the Viet Minh openly welcomed the return of British and French troops to Saigon. Stalinist leader Tran Van Giau declared: "Those who incite the people to arm themselves will be considered saboteurs and provocateurs, enemies of national independence. Our democratic liberties will be granted and guaranteed by the democratic allies." On September 7 Giau issued a decree disarming all non-government organisations, in particular aimed at the factory-based self-defence militias organised by the Trotskyists.

Keystone

Vietnamese independence fighters jailed and executed by French colonial troops in late 1945, after Trotskyists led Saigon insurrection.

Quatrième Internationale

Vietnamese Trotskyist martyr Ta Thu Thau.

According to one right-wing historian, the Trotskyists "did not agree with the Viet Minh that by negotiation alone they would be able to maintain independence. They did not trust the Viet Minh; they refused to give up what weapons they had. The Trotskyite International Communist League held meetings demanding arms for the people" (E.J. Hammer, *The Struggle for Indochina, 1940-1955*). Far from being ultraleftist, the Vietnamese Trotskyists' political weaknesses in fact lay in the direction of underestimating Stalinist

continued on page 13

1918-1919 Berlin

Spartacus 1918-1919
Tempera
Fritz Brosius 1938

Our Revolutionary Heritage

THE SPARTACISTS

We display here a series of five paintings recently donated to the Spartacist League by the artist, Fritz Brosius, which were inspired by the German Spartacus Uprising of December 1918-January 1919. This was the explosion of a proletarian mass movement growing out of the chaotic breakdown of the Kaiser's empire and the bourgeois order amidst the tremendous destruction of the first imperialist world war. Following the successful Russian October Revolution of 1917 the failed German Revolution following World War I was to be a central historical event defining the next 30 years of history, not only in Germany but on a European and global scale.

The day before her murder by the counterrevolutionary forces, Spartakusbund (Spartacus League) leader Rosa Luxemburg denounced the attempt by the bourgeoisie, using the treacherous Social Democrats as its tool, to drown the revolution in blood.

Militärverlag der DDR

Her final article, "Order Reigns in Berlin" (14 January 1919), rings out defiantly:

> "You stupid lackeys! Your 'order' is built on sand. The revolution will 'raise itself up again clashing,' and to your horror it will proclaim to the sound of trumpets: 'I was, I am, I shall be'."

Today the international Spartacist tendency strives to carry forward the heritage—proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist—of these heroic German communists, the *Spartakisten*.

Fritz Brosius' paintings were done in 1938, in the medium of tempera paint and in the style of German expressionism. In the first panel, Karl Liebknecht, who was co-leader of the Spartakusbund together with Luxemburg, calls the workers to arms to fight for a socialist republic. This is followed by scenes depicting the arming of the workers, the deprivations and determination of the Berlin masses during the general strike, pitched battles in the factory districts, and finally the revolution's tragic defeat with the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Beginning with a bright red, the paintings become increasingly grey.

As a young high school student, Brosius himself experienced the revolutionary storm in Berlin. He and his fellow students took part in demonstrations, visited barricades around the Alexanderplatz, and ran messages for the Spartacists. You could buy arms everywhere, he recalls, as disaffected soldiers sold their uniforms and weapons for food. Many of them joined the Freikorps mercenaries brought in by Social Democrat Noske to crush the Spartacists. Later, in the 1920 Kapp Putsch, Brosius saw the same counterrevolutionary Freikorps carrying the *Hakenkreuz*, the swastika which was to become the symbol of the Nazis.

After immigrating to the U.S. in 1925, Brosius joined the American Communist Party but found that the CP's narrow nationalist politics had nothing in common with the revolutionary internationalism of Karl, Rosa and the Spartakusbund. The paintings grew in part from Fritz's bitterness over his bureaucratic expulsion from the CP in 1938, which he learned of by reading the *Daily Worker*. He now considers himself a friend of the international Spartacist tendency.

Spartacus, Spartakusbund

The Spartacist tradition reaches far back in history: in 73-71 B.C., Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator and former free man, organized a courageous revolt of escaped slaves from all corners of the Roman Empire. Under his leadership the slave army numbering tens of thousands defeated successive Roman armies and consuls and fought their way to the Alps. But they could not produce a social revolution. Eventually overpowered militarily, Spartacus' heroic fight was not forgotten. Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, once listed his favorite heroes as the astronomer Kepler and the slave leader Spartacus. In a letter to his collaborator Frederick Engels (27 February 1861), Marx remarks:

> "I have been reading Appian's account of the Roman civil wars, in the original Greek.... Spartacus is presented to us as the finest figure in classical history. A great general (not a Garibaldi), a man of noble character, a real representative of the antique proletariat."
>
> —quoted in D. Ryazanov, *Karl Marx: Man, Thinker, and Revolutionist* (1927)

Half a century later, a group of internationalist socialists in Germany, fighting their "own" bourgeoisie in the midst of the imperialist war, began publishing a clandestine newspaper, *Spartacus*.

When on 4 August 1914 the German Social Democrats voted in the Reichstag for war credits for the imperialist robbers' war, Rosa Luxemburg, a Jewish Polish woman and an oppositional leader of the German SPD,

VEB Verlag der Wissenschaften

SPARTACUS

Rosa Luxemburg (left); Karl and Sophie Liebknecht and their children. An issue of the Spartakusbund paper, October 1918.

WV Photo

"Spartacus 1918-1919" by Fritz Brosius displayed in the Spartacist League local hall in New York.

experienced, communist party, like Lenin's Bolsheviks who led the Russian workers and oppressed to socialist victory in October 1917. Yet the Spartakusbund comrades certainly did not lack in spirit, class hatred and a will to fight. "Spartacus" became a synonym for revolutionary anti-militarism and internationalism.

As founder and leader of the socialist youth movement in Germany, Karl Liebknecht educated the youth in the spirit of anti-militarism. He broke the discipline of the SPD's parliamentary fraction in December 1914 when he refused to vote further war credits for the German government. In 1915, he published the first antiwar leaflet with the famous slogan: "The Main Enemy Is at Home!" Arrested in 1916, he was freed by the November 1918 Revolution. But Karl and Rosa were brutally assassinated by Freikorps thugs with the complicity of the SPD leaders Ebert and Scheidemann, striking a deadly blow against the German Revolution.

Karl Liebknecht was an organizer and initiator; Rosa Luxemburg was the theoretical leader of the Spartacists. Deeply internationalist, she was an active supporter of the Russian Revolution in 1905 in Warsaw where she was a leader of the Polish Socialists. She went to fight in Germany because, like Lenin, she understood the strategic importance of the powerful German working class. She won the hatred of the stodgy SPD leaders for her fierce opposition to bourgeois parliamentarism; for the same reason she was revered by the German workers. After her release from prison, she moved rapidly toward Leninism, overcoming her earlier reservations, and took a clear stand for the October Revolution.

Among other outstanding leaders of the Spartakusbund were Leo Jogiches and Franz Mehring. Jogiches, like Rosa a Polish socialist and her long-time companion, tirelessly exposed the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, until the counterrevolution struck him down as well. Franz Mehring, the socialist historian, joined the working-class movement at the age of 45. In 1917, he finished his definitive biography of Karl Marx, an outstanding gift to the world proletariat. He served the revolutionary cause until his death in the January days of the 1918-19 revolution, at the age of 73.

Three days after the murder of Rosa and Karl, Leon Trotsky addressed the Petrograd Soviet to speak in honor of his comrades-in-arms:

> "Liebknecht for us is not only a German leader. Rosa Luxemburg for us is not only a Polish socialist who stood at the head of the German workers. No, for the world proletariat they are both our own, our kin, we are all linked with them by a spiritual, indissoluble bond. To their last breath they belonged not to a nation, but to the International!"

In 1923 a new revolutionary situation arose in Germany, but indecisive leadership led to defeat. The feeble Weimar Republic further disintegrated, and the fascist plague spread among the desperately impoverished petty-bourgeois and lumpen masses. The failure of the German Revolution isolated the Russian Revolution, opening the way for Stalin's strangulation of the Bolshevik Party as the bureaucratic political counterrevolution replaced internationalism with "socialism in one country." Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought to return the Communist International to Leninism. A new "August 4" occurred in 1933 for the Comintern and Social Democrats when Hitler took power in Germany unopposed. Henceforth Trotsky fought for a new, Fourth International. The betrayal of 1933 led to the imperialist slaughter of WW II.

The fate of Luxemburg's Polish party was inescapably tied to the fate of the German and Russian revolutions. The German defeat of 1923 set the stage for the failure of the Polish revolution. Still the Polish party kept its fighting spirit. In the Stalinist purge of the Comintern, the Polish CP was the only party to speak up in defense of Trotsky. So much did Stalin fear the "spirit of Luxemburg" that he bureaucratically ousted the Polish party's leadership three times and eventually dissolved the party, physically liquidating its leading cadres.

We Are Spartacus!

In the early years of the Communist International, the revolutionary masses honored the "Three L's," Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. Today it is up to the international Spartacist tendency to reclaim the revolutionary tradition of the Spartakusbund. In Poland, years of Stalinist misrule have driven much of the working class into the arms of counterrevolution. The hero of the yellow "union" Solidarność is, fittingly, not Luxemburg or Jogiches but the fascistic nationalist Pilsudski. In West Germany the Social Democrats attempt to make Rosa into a toothless liberal pacifist. They even put her face onto a petty symbol of the bourgeois order, a German postage stamp! But the name Spartacus still makes the German bourgeoisie see red.

The Spartacist League is fighting for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International. Our Bolshevik campaign in New York City is part of our struggle to forge an internationalist workers party; a party of proletarian revolution to do away with wage slavery and the scourges of the decaying capitalist order—racist cop terror, homelessness, joblessness and imperialist war. We fight for black liberation, for international class solidarity, for defense of the Soviet Union, the birthplace of the first proletarian revolution, against imperialist attack. Our program for workers power from South Africa to the U.S. has a name: Spartacist!

Spartacist is a particularly fitting name for communists in the U.S. The road to black liberation is to finish the Civil War—which abolished slavery but did not make blacks free—through socialist revolution. In the words of the *Internationale*, the communist anthem, "Arise ye slaves, no more in thrall." So we say with Karl Liebknecht who, in his very last article challenged the bourgeois enemy:

> "Spartacus crushed?... Steady! We have not fled, we are not beaten, and even should they throw us in chains, we are there, and shall remain! And victory will be ours.... And whether we are alive or not when that goal is reached, our programme will be alive; it will reign in the world of a liberated mankind. Yes, in spite of everything!" ■

From the editorial page of our Spartacist No. 1, February-March 1964.

SPECIAL 16 PAGE ISSUE

Left Wing Views Kennedy Assassination . . . page 8

Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International . . . page 11

SPARTACIST

WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP

Our Name:

We chose the title, SPARTACIST, after the name, Spartakushund, taken by the German revolutionary left wing led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht during the First World War. The German Spartacists waged a brave struggle against their imperialist rulers in wartime and, moreover, had to fight every step of the way in opposition to the degenerate, patriotic Majority social democrats of their time.

In the United States the Trotskyist youth in the early 1930's called their paper *Young Spartacus*. It was an outstanding journaliatic fusion of an advocate of revolutionary ideas with a guide to action. We aspire to do no more today than serve as well in honor of the name we have chosen for our endeavor to express the viewpoint of consistent *Trotskyism*, the authentic revolutionary Marxism of our epoch.

Reagan and AIDS...

(continued from page 1)

the hospital.

All over the country, people won't go into restaurants where they think the waiters might be gay. In Los Angeles, a gay health center received three bomb threats. Its director has been threatened with death, while a woman employee was attacked by a carload of thugs who threw acid on her, burning her face, shoulder and arm. One of the attackers screamed, "Die, you AIDS faggots!" (*Time*, 23 September).

In New York the impossible occurred: the IRT had an empty seat at rush hour. On it was spray-painted: "Did an AIDS patient sit here last?" (*New York Times*, 30 August). The city houses AIDS patients with no place else to go in "secret" locations because neighbors went into convulsions at each attempt to open a nursing home for them. In

Robert/Sipa

AIDS victim Rock Hudson.

Queens one man raved, "They will be ambulatory! They will be walking our streets!" (*New York Times*, 30 August). In Stamford, Connecticut, 14 jurors asked to be dismissed from a case because the defendant had AIDS. The poor bastard hasn't a chance of getting off—he'll be convicted for having the disease.

The state of Colorado has a "secret" list of those who tested positive in the AIDS antibody test. The test, developed last spring to screen out blood infected with the AIDS virus from blood banks, is now being used by a whole range of private and governmental organizations to pinpoint potential AIDS victims. The Red Cross keeps a list of all those whose blood was rejected for whatever reason—and its current policy is not to notify those who are positive for AIDS unless this has been confirmed by another test. But the names go on a computerized list, notoriously unconfidential. It's blacklisting, and with insurance companies actively seeking a way to screen out potential AIDS victims from their rolls, the implications are sinister.

The Department of Defense plans to administer the test to all potential armed forces recruits, rejecting those who test positive, and may also test all those currently in uniform as well. Those with positive results will be discharged. The Army is keeping a list of all those rejected. Although officials say the list will be "confidential," several health departments across the country have been offered names. Already one gay sailor with AIDS has been thrown out of the Navy for homosexuality; his "defense lawyer" wouldn't even stay in the same room with him. Not only does the U.S. military want to purge the armed forces of gays, it also wants to avoid having to pay medical bills for AIDS patients, which can run into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

In San Francisco, four nurses filed a complaint with the state board of health that they were disciplined for wearing gloves and masks when treating AIDS patients. Although gloves and masks are not necessary in treating AIDS patients, they won their complaint. The nurses' well-publicized campaign for this medically unjustified measure included accusations of patients screwing in the wards (an act for which doctors and nurses are notorious). No health care worker has ever contracted AIDS on the job, and only three—two in the U.S., one in Britain—have tested positive for the AIDS antibody after accidental cuts or needle sticks with infected blood. Yet, while SF hospitals are full to overflowing with AIDS victims, doctors and nurses disappear when they are admitted. Such anti-gay bigots—purveyors of Catholic moralism, not modern medicine—should find themselves a new profession. They're like the army officer who says, "I resign in case of war."

California Republican Representative William Dannemeyer, who ran for

Women and Revolution

Ignorance, Fear and Loathing: crucifix-waving fanatics in NYC (above); Moral Majority rag (right).

office on a fundamentalist platform "God made Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve," announced plans to introduce federal legislation to legalize the vilification of AIDS victims and the discrimination against homosexuals generally. He proposes to make it a criminal offense for high-risk individuals to donate blood, prohibit AIDS patients from working in the health care profession, prohibit "discrimination" against health care workers who refuse to treat AIDS patients, withhold federal funds from any city that doesn't close down the bathhouses, and pressure school districts receiving federal funds to bar children with AIDS from attending school. Working with Dannemeyer as his special consultant on AIDS is one Paul Cameron, author of the pamphlet "Murder, Violence, Homosexuality," who was expelled in 1983 from the American Psychological Association on "findings of ethical violations" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 August). Dannemeyer is a ranking member of the House Energy and Commerce subcommittee on health and the environment, which has jurisdiction over AIDS research and financing.

If there's any good news, it's thanks to Rock Hudson. The popular actor's courageous announcement that he had AIDS helped get the dread disease "out of the closet" and boosted publicity and funding efforts on behalf of AIDS victims. Now that Hudson is dead, it turns out that the FBI had maintained files on him for 20 years because of his homosexuality.

Reaction in the Schools: The Cutting Edge

Since 1981 there have been approximately 180 children in this country with diagnosed cases of AIDS, the majority tragically infected in the womb from the mothers' blood; less than 100 of these are still alive. The howling social reaction on the AIDS question is currently focused on their attendance at school. Polls have shown that from one-third to one-half of people asked believed it possible to catch AIDS from kids that bite, scratch, share food and eating utensils, pee on toilet seats. Nobody has ever caught the virus in this manner. Yet all over the country—from Dade County, Florida to Carmel, California—children with AIDS have been barred from attending public school. In Queens, 11,000 boycotted classes on the first day of school, kept home by parents in protest over one second-grader said to have AIDS being allowed to attend school. A ranting crowd of 500 at one parents' meeting roared with approval when a school board member asked them to "join us in standing in the schoolhouse door" to bar AIDS victims. It's no accident that the official used the very words of George Wallace when he spearheaded racist reaction against integration of Alabama schools.

Parents threatened to blockade all the schools in the district, the city's largest. One parent said, "If the city can have Harvey Milk High School for gays, it can have a school for AIDS victims" (*Daily News*, 20 September). The Queens school board voted to exclude from school not only children with AIDS, but children whose parents (or in one case a mother's boyfriend) have the disease. On October 9 the National Education Association came out for testing of students and teachers for exposure to AIDS when there was "reasonable cause" to suspect an infection. It's a scheme guaranteed to qualitatively escalate the witchhunting of homosexuals, particularly in light of the Moral Majority's campaign to hound gay teachers out of work.

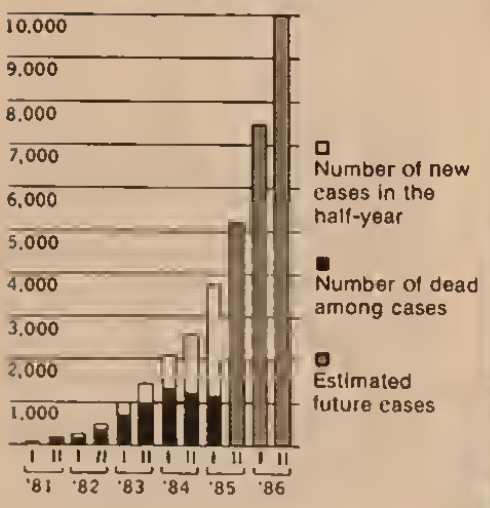
This fear of AIDS children spreading contagion is ironically, grossly backwards. One can't get the disease by being in a room with AIDS victims; but *they* can *die* by being in a room with someone who's sick with something else—an AIDS kid's immune system can't fight off an infection. It's the AIDS child who's at risk from his loathsome fellow students, the children of the righteous. As Dr. Edward H. Reisner said in a letter to the *New York Times* (15 September): "As every parent of school-age children knows, a classroom is a factory for every cold and contagious illness that a child may bring into it. We don't exclude infected children from school. But AIDS patients, for their own protection, should be kept out and educated at home just as other children with handicaps are now cared for." The child's doctor should carefully review the medical condition of each AIDS child and send to school only those whose health is judged good enough. At the same time, AIDS children have a right to attend school.

This campaign to rid the schools of anyone and anything that deviates from the fundamentalist caricature of a human being distracts attention from the real problems of the schools. Why don't parents become hysterical over the fact that the government is slashing school funding? Why don't they scream and yell that the prisons that go by the name of schools don't teach kids anything? Or that sex education is virtually nonexistent—a little knowledge of biology right now would do everyone some good. If they're so worried about sanitation, why don't they insist that schools clean their bathrooms more often and stop sending the kids home with head lice?

What Science Knows About AIDS

The AIDS virus (HTLV-III or LAV) is a retrovirus which mutates constantly, much like the influenza virus, but at a much faster rate. It kills by attacking the body's immune system, specifically the T-cells, which are crucial in defending the body against disease. Victims thus die of a secondary, "opportunistic" infection, such as *pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia, or rare cancers such as Kaposi's sarcoma. The Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control (CDC) narrowly define AIDS to include only those who have developed a secondary disease. There are, however, perhaps ten times that number who have a condition called AIDS-Related Complex (ARC)

CASES AND DEATHS

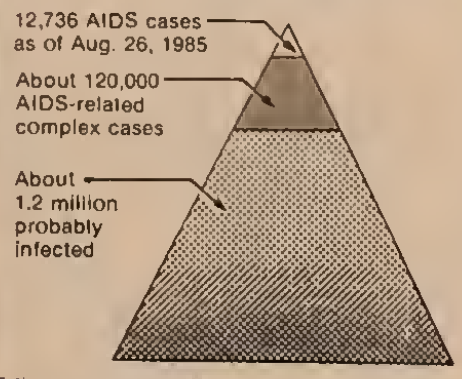


Deaths are included in the same time period in which the disease was diagnosed, and not necessarily when the victim died.

ozarl / Gamma-Liaison

Microscopic view of AIDS virus.

TOTAL NUMBER INFECTED



Estimates represent the upper ranges of CDC's projections.

Charts: Washington Post

Billions for AIDS Research!

In New York City AIDS has reached epidemic proportions: it is now the city's leading killer of men aged 30 to 39. But overshadowing this terrible disease is the hysteria over AIDS whipped up by racist, anti-sex bigots. In sections of Queens like Ozone Park, notorious as the "torture precinct" where cops used stun guns on blacks to keep this enclave lily-white, hundreds of parents have kept their kids out of school in order to prevent one lone AIDS child from attending.

It is now unclear if the child has AIDS, or possibly the lesser AIDS-Related Complex. If children have the actual AIDS syndrome, and if after examination their doctors don't object, they have the *right* to go to school. Kids with ARC whose doctors say okay *should* go to school. And in any case it is the AIDS child, not his or her fellow students, who is at risk.

AIDS has become a political football in the city elections this fall. A number of candidates of the capitalist parties are fanning the flames of fear and exploiting this issue as a springboard for anti-homosexual witchhunting and every other form of social reaction. Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg for NYC mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president condemn this cynical "Moral Majority" bigotry. These days it seems like you have to be a revolutionary just to say that society should care for the sick.

Mayor Koch also jumped on the school boycott bandwagon—after all, he wanted those racist votes in the primary. But Republican/Conservative mayor candidate Diane McGrath wants to score big with AIDS. She not only wants to close down gay bathhouses, but also theaters, bars and bookstores "that encourage promiscuous sexual activity," in order to "protect these people from themselves." She proposes to deprive hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers of their livelihoods, barring anyone testing positive for AIDS antibodies from jobs as doctors, nurses, restaurant workers, barbers and beauticians.

Even obvious public health measures against AIDS have been squelched. Health commissioner David Sencer proposed that the ban on over-the-counter sales of hypodermic needles be lifted to enable drug addicts to avoid sharing contaminated needles, a major source of transmitting AIDS. Yuppie Democrat/Liberal Carol Bellamy denounced this sensible idea as "one of the most hare-brained ideas I've heard from city government." Not wanting to appear "soft on AIDS," Koch nixed Sencer's proposal.

The mayor appealed to "experts" such as a special narcotics prosecutor who wrote that "drug addicts, in the frenzied and desperate minutes before injecting a needle into their veins, could care less about contamination." In fact, as pointed out by Allan Brandt, Harvard Medical School professor of the history of science and medicine, in Canada, where sanitary needles are widely available, the number of intravenous drug users with AIDS is quite low. In contrast, in New York City the number of infected intravenous drug users is at least 60 to 80 percent, and probably higher. Koch has pronounced a death sentence: drop dead, black junkies!

And what about the left? The Communist Party's "People Before Profits" slate has been largely mum on AIDS—hardly a surprise coming from the notoriously puritanical Stalinists. The CP's *Daily World* uncritically reports on the Queens school boycott, and a *DW* editorial notes Reagan's "sympathy and understanding" for children with AIDS. The CP has *not one word* of condemnation against the explosion of Falwellite hate which threatens to deprive gays of jobs, homes and medical insurance.

AIDS is caused by a virus, not by sex, not by "sin," not by pornography. As the Spartacist League stated two years ago, "While the fundamentalist, paranoid Puritan ethic encouraged by our rulers alleges otherwise, the fact is: sex does not equal disease, does not equal death. *Any* kind of sex. Aside from the fundamental question of saving lives, one damn good reason to get this frightening outbreak cleaned up is so people can enjoy sexual activity in safe, healthy conditions—including the baths and bars if that's their scene" (*Women and Revolution* No. 27, Winter 1983-1984).

The current anti-sex hysteria against AIDS patients and gays affects us all. The only person in New York City who apparently *isn't* threatened by AIDS is Ed Koch. He gets his kicks by screwing poor people, black people, working people. The Spartacist Party fights for full democratic rights for homosexuals. We oppose any laws against so-called "crimes without victims," which outlaw sex, pornography and drugs. What's needed is *billions* for AIDS research. With insurance companies threatening to deny coverage to potential AIDS victims while the number of victims grows daily, medicine as big business is even more of a travesty. Free medical care for AIDS patients—Free, quality medical care for everybody! ■

Women and Revolution

Spartacists at NYC Gay Pride Day, June 30, march past St. Patrick's Cathedral, home of anti-homosexual bigot Cardinal O'Connor.

or "pre-AIDS." Not all those infected with the virus get AIDS, but ARC can kill, too—some patients waste away; others die of brain damage evidently caused by the AIDS virus.

Nobody knows why some develop AIDS, some ARC, while others show no signs of illness at all. Some scientists think that an already weakened immune system—due to illness, malnutrition or some other factor—may precipitate contraction of AIDS once a person has been infected. If true, this would help explain why in Zaire (where it's called "the horror"), Brazil and Belle Glade, Florida (the city with the highest per capita incidence of AIDS in the U.S.) AIDS is a disease of poverty, equally divided between men and women. In the United States 25 percent of the victims are black, which is twice the proportion of blacks in the population as a whole.

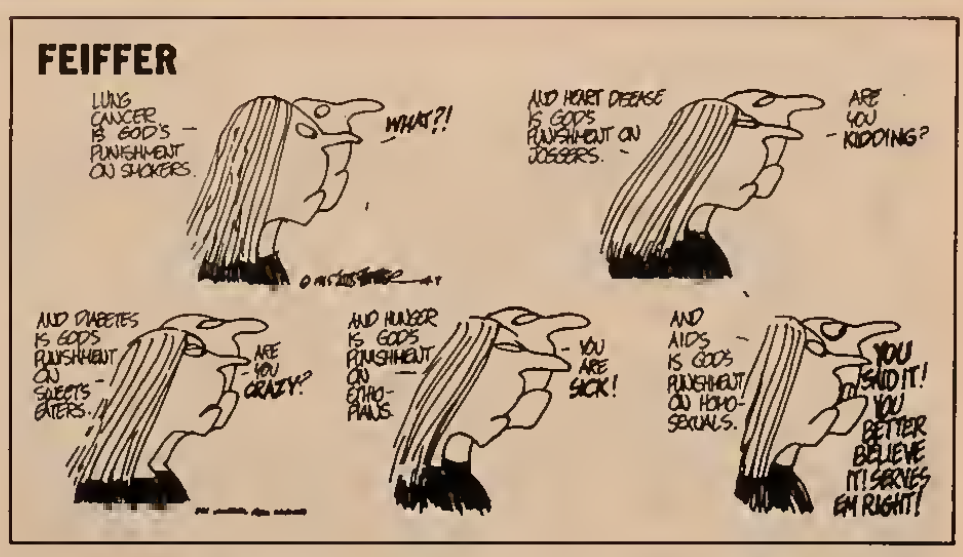
It's pretty clear that AIDS is spread through direct contact with infected blood. It is believed that in order for a person to get it, he must first have a break in his skin allowing the virus to get into his bloodstream. That's why IV drug users, hemophiliacs and people receiving blood transfusions are at high risk—though the U.S. supply of blood has recently been made qualitatively safer through testing to detect infected blood. In the case of gays, it is thought that semen, which carries the virus, transmits the disease during anal intercourse which can cause tears in the mucous membranes of the anal canal.

The evidence against casual transmission of AIDS is pretty good. In 12,000 documented cases, in families living with a patient for years—sharing bathrooms and eating utensils, with no special precautions—only sexual partners or infants born to infected mothers have shown any evidence of the disease. Just on an empirical basis, if it were easy to catch, a lot more people would have it now. But it's almost impossible for scientists to say that something will "never" happen. Yes, they have to say that there is a theoretical possibility that a person can contract AIDS through exposure to a victim's tears or saliva. For example, if a child with AIDS cried, and somehow the tears got into a freshly bleeding cut in another child's skin, or an AIDS victim bit another child, and if enough virus was present to cause an infection, it could "theoretically" happen. But the chances are extremely remote.

Of course, many people react with thoroughly understandable skepticism when told by government "experts" that something is safe. After all, that's what they said about Three Mile Island and

Estrin/Newsday

Gay activists seek to educate bathhouse users about AIDS.



about the swine flu vaccine (the flu shot of several years ago) which caused a spectacularly high number of "side effects" including paralysis. Distrust runs so high that some people have even speculated that the AIDS virus originated as part of a CIA experiment in biological warfare. The Cubans have accused the CIA and presented convincing evidence that the agency introduced a disease of pigs known as African swine fever to Cuba to kill Cuban pigs. Did swine fever mutate into AIDS and migrate to the U.S.? It is in fact not known how AIDS originated. It is much more probable that AIDS began in monkeys in Africa, where it mutated into a virus capable of infecting humans. Maybe it got into the U.S. through contaminated blood extorted under hideously unsanitary conditions from the impoverished, starving population of Haiti and imported here by New York profiteers.

How Not to Control an Epidemic

The opprobrium directed at AIDS patients is a huge obstacle to a scientific study which could establish its epidemiology. Faced with such a stigma, is anybody—not least prostitutes, gays and drug addicts, already considered "criminals" under the laws of many states—going to volunteer for an AIDS antibody test? Basically the entire question of fighting this disease has been reduced to a political football in the rightists' program to instill fear crystallized in a religious, anti-sex witchhunting mindset.

Some scientists are now issuing dire warnings that AIDS is about to "explode" into the heterosexual population. They warn that anyone with multiple sexual contacts is at risk. Men are counseled to beware of "drug-addict prostitutes." And the U.S. army is using scare stories that Berlin prostitutes (a Red plot?) are spreading AIDS to American GIs. While it certainly appears that AIDS is sexually transmitted and it is undoubtedly true that many contacts with other human beings of whatever kind increase chances of infection with disease (especially the common cold), we are suspicious of disaster predictions related to sex. There are contradictory facts. For example,

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Reagan and AIDS...

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New York Health Commissioner Sencer says that the percentage of heterosexuals with AIDS in the city hasn't changed in five years. Scientists have not so far isolated the AIDS antibody in vaginal secretions and admit that studies have shown that it is much easier for men to give the disease to women than the other way around. Moreover, anal sex doesn't have to be rough; perhaps there is something else going on as well. Otherwise one would expect to see prostitutes in the "high-risk" category—certainly they have multiple sex partners and engage in a lot of anal sex with partners not inclined to be especially gentle.

The solution posed by many city politicians is to close the bathhouses. We adamantly oppose the gross bigotry and anti-sex Puritanism which motivates the government in this regard. But we have to say that right now the idea of going to a bathhouse does not come off as the biggest turn-on. In fact, business has declined by as much as 50 percent in some bathhouses since 1982, and many gay groups have worked to educate bathhouse users to the dangers involved, including the attempt to force bathhouse owners to comply with guidelines like the distribution of free condoms and educational literature.

In the absence of any cure, treatment or vaccine for AIDS, the CDC last August issued recommendations for "safe sex" procedures such as using condoms. Said Dr. James O. Mason, acting assistant secretary for health, "We could curtail the rate of transmission with behavioral changes alone" (*New York Times*, 1 October). But what does that mean—chastity? A mere few months ago Mason met pleas for more funding for public education on AIDS with a sneer, "Do you really believe gay men can be changed through education?" (*New York Native*, 17-30 June). Perhaps he would advocate the electroshock "treatment" of homosexuals favored by Mormon doctors—Mason was the Mormons' commissioner of health services before joining the government. Meanwhile a manual describing "safe sex" procedures, *Mother's Handy Sex Guide*, was denounced by a Los Angeles official as "plain, hard-core pornography" (*Time*, 23 September).

Mason also admitted that the Reagan administration actively considered quarantining all AIDS victims. This is simple anti-gay bigotry and a sop to superstitious hysteria. In treating certain diseases, like bubonic plague (yes, every year a few Americans catch plague; it's rampant in rodent populations in the West), quarantine is a crucial public health measure. But not in the case of AIDS. The virus is not spread by AIDS patients, who are too sick to do much of anything, but by an estimated one to two million carriers *who don't know they have it*. Indeed, one of the more horrible aspects of this disease is that while they know they're dying AIDS victims feel a moral restriction to avoid harming others by participating in one of the few joys life has to offer, sexual intercourse.

Der Spiegel

Der Spiegel

Then and now: superstitious hysteria of medieval Europe devasted by bubonic plague epidemic; New York prison officials dressed for contact with AIDS prisoners.

It has been said that the only true way to be safe is total monogamy... but then again can one ever be totally sure of one's spouse? In the midst of the screaming school boycott, one mother put the point of fear of getting AIDS precisely: you know, if you think about it, schools are the least of the problem—forget about taking your kids to a McDonald's; playgrounds are the worst places; you may as well zip your kid up in a bubble and leave it there. In any case, it's a hell of a lot safer to hug an AIDS patient than to have an argument with a New York City cop.

One of the scariest things about AIDS is the formidable obstacles in the way of formulating a successful vaccine. Scientists are trying to discover a constant in the virus' protein coat which would enable them to make a vaccine effective against all the mutations. Retroviruses operate by inserting their genetic codes into the DNA of the host cell. Once it is there, it is impossible to get it out. Therefore once a person has caught full-blown AIDS, he can at present only be treated for the disease, but not cured.

McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal

Reagan-inspired terrorism: bombing of abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida.

In this sick capitalist society, where medical care is run for profit and twisted by fear and threats of everlasting hellfire, research on AIDS is grossly hampered. Drug companies say that developing drugs for treatment of AIDS is no priority—it's more profitable to make a new Valium. And a monumental legal battle is shaping up between French and American scientists for the royalty rights for the HTLV-III antibody test. The government budget of just under $200 million for research is grossly inadequate, and a lot of the money has come at the expense of other health programs like research on cancer and infectious diseases such as hepatitis. The previous federal budget allocation of $126 million barely covers the cost of a couple of platforms for aiming telescopes at the sun on the space shuttle! Reagan's priorities are clear: Star Wars technology to reduce the Soviet Union to a pile of rubble is much more important to the imperialist warmongers than conquering a dread disease.

It's possible that the AIDS virus will elude modern medical technology at its current state. In the last decade the U.S. spent millions upon millions on artificial heart development and trying to find a cure for cancer without any notable results. In the 12th century, no matter how many ducats the king spent they weren't about to find a way to fly. The enormity of the challenge makes it all the more imperative that lavish resources be placed in the hands of a nationally coordinated research project on AIDS. In the meantime, society could do much to lighten the tragic plight of AIDS victims—at a minimum providing free health care so AIDS patients who are thrown off insurance policies, or don't have any to begin with, aren't dumped onto the streets to die.

Science Not Superstition

Fear and hysteria do nothing to stop disease. Throughout history mankind has been scourged by many horrible diseases; not until science began to roll back stark terror and superstition did man begin to conquer those diseases. Today supposedly enlightened 20th-century people are reacting to AIDS like Europeans did to the Black Death in the 14th century. Believing plague was a punishment by god for sin, people flagellated themselves and conducted pogroms against the Jews. They also killed cats (believed to be witches' familiars), thus eliminating one of the only means they had to control the rat population which spread plague. But unlike the anti-AIDS bigots today, in 1665 the city of London at least understood that primary medical care during an outbreak of disease was important: readers of the fine historical novel *Forever Amber* will recall that nurses were dispatched by the government to care for the sick.

The principles of the Age of Enlightenment during the revolutionary years of capitalism in the 17th and 18th centuries began to lay the basis for the eradication of medieval superstition with scientific knowledge. Leeuwenhoek discovered the existence of bacteria; William Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood; Louis Pasteur established the germ theory of disease. Edward Jenner, one of the greatest benefactors of man in history, developed and popularized a safe vaccination against smallpox. (It's interesting to note that the same "land of the free, home of the brave" reactionaries who opposed the "commie plot" of fluoridated water also opposed compulsory vaccinations. In Minnesota, where smallpox vaccinations were not legally required until well into the 20th century, over 500 people died of smallpox in 1924-25.)

Capitalist society has so far moved to eradicate those diseases which pose the biggest threat to itself, the massive urban epidemics like plague, smallpox and cholera which interfered with daily social life so as to seriously disrupt profits. Many tropical or rural diseases are today actually on the *increase*. Cholera is epidemic now in Ethiopia and the Sudan; it can kill in a few hours—you shrivel like a prune as all the water in your body is evacuated as diarrhea. Leprosy is rampant all through the Third World, even though the medical knowledge to control and eventually stop it altogether exists. Very few new drugs for treatment of tropical disease have been developed in the last 15 years.

In contrast, it was very much in the interests of U.S. imperialism to conquer yellow fever. It was this dread disease which wiped out the army Napoleon sent to Haiti to suppress Toussaint L'Ouverture's black republic. In the late 19th century Washington found yellow fever a major impediment in its imperialist appetites to rule Central America and the Caribbean. Both the construction of the Panama Canal and the American victory in the Spanish-American War were threatened by outbreaks of yellow fever. Once the priority of eradicating the disease was set, army doctors led by Walter Reed very quickly determined the cause (an agent, later discovered to be a virus, transmitted by mosquitoes) and eradicated it within a few months.

Life and Death in Reagan's America

The American ruling class has got the witchhunting mindset of the 17th century, and they're looking for some witches to burn. If you're black, gay, a woman, young, old, Hispanic, working-class—watch out! They'll put you on the list. They want everyone to quake in fear of a hateful punishing god that visits plague upon the sinful. And they want everyone to fear the state in the same way. They've targeted the classroom, to raise a generation in slavish fear, obedient to "authority" and prone to step into line when Reagan unleashes nuclear Armageddon against the "Evil Empire," the USSR. They've tried to dump Darwin, teach belief in the virgin birth, and if you're not a virgin yourself they want to get you with the Squeal Rule which requires doctors, counselors, etc. to report to parents if teens request birth control.

For women Reagan's program is Hitler's "*Kinder, Kirche, Küche*" (children, church, kitchen). He's out to illegalize abortion; all across the country "right to life" terrorists are firebombing abortion clinics. Already poor women can't use Medicaid funds to pay for abortions—Democrat Jimmy Carter, who commented, "There are many things in life that are not fair," saw to that. Hysteria over "child abuse" is forcing the closure of many childcare centers, driving women back into the home when they have nowhere to leave their children for care while they are working. And while Reagan weeps crocodile tears for the "unborn," infant mortality rates in the U.S., long considered a basic social indicator, have become a serious concern to health care professionals. A far higher proportion of newborn babies die in Harlem than in Cuba.

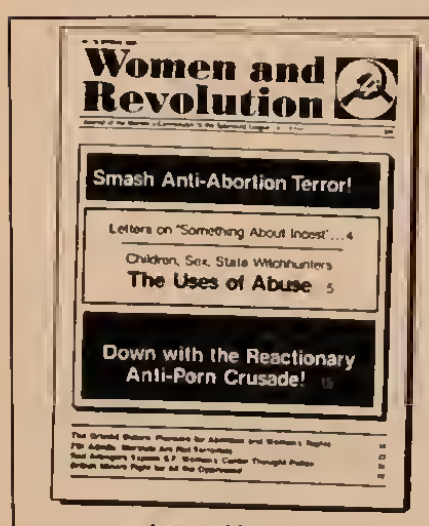
Lately the right-wing censors have declared war on something they call

"secular humanism." In 1984 Congress passed a law denying federal funding to integrated "magnet" schools that teach secular humanism; they purposely did not define the term. To the religious fanatics it means anything they've put their mark of Cain on, from Marxism to sex education to evolution. The dictionary defines humanism as "any system or mode of thought or action in which human interests, values and dignity predominate." If thinking that a woman ought to be able to obtain an abortion without being mugged by terrorists is "secular humanism," then that's what Marxism is about. If fighting for everyone's right to conduct their sex lives as they damn well choose without being harassed or jailed by meddlesome snoops is "secular humanism," then we're for it. If being revolted by a society where the sight of a pathetic bag lady trying to sleep on the subway gratings by someone's stretch limo is an everyday occurrence means you're a "secular humanist," then there should be more of them.

The rabid, profit-crazed American ruling class has a program of death and destruction: build prisons instead of schools, shut down the mental hospitals, dump the sick on the streets, turn off the heat in their places of refuge. Reagan continues to slash spending for welfare, Medicare, school lunch programs—all to build bigger bombs to kill with.

It seems like only we socialists stand for the principle that people ought to be able to live their lives decently, in peace. In 1917 the Bolsheviks led the Russian workers to victory under the slogan "Peace, Bread, Land!" in the midst of the bloody carnage of World War I. But even if socialist revolution had triumphed throughout the world, it could not then have prevented the devastating 1918-19 worldwide epidemic of influenza that killed 20 million—*more* than died in all of the war. Socialist revolution will put an end to Reagan's mad dreams of nuclear holocaust; the abolition of capitalism will enable man to build a society which uses its resources to produce for social need, like combatting disease and educating youth, rather than in pursuit of profit. As Isaac Deutscher noted:

> "May I remind you that Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on. In doing so they have naturally been inclined to ignore or belittle man's other predicaments. But is it not true that hunger or, more broadly, social inequality and oppression, have hugely complicated and intensified for innumerable human beings the torments of sex and death as well?
>
> "In fighting against social inequality and oppression we fight also for the mitigation of those blows that nature inflicts on us....
>
> "Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these."
>
> —Isaac Deutscher,
> "On Socialist Man" ■



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Vietnamese Martyrs...

(continued from page 7)

treachery, which left them unprepared for the betrayals and bloodbaths which cost them their lives.

When British and Indian troops landed in Saigon on September 10, they were welcomed by the Viet Minh. The Saigon People's Committee and the Trotskyists of the International Communist League issued a joint manifesto denouncing this treason; in response, the Stalinists sent troops to surround the People's Committee meeting and arrested the Trotskyist leadership on September 14. On September 22, the British moved to rearm the French colons, who unleashed a wave of terror against the Vietnamese; the Viet Minh sought "negotiations" with the British and opposed "violence" while the masses of Saigon insurrected against the colonial troops. Armed contingents of workers led by the Trotskyists were in the forefront.

The Viet Minh, meantime, were busy negotiating the return of the French, whose expeditionary force under Leclerc landed on October 5, moving to crush the insurgency and "restore order." The Stalinists assisted, arresting the Trotskyists of the Struggle (*La Lutte*) group, who were imprisoned and shot as the French approached. In the North a well-organised Trotskyist group, which published a daily paper in Hanoi, *Tranh Dau* ("Struggle"), was also wiped out by Stalinist repression. Ta Thu Thau, one of the most prominent leaders of the Trotskyists, was arrested on orders of the Viet Minh. "Tried three times by local People's Committees, he was acquitted each time—a tribute to the Trotskyists' reputation in Vietnam at that time. Finally, he was simply shot in Quang Ngai in February 1946, on orders from the southern Stalinist leader Tran Van Giau" (*Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam*).

Myers claims that the Saigon Trotskyists' "ultraleft line...would have prevented any real struggle against the imperialist enemy." Yet as we have seen, the Stalinists *welcomed* the Allied imperialists. In March 1946 Ho Chi Minh signed an agreement for limited "independence" within the French Union, permitting the stationing of 15,000 French troops in the North. It took eight more years of bitter struggle to drive the French colonialists out of North Vietnam. And only in 1975, thirty years and two million dead later, was imperialism driven from the peninsula. The Vietnamese Trotskyists, who fought for a workers and peasants government in 1945, were champions of the Indochinese revolution. We honor their memory and their struggle.

These days the Vietnamese Stalinists themselves don't talk much about how they executed their Trotskyist compatriots. Tran Van Giau was purged from his post and demoted to academic historian. But when French socialist Daniel Guérin interviewed Ho Chi Minh in Paris in 1946, he was clear enough about Ta Thu Thau: "'He was a great patriot, and we mourn him,' Ho told me with unfeigned emotion. But a moment later he added in a steady voice, 'All those who do not follow the line I have laid out will be broken'."

Corollary of Menshevism: Murder of Trotskyists

The Australian SWP pamphlet is explicitly Menshevik, openly defending the reformist "two-stage revolution" dogma and the consequent need to rely on the "progressive" bourgeoisie. The corollary of this class collaboration is murdering Trotskyist "ultraleftists" who might threaten the preservation of capitalist exploitation. Says Myers:

> "The CP was also being realistic and sensible when it attempted to establish a broad national united front...and when it made the compromises and concessions necessary to secure such an alliance. The main enemy at that time, the enemy who had to be defeated if the revolution was to go forward, was foreign imperialism, not Vietnamese landlords or capitalists—their turn would come later. This is why one southern party official, Nguyen Van Tao, issued the warning during August: 'All those who have instigated the peasants to seize the landowners' property will be severely and pitilessly punished.... We have not yet made the Communist revolution which will solve the agrarian problem. This government is only...a bourgeois-democratic government, even though the Communists are now in power'."

WV Photo

During antiwar protests, Spartacist League fought for revolutionary internationalism.

Here Myers goes to the heart of the historic division between the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution and Stalin's pipedream of "socialism in one country." In the debate over China in the 1920s, Trotsky fought Stalin's disastrous policy of collaboration with the bourgeois Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, a policy which ended with the 1927 massacre of thousands of Communists and militant workers who had voluntarily turned their arms over to their bourgeois "allies."

But why stop there? Don't forget those Spanish "ultralefts," assassinated by the People's Front because Stalin was more interested in preserving an empty alliance with "democratic" British and French imperialism by maintaining capitalist rule in Spain than in winning the Civil War against fascism. And what about that most dangerous "ultraleft sectarian," Leon Trotsky, alleged agent of the Mikado and Hitler? We are awaiting a tract by the Australian Ustashi-lovers about how Trotsky, too, had to be eliminated in the name of the popular front of all progressive freedom-loving anti-fascists.

A few months ago the author of *The Vietnamese Revolution and Its Leadership* snarled at one of our comrades in Sydney, "We support the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists and we support the murder of some Australian Trotskyists." Myers' poisonous sectarianism is particularly dangerous in the present context in Australia, where right-wing Vietnamese *gusanos* have violently attacked anyone who speaks out in defence of Vietnam. This includes gatherings of trade unionists and public appearances of representatives of the Vietnamese government, as well as forums of both the SWP and Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. This deadly threat must be met by a united defence of the workers movement [see "Viet Fascists Rampage in Australia, U.S." *WV* No. 380, 31 May].

In Defence of Trotskyism!

The Spartacist tendency proudly defends our Vietnamese martyrs. And increasingly we are coming to be recognised as *the* Trotskyists. Certainly in Australia there is no contest. In our final pamphlet on the American SWP, *The Socialist Workers Party: An Obituary* (1984), we noted that SWP leader Jack Barnes' 1982 speech explicitly renouncing the fundamental principles of Trotskyism at least clarified the left political landscape. Against the anti-Trotskyist revisionism of the USec, we uphold the perspective of permanent revolution:

> "...under certain exceptional conditions (including centrally the absence of the organized working class as a contender for power in its own right), Stalinist- or petty-bourgeois-led peasant-based guerrilla movements have come to power in countries like China, Cuba, Vietnam. The result has been new bureaucratized workers states on a national-Stalinist program.... Yet these deformed social revolutions are themselves partial confirmations of the theory of permanent revolution, as these leaderships were forced—in opposition to their stated programs—to go over to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the adoption of the socialized property forms first established by the victory of the October Revolution, as the only way to achieve genuine national liberation and to address classically bourgeois-democratic tasks like land reform."

Today in Sandinista Nicaragua, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution again takes on a burning relevance, expressed in our call to "Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" The alternative is not a "realistic" policy, but bloody defeat, as in Spain. Throughout the war in Vietnam, our tendency fought consistently to mobilise the power of the labour movement in strikes against the Vietnam War; we agitated for military victory to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces; we warned of the dangers of Stalinist betrayal. As we wrote in our Vietnam pamphlet:

> "It has been left to the international Spartacist tendency to uphold the struggle of our martyred Vietnamese comrades and call for the formation of authentic Trotskyist parties in Indochina as part of a reborn Fourth International. While unconditionally defending the new deformed workers states...we have called for extending the revolutionary conquests and opening the road to socialism by political revolution to replace Stalinist bureaucratic rule with the democratic rule of the working class (supported by the exploited peasantry) through soviets."

The Australian SWP's denunciation of Trotskyism, lock, stock and barrel, is the logical culmination of decades of deepening reformist degeneration by the various factions of the United Secretariat, which broke with authentic Trotskyism a long time ago. The component groupings of the USec long ago lost the ability—and desire—to distinguish between Menshevism and Bolshevism, between Trotskyism and Stalinism, between revolution and counterrevolution. One of the few positions shared by all the competing factions is their "anti-Stalinist" unity with the counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność—pet "union" of the pope, the CIA and the Western bankers.

In contrast, we Spartacists know the difference between genuine proletarian opposition to Stalinist bureaucracy, based on intransigent defence of the gains of the October Revolution, and counterrevolutionaries who ally with world reaction and religious obscurantism to restore capitalist rule. And we are not necessarily opposed to all repressive measures carried out by Stalinists. If the ultra-Barnesite Australian SWP teams up with their Pilsudskiite Solidarność papists and Ustashi Croatian fascists to bring "democracy" to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, we would most assuredly hail the verdicts brought by the Stalinist-run trials which uphold the prior decisions of a justly enraged populace to execute these counterrevolutionaries on the spot.

Our tendency, which has gained a reputation as the orthodox, hard-core Trotskyists, lays claim to the tradition and continuity of revolutionary Leninism today. Our solidarity with the revolutionary victories won by the Vietnamese workers and peasants is underlined by our defence of the courageous struggle of the martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists, who died fighting against the reintroduction of imperialist rule. Only the program of Trotskyist internationalism and proletarian revolution can ensure the survival of those victories, won at so great a cost. ■

Victory to the Watsonville Cannery Strike!

WATSONVILLE, California, October 6—Upwards of 2,000 strikers and strike supporters marched through this company town, the "frozen food capital of the world," today as a bitter cannery strike entered its fifth week. Watsonville Canning and Richard Shaw, Inc. provoked the strike by imposing wage cuts of up to 56 percent, as well as a two-tier wage system and other drastic takeaways, in a bid to break Teamsters Local 912, the union representing the canneries' workers, most of whom are Mexican women. The strikers face scabs, court injunctions and the canneries' hired guns in blue—the local police force, which has imposed what unionists describe as virtual "martial law" on the town.

"I have seen many outrages and abuses by the police," striker Marta Dominguez told *WV*.

> "I was arrested together with three of my *compañeras* for not keeping a ten-foot distance between us on the picket line; they demanded identification and handcuffed us.... Another time I took my seven-year-old daughter with me because I don't have money for a babysitter. The police said they would arrest my daughter if I didn't get her out of there."

She confirmed reports that a scab trucker fired shots in the air when crossing the picket line, and added: "One of the scabs threatened us with a rifle one time, and the police didn't arrest him. But they did arrest one of my friends for yelling back at some scabs who were shouting obscenities at us."

Cops are using a court restraining order limiting the number of pickets, to terrorize strike supporters. Seventeen students and their teacher from Watsonville High (where food for strikers has been collected) were arrested September 20 for crossing the street near Watsonville Canning; the teacher was booked for "contributing to the delinquency of minors"! A local college paper (Santa Cruz *City on a Hill*, September 26) quoted a striker's apt comment: "The police are like terrorists with us. They treat us like animals." At today's march Watsonville cops clad in full riot gear were out in force, together with reinforcements from neighboring towns and, reportedly, Fort Ord.

The power of the labor movement must be brought to bear to defeat the arrogant canning companies' union-busting assault on these oppressed

WV Photo

Watsonville, California—Labor solidarity rally and march, October 6, for Hispanic workers battling rapacious cannery bosses.

Mexican women workers. Not only do the canneries own the courts and cops in company towns like Watsonville, but throughout California agribusiness profits—sweated out of the back-breaking labor of men, women and children in the fields and canneries—grease the palms of capitalist politicians, Republican and Democrat alike. With their home boy Reagan in the White House and Reaganite governor Deukmejian in Sacramento, the broccoli and cauliflower growers see the green light to wipe out unions.

But the area has a long history of labor struggles going back to the '30s and '40s, when Communist-led unions organized successful strikes of Mexican, Japanese, Filipino and white field hands and cannery workers. Sympathy for the Watsonville strikers runs high among area unionists, a cross section of whom came out for the solidarity march today. A sizable contingent from the Watsonville-area United Farm Workers came to the march—a show of support that was significant in light of the Teamster union's history of vicious raids against the UFW.

But if "solidarity" is not to be an empty word for weekend marches to blow off steam, it must mean militant, mass labor action. *All* the canneries must be brought out on strike—6,000 Local 912 members are *still* working without a contract at five other canneries. Today the marchers walked to the cannery gates 2,000-strong, but what is needed is daily *mass pickets* of area unionists to stop the scabs and turn the strikebreaking injunctions into worthless scraps of paper. And unionists must go after the employers' weak spot: their product is seasonal and highly perishable. This means a strategy of *labor boycott*, not impotent consumer boycotts (a tactic favored by Chavez' UFW and one which recently covered for a terrible sellout of the small and desperate Mission Foods tortilla strike in Richmond, California). Teamster drivers, railway workers, warehousemen and retail clerks must *hot-cargo* (refuse to handle) the scab produce.

The Spartacist message of class struggle was well received in Watsonville today. Strikers and supporters bought 22 subscriptions to Spanish *Spartacist*, five introductory *WV* subs and 160 individual pieces of literature; 500 "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" supplements were distributed.

Amid the strikers' militant chants of *"¡Viva la huelga—abajo los esquiroles!"* (Long live the strike—down with the scabs!), rad-lib "solidarity"-mongers led the timeworn chant of class collaboration, "The people united will never be defeated." (This was the slogan of Allende's Popular Unity, which paved the way for the Chilean workers' defeat by "people" like General Pinochet.) When some women strikers asked one *WV* salesman to chant, he showed them the Spanish *Spartacist* headline. The women started a spirited chant of our slogan: *"Obreros, para ganar: ¡Darle duro a la patronal!"* ("Labor's gotta play hardball to win!")

The strikers' fighting spirit is a sharp contrast to the line of their union misleaders. Teamster officials threw up one bureaucratic obstacle after another to a strike at Watsonville Canning, while Richard Shaw employees worked for months with no contract. The bureaucrats are doing their best to divide the strikers from the cannery workers still on the job at the five other plants. The Teamster officialdom, led by FBI fink Jackie Presser, imposed two-tier contracts and giveaways in recent Master Freight and (together with International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union officials) Master Warehouse negotiations. When they sell the mainly white male truckers down the river, it's not hard to imagine how the Teamster tops treat low-paid Mexican women cannery workers.

But the legalist, reformist Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) opposition, prominent in the Watsonville strike, is no alternative. The TDU's stock-in-trade is taking the union to court. In Watsonville they used the notorious anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act to sue the union in the same courts that are slapping injunctions on the strikers (TDU *Convoy Dispatch*, September 1985)! There can be no union democracy without independence from the bosses' state, its strikebreaking courts, the racist "migra" (Immigration and Naturalization Service) and head-busting cops. Workers are right to be up in arms against the corrupt, anti-democratic sellout officials—but labor must clean its own house. The capitalist state is not "neutral." When the bosses' courts are invited into the unions to "fight corruption," they use their foothold to bust strikes and shackle or break the unions. FBI, courts and cops out of the Teamsters!

To win strikes, to fight the special oppression of minorities and women, to organize the unorganized and the superexploited on both sides of the border, labor's muscle must be mobilized. Against attempts by the growers and government to intimidate and terrorize the foreign-born workers, we demand full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers. The workers must rely on their own strength as a class, freeing themselves from the bosses' parties and the bosses' lieutenants in the labor movement. This requires the leadership of a multiracial, class-struggle workers party. Victory to the Watsonville strike! ■

Jackson Taylor...

(continued from page 16)

didn't actually know what it was that happened, and if that would have hit the 12 o'clock news, I guarantee it, there would have been 3,000 men down there. Every pier and every ship would have stopped working." The company, faced with a bunch of angry and determined unionists, backed off their union-busting operation. While claiming to be willing to hire union labor, it is demanding substandard rates. The ILA has rightly refused to accept this, and the *Depy* is now sitting at anchor in the Chesapeake Bay with its load of cement.

Ever since Reagan crushed the PATCO strike in 1981, it's been open season on the unions. The bosses don't seem satisfied with just wage cuts—they want dead strikers to show as an "example" to the rest of the labor movement, like Ohio Greyhound striker Ray Phillips, run down by a scab in the 1983 bus strike; and Greg Goobic, killed a few weeks later by a scabbing truck driver who smashed through a picket line at the Union Oil refinery in Rodeo, California.

The bosses are so emboldened that they believe they can crack a powerful union like the ILA. But the ILA wasn't playing footsie: picket lines were established at the launch center, the employment agency and the destination point for the cargo, as well as at Port Covington. Union officials said other ports were prepared to dispatch reinforcements if necessary.

Baltimore Launch general manager John Sorensen's response to Taylor's death was to viciously blame the slain picketer for "running around like an animal, being where he shouldn't be" (*Baltimore Sun*, 10 October)! He went on to dare anyone to fight his union-busting plans: "I'm not living in Russia yet, and no union or association is going to stop me." Longshoremen should learn from this: that's why the Russian Revolution was made—to put seaherders like Sorensen and his crony Paul Trapani out of business for good.

We honor Jackson Taylor, who died in the line of duty, defending his union. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, sent representatives to his funeral. We especially appreciate the fact that ILA Local 333 has in the past worked with us in defending the interests of labor and the oppressed. The local's Longshore Executive Board endorsed the 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization which turned out 5,000 mostly black workers and youth and stopped the race-terrorist KKK from marching through the streets of Washington, D.C. The local also donated $100 last winter to the PDC's fund drive for Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

The loss of union brother Jackson Taylor at the hands of the police is an object lesson that the capitalist state and its armed fist, the cops, are not neutral. As the ILA picket captain told us: "I just hope other unions all over the world, not only in the United States, learn a lesson from this and wake up. And the judge ain't going to be with you. The membership's got to do it themselves." ■

West Coast Longshore Militant Urges Work Stoppage to Honor Jackson Taylor

This resolution in solidarity with Baltimore ILA labor martyr Jack Taylor was drafted by Stan Gow, editor of the Longshore Militant *in ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco. On October 10, when the Local 10 Executive Board was scheduled to meet, Gow distributed his resolution; the meeting was not held for lack of a quorum.*

RESOLVED: That ILWU Local 10's officers send a telegram of condolences to the family of the longshoreman victim of a police killing, Jack Taylor, c/o the headquarters of ILA Local 333 and a telegraphed message of solidarity to the Local, mentioning the murder of strikers supporting longshoremen during the 1934 strike and the similar job defense action by Vancouver, Wash. longshoremen.

RESOLVED: Local 10 calls for a 24 hour West Coast longshore work stoppage to protest the death of ILA longshoreman, Jack Taylor, killed in action by police while trying to maintain union jurisdiction against a scab work force in the port of Baltimore, Md. This is by executive action and the officers will communicate tomorrow with all ILWU/IBU Locals. The officers will communicate our intent to the ILA International and ILA Local 333.

Spartacist Candidates on Koch and Farrakhan

"Don't Let Them Turn New York into Bloody Beirut!"

The candidates of the Spartacist Party, Marjorie Stamberg for New York City mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president, issued the following statement October 3:

Sinister Louis Farrakhan and racist pig Ed Koch are trying to whip up race war in this country and this city. They're inciting riots outside Madison Square Garden. They are both dangerous racists, but there is a difference. Farrakhan only has his mouth; Koch has 30,000 gun-toting cops who think they have a license to kill—and they use it daily. Don't let them turn New York City into bloody Beirut. To make the streets safe for decent New Yorkers, the Spartacist Party calls for labor/black defense against the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms.

For the rabid Zionist Ed Koch to accuse the sinister anti-Semite Farrakhan of racism and bigotry is cynical hypocrisy. Koch paraded arm-in-arm through Queens with General Sharon, the mass murderer who organized the massacre of Palestinian refugees at Sabra and Shatila. Koch's cossacks treat black and Hispanic youth as if they were Palestinians on the West Bank. NYC transit cops shoot down turnstile jumpers like "PLO terrorists." Koch is Reaganism in New York City.

Farrakhan's revolting "Hitler was a great man" statement and his despicable Jew-baiting are used by Reagan, Koch & Co. to incite racist terror. Farrakhan even invited Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Metzger as a special guest to his recent rally in Los Angeles. But when Koch talks of "justifiable fury" against Farrakhan, the fascistic KKK and JDL are readying their bombs, preparing pogroms against black people. The Jewish people more than anyone else should know how dangerous this is.

Farrakhan is often portrayed as some kind of present-day Malcolm X. Nothing could be further from the truth. Malcolm was a courageous fighter against the American ruling class who appealed to militant black youth. Farrakhan is a demagogue who appeals to would-be black capitalists. *Louis Farrakhan wanted Malcolm X dead. In December 1964 Farrakhan declared that "such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death." Two months later Malcolm X was shot down at the Audubon Ballroom.*

Preparing for war on the Soviet Union, Reagan went to Bitburg to bury the memory of the Nazi Holocaust. We Spartacists do not forget. The Trotskyists fought to admit Jewish refugees to America when everyone including the Zionists and FDR refused to let them in. But we also don't forget Vietnam, where the U.S. slaughtered more than two million peasants and workers. We don't forget the hundreds of Palestinian refugees slaughtered during Israel's Lebanese Blitzkrieg.

And we don't forget Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry, black victims of Koch's killer cops. The Spartacist Party is campaigning to "Kick Out Koch! Smash Racist Cop Terror!" This morning we are holding a demonstration outside the World Trade Center protesting the whitewash of Koch's Dr. Mengele, Gross the ghoul. The cover-up coroner is part of the killer cop "blue wall of silence" extending right up to D.A. Morgenthau and City Hall.

The Spartacist Party is demanding, "Blue uniforms, white sheets, racist terrorists off the streets! Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry!" We are building a multiracial, fighting workers party to get rid of this rotting capitalist system that offers only race war and nuclear holocaust. ■

Gross's Cover-Up...

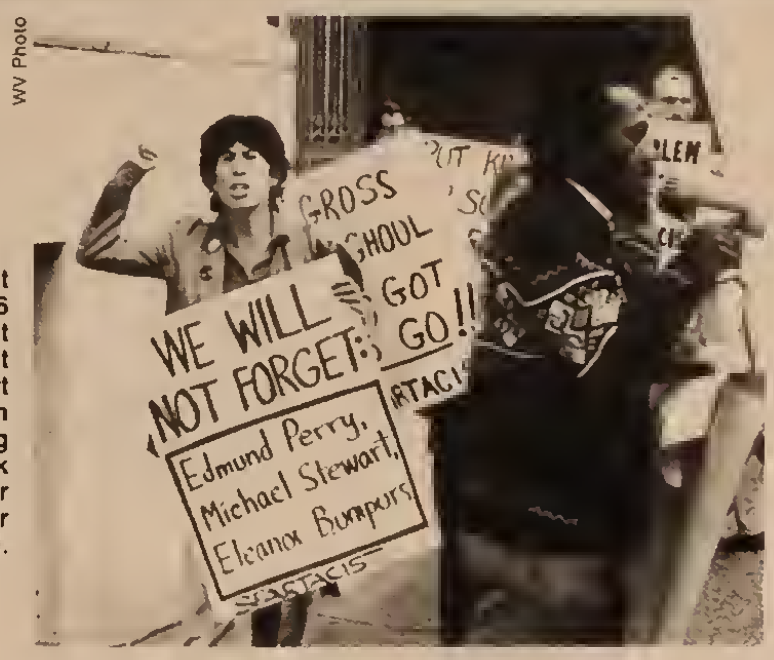
(continued from page 16)

mobilize foreign workers—all workers in this city—to become a political force to smash racist terror!"

Cover-Up City and the Butcher of Attica

"What we've got in New York is a Murder, Incorporated," said Stamberg, "and the godfather is Ed Koch." As Stamberg noted, "Earlier the federal prosecutor dropped his charges, and before that, Koch's 'Liman Commission' gave Gross a clean bill of health. We know something about Arthur L. Liman. He whitewashes better than Tide. Back in 1971 Liman was the general counsel for a special New York State commission to investigate the slaughter at Attica prison. Officially, 39 people were killed by the cops when state troopers stormed the jail to put down the Attica Rebellion. It was a massacre, ordered by Governor Nelson Rockefeller. But that Liman Commission cleared the butcher of Attica, bloody Rockefeller. The bourgeoisie takes care of its own."

Instead of facing trial himself October 3, that very afternoon Elliot Gross began testifying at the sham trial of the Transit Authority cops who beat Michael Stewart to death. The sinister coroner lived up to his reputation, literally changing his story *daily* on the stand, weaving tangled webs of lying cover-up. He admitted removing Stewart's eyes without family knowledge. He admitted finding hemorrhages in both of Stewart's eyes, which experts consider a prime sign of asphyxiation, but testified they were unrelated to Stewart's death, a statement the "prosecutor" allowed to go unchallenged.



Marjorie at September 26 united-front protest outside court whitewash of cops' slaying of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs.

On October 8 Gross testified he currently "could not form an opinion" as to the cause of Stewart's death. This was his second change of opinion in the case. (In September 1983 Gross's first autopsy report cited cardiac arrest as the cause of death. In November 1983, Gross changed the autopsy report to attribute death to spinal cord injury.) In court October 9, Gross changed his story again, testifying death could have been caused by a "combination of factors" including infliction of "blunt force trauma" caused by an instrument (such as a billy club), acute intoxication and effects of "physical restraints" (such as a choke hold). And on October 11, Gross testified he had let stand his erroneous report citing spinal cord injury as cause of death, because he was concerned it could make his office look like a "three ring circus"!

Stamberg, who attended the trial for several days, told *WV*: "From day one, D.A. Morgenthau's 'prosecution' of the cops has been a sham, on obscenely trivial charges of perjury and 'criminally negligent homicide.' In other words, the state claims Michael Stewart beat himself to death and the cops only failed to restrain him in time! Now Gross is doing his best to obscure *any* medical evidence in this case, laying the basis for the whitewash of this cold-blooded cop murder."

Koch is Reaganism in New York

At the very same time the Spartacists were protesting Gross the ghoul, Ed Koch was up at Madison Square Garden holding a major press conference to denounce Louis Farrakhan, who held a rally at the Garden last Monday (see Spartacist Party press release, above). Ed Kartsen stated to the protesters, "Farrakhan and Edward Koch have got a lot in common as brothers under the skin. Except Koch has got the power, and Farrakhan doesn't. And they disagree on which race they're going to terrorize and kill. Koch has got the racist policies of Adolf Hitler and Farrakhan thinks Adolf Hitler was a good guy. Koch wants to make this a Jew versus black issue, Farrakhan wants to make this a black versus Jew issue. But we don't go for that: we know that this is a policy of racist cop terror that's going on here, to back up the wealthy."

Kartsen, a former member of TWU Local 100, noted that, ominously, a Confederate flag was flown in the NYC Labor Day parade this year, in which Mayor Koch marched. The people who support race-terror and union-busting have a symbol, he said: "In Germany it's the swastika. In America it is the Confederate flag. The Confederate flag flies with the racist murdering policy of Koch! And Gross is Koch's Dr. Mengele. Just like Dr. Mengele helped Hitler out, in conducting vicious, ghoulish Nazi 'experiments' against concentration camp victims, Gross the ghoul carries out the same policy for Koch."

Kartsen concluded: "Koch is Reagan's man in New York City. Reagan prepares for war against the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and prepares for Star Wars to destroy the gains of the Russian Revolution. In order to carry out this war on labor and blacks at home Koch needs racist terror." Kartsen compared Koch's cops' killings of Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart and Edmund Perry to the murderous firebombing of eleven people in the Philly MOVE commune, the signature of the Reagan years. He stated: "New York labor and minorities must answer this wave of wanton cop terror with massive mobilizations of our own organized power." ■

NYC SPARTACIST CAMPAIGN RALLY

Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor
Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President

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New York City: For the Working People!

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Borough of Manhattan Community College
199 Chambers St. (Take any train to Chambers St.) N402 (North Building)

For more information call: (212) 267-1025

VOTE SPARTACIST!

CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 383 (12 July), our article "Nicaragua Under Siege" contained two errors due to difficulties in telephone transmission from Managua. We erroneously referred to guns shooting off, rather than being raised into the air, every time the speaker made an emphatic point at a Sandinista Youth rally June 17. Also, the number of peasants at a rally for land reform in Masaya was 30,000, not 3,000 as reported.

And in *WV* No. 384 (26 July), the article "Nicaragua Defies Reagan" gives the date of the "Day of Joy," celebrating the flight of dictator Somoza, as June 17; it should read July 17.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Campaign Protests

Dr. Gross: Koch's Cover-Up Coroner

"Gross the Ghoul Has Got To Go!" demanded demonstrators October 3 at the World Trade Center, denouncing the continuing cover-up of the crimes of New York City's chief medical examiner Dr. Elliot Gross. The protest was initiated by the Spartacist League to coincide with New York State Department of Health hearings against Gross, which were canceled at the last minute.

Demonstrators demanded "From Harlem to Soweto—Smash Racist Terror!" and "Blue uniforms, white sheets—Racist terrorists off the streets!" Recalling recent victims of police terror, they chanted, "Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry—Vengeance!" Among the protesters were representatives of the Perry family and the Mobilization Committee Against Police Brutality.

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party mayoral candidate, stated at the demonstration: "New York City today is cover-up city. The people who run this town got themselves a compliant 'administrative law judge,' and so the hearings against Gross were canceled. This is just one more proof that what we have here is a whole *system* of racist police terror. Koch's cops kill; D.A. Morgenthau comes in to stop indictments, and Gross's job is to hide the evidence."

"Gross is guilty of far more than negligence," said Stamberg. "He belongs behind bars in Attica. Gouging out the eyes of Michael Stewart to hide the evidence of police strangulation, switching cadavers, covering up the 'eviction by shotgun' murder of Eleanor Bumpurs: nothing is too gross for Gross the ghoul. He's Koch's Dr. Mengele and symbolizes everything that's repugnant in this city."

Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen lead protest October 3 against wanton killings by New York's racist cops.

Spartacist Manhattan borough president candidate Ed Kartsen told the 70 protesters, "We are here to fight for a labor/black mobilization to organize thousands of responsible union working-class women and men to stop the racist murderers in white sheets and the raeist murderers who walk around in blue with a badge. We need a mass working-class party to mobilize the unions, to mobilize minorities, to

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Baltimore Cops Kill Striking Longshoreman

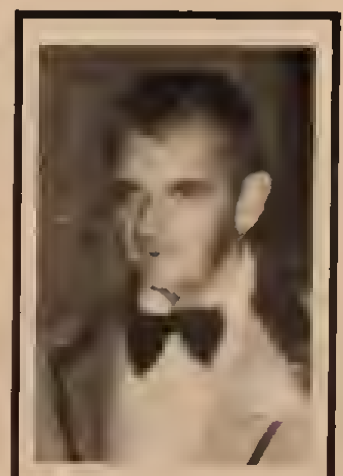
Honor Jackson Taylor, Labor Martyr

Baltimore longshoremen played hardball. They battled cops and scabs and backed off the union busters. In the course of the fight, one of the strikers, Jackson H. Taylor, was brutally killed by the scabherding cops, October 9, as he fought to defend the picket line and the very existence of his union. Jack Taylor gave his life for the cause of labor.

Nothing moved on the Baltimore docks Saturday morning, October 12, as longshoremen honored one of their own. Some 1,500 longshoremen, almost equally black and white, gathered at Baltimore's St. Rose of Lima Catholic Church, to pay their respects to Brother Taylor. International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) president Teddy Gleason was there, along with union officials from as far away as Portland, Maine and Brownsville, Texas.

"That man Jack died for me," said one dock worker of the 59-year-old gang leader and member of ILA Local 333, who was struck down at Port Covington by a police cruiser while he and his union brothers fought an unprecedented attempt to introduce scab labor on the Baltimore docks.

Rader/Baltimore Sun



JACKSON TAYLOR
1926-1985

no credit

ILA union brothers at memorial mass for Jackson Taylor, October 12.

The battle began October 8, when 125 longshoremen turned out to stop the Baltimore Launch and Marine Services' use of $5 per hour scab labor to unload the Cypriot freighter *Depy*. Longshoremen widely believe that powerful shipping interests are behind the small company's confrontation with the ILA. Police were out in force, including a plainclothes cop who provocatively pulled out a pistol and pointed it at the picketers.

That evening the fight broke out when a scab tried to run his forklift through the picket line. The unionists fought back. Five members were arrested and two cops injured. The next morning more than 300 ILAers mobilized, overran a police line and attempted to storm the *Depy*. The cops called for reinforcements: two cruisers came speeding toward the dock at about 60 miles per hour and swerved toward a group of longshoremen. Taylor dodged the first cop car; he was struck and killed by the second.

The picket captain on site, Carl McKenzie, told *WV*: "Wednesday morning Jackson was killed. People

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 390

1 November 1985

Honor Benjamin Moloise, Martyred by South African Police State

Avenge Moloise, Bury Apartheid!

OCTOBER 27—"A storm of oppression will be followed by the rain of my blood/I am proud to give my life, my solitary life." So wrote black South African poet Benjamin Moloise, a supporter of the African National Congress (ANC) who was in prison under sentence of death for two years. Moloise was framed for the just execution of a police stool pigeon whose testimony sent three ANC militants to the gallows in 1983. At about 7 a.m. on October 18, 30-year-old Moloise was hanged at Pretoria Central Prison.

The night before the execution, several hundred defiant youth gathered in an illegal vigil at the home of Moloise's mother in Soweto, but soldiers in armored trucks surrounded her home and forced tear gas into it to disperse the peaceful gathering. In a final gratuitous display of viciousness, the prison officials would not even let the 53-year-old mother in to say a final farewell to her son, instead forcing her to wait outside the gates for word of her son's death. Even the body of the dead poet will be held by the state, while the bereaved mother is given a "grave number." "This government is cruel," was Mamike Moloise's comment that morning. "It is really, really cruel."

With shouts of "Blood of Moloise!" black crowds took to the streets after 3,500 attended a memorial service in Johannesburg. Sparked by racist whites hurling debris from their apartments, shop windows were broken and two cops were stabbed in the four-hour melee, which marked the first time that the escalating confrontation between the racist government and blacks has spread to the white preserve of downtown Johannesburg. TV images of whites attacked by enraged blacks were flashed around the world, raising the spectre of a horrible race war.

William Campbell

Mourners at funeral for victims of apartheid terror defy South African racist police state.

Turnley/Detroit Free Press

The white supremacist regime is indeed bent on provoking race war—one in which the unarmed black masses will suffer a monstrous bloodletting of historic proportions. Only the ultra-reactionary nuts in Reagan's White House can continue to depict this regime as some kind of "reform" regime. As liberal Anthony Lewis wrote, in a column titled "Ending an Illusion," just after Moloise's execution:

> "Over these last days and weeks [the South African government] has finally disposed of the illusion that it is ready for serious change—political change—in the apartheid system....
> "Instead they are going back to the historic strategy: beating the blacks into submission.... One explanation of its deliberately provocative tactics now is that it hopes to bring this yearlong crisis to a head by arousing more protest and then crushing it ruthlessly."
>
> —*New York Times*, 21 October

Again and again in recent days, the mailed fist of apartheid butchery has been brought down, upping the daily death toll and revealing the true face of the racist police state. In one typical incident in late October, police set up an

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Cops Riot Against Minorities, Poor

Thatcher Burns Britain

In the space of one month, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and her racist cops have set off explosions of ghetto anger in several of the country's major cities. In early September there was the massive police invasion of Birmingham's predominantly black and Asian district of Handsworth. Less than three weeks later came London's Brixton, where the 1981 "riots" first burst into flames. When cops shot a West Indian mother in the back, angry crowds surrounded the police station; burning barricades of overturned cars soon appeared. Then it was the turn of Liverpool's Toxteth. And on October 7, in north London, the cops got more than they bargained for. This time not only bricks and bottles, but shotgun fire greeted police invaders who charged into a housing project in Tottenham. The cops came up one short.

Last March, after 12 bitter months on the picket lines, Britain's militant miners were forced back to the pits. They had been dealt a defeat, fighting essentially alone against the

continued on page 4

Manchester Guardian

Cop terror sparks explosion in London black ghetto of Brixton.

WV Sub Drive Success: 164 Percent

Congratulations to participants in the 1985 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. The six-week drive reached 4,612-1/2 points nationally, for an impressive 164 percent of the quota. These totals include well over a thousand subs to *Young Spartacus* and 598 to *Women and Revolution*. Only 57 subs to Spanish-language *Spartacist* were sold (evidently the existence of this periodical has not yet penetrated the locals' collective consciousness), but these included 29 *Spanish Spartacist* subs sold in Watsonville, California where cannery workers are on strike. Overall, the 1985 sub drive netted more than 700 points over last year's totals, reflecting some politicization of students primarily around the anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa.

Evaluating the previous year's sub drive in *WV* we had noted that "for most locals this year it was tough going," with Youth for Reagan and the "new patriotism" the predominant mood on college campuses. Then last spring came the stirrings of student protest over South Africa—a wave of activism which was "divestment"-centered and firmly liberal-led but frequently pretty militant. This fall, hitting the campuses again, our comrades generally found not too much going on politically, but there was a diffuse political curiosity and responsiveness to our politics. Comrade Tom D. from Boston reported:

> "The line 'Are you interested in what's happening in South Africa, in the fight against apartheid?' opened a lot of doors.... If students actually hadn't participated in demonstrations, they knew about them and were anxious to know more. Students were also very interested in our New York election campaign and the connections we draw between racism here and in South Africa. If right-wing attitudes and complacency haven't disappeared, they certainly have been elbowed off center stage."

WV Photo

Final Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	100	127	127
Boston	350	436	125
Chicago	280	422½	151
Cleveland	180	374	208
Los Angeles	160	305	191
New York	900	1,070½	119
Oakland	470	781½	166
San Francisco	230	528½	230
Washington, D.C.	150	212	141
At-large	—	355½	—
National Total	**2,820**	**4,612½**	**164**

Like last year, Labor Day marches were small and conservative. One exception to the unions' general quiescence was Chicago transit. In response to a racist frame-up of a black bus driver, David Johnson, after a tragic traffic accident, 700 militant transit workers defied their union tops and marched on police headquarters, forcing the dropping of charges against Johnson. After getting this little taste of workers power, Chicago transit workers bought 41 points in subs to the Spartacist press. Other highlights of the Chicago sub drive were 85 points in resubscriptions and 88 points in working-class neighborhoods (the South Side and Maywood). Chicago's main sub drive campus was the University of Wisconsin in Madison (103-1/2 points).

On campuses in the Midwest, the most productive sub drive work was at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where comrades from Cleveland, Chicago and Toronto combined to sell 133 points. That regional effort, along with thoughtful resubscription work (68 points), enabled the Cleveland comrades to sell more than twice their quota, making this "the most successful sub drive in the local's history." Probably also heading for a record is Toronto, where the Trotskyist League of Canada's sub drive was still going on when our figures were compiled. So far the Canadian comrades have reported 307-1/2 points in subs to SL/U.S. periodicals, not counting subs to their own paper, *Spartacist Canada*. One exciting component of the sub drive work in Canada was a trip to Sudbury, Ontario, a historically important proletarian center of the nickel mining industry, where 44 points were sold.

The three SL locals on the West Coast had no trouble making their quotas thanks in good part to the Northern Tour to Oregon and Washington State, where five comrades netted 444-1/2 points, including 171 at the University of Oregon at Eugene and 140 at Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington. This success enabled Los Angeles, with a low quota, to reach 191 percent despite selling only 40 points at UCLA and 51-1/2 at Santa Barbara. Elsewhere in the University of California system, 120 points were sold at Berkeley, 139-1/2 at Santa Cruz, and 97 at Davis. And "South Africa managed to penetrate even at Stanford," noted comrade Larry A. from Oakland after 121 points were sold there.

Among SF area unionists, phone workers bought the most subs (115 points). A good number of these were sold by comrade San (Oakland local), who once again topped the individual points list with 174 points. Comrade San managed to win even without participating in this year's Northern Tour. The individual runners-up were Paula and Steve B. from SF with 161 and 127 points respectively. Debbie H. (New York) with 125-1/2, Alden (SF) with 109-1/2, Tim (L.A.) with 103-1/2, Christina (Boston) with 91 and Gordy (Ann Arbor) with 87.

On the East Coast, the Boston local sold 80 points at Harvard, where the Spartacus Youth League is active, and 119 points at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. The Washington, D.C. local sold 123 points at Howard, the country's premier black university. Atlanta comrades sold 62 points at Atlanta University as well as 12 points to transit workers. Southern work got a boost from a Southern Tour to campuses in Norfolk, Virginia and Chapel Hill and Greensboro, North Carolina. Comrades from Boston, Washington and Cleveland participated and sold 46 points. A reporter from the trip wrote:

> "Black students were very open to our strategy for labor-centered struggle both here and in South Africa, particularly since the power of labor has been underscored by the emergence of black trade unions battling the apartheid regime. There was positive excitement around our anti-fascist work, especially November 27."

November 27 (1982) was the day that a Spartacist-initiated mobilization heavily based on black union members stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. One amusing anecdote from the tour was that one of the people met in Chapel Hill was "a guy who had last seen *WV* at a bookstore in Managua," Nicaragua. More than 300 pieces of literature were sold on the tour.

The New York sub drive turned in some impressive campus numbers. At Yale, scene of a militant campus workers strike last year, we sold 176 points; successful work was also done at Columbia (91-1/2 points) and Cornell (82 points), where anti-apartheid protests have flared sporadically. But the political center of this year's sub drive in New York has been the Stamberg/Kartsen election campaign whose calls for the multiracial unions of the city to mobilize against racist police terror have struck a nerve particularly among black working people. Well over 100 points have been sold at campaign events including protest demonstrations, public meetings and soapboxing in black and working-class neighborhoods. And 92 points were sold to New York transit workers; an SL supporter in the transit union noted that "significantly, 48 of these points were resubscriptions to *WV* from people who subscribed in previous sub drives, indicating the cohering of a readership core in this powerhouse of New York City labor."

Though the *WV* sub base is still very modest by anyone's standards, our press has become recognized increasingly as the premier leftist paper in America—informed sources say that *WV* is eagerly passed from hand to hand in the editorial offices of the *Village Voice*, and we utterly swept the "Left Press Awards" at WBAI, NYC's rad-lib radio station. We welcome our new readers—and our old readers—and hope that for many of you, reading our communist press will be the first step toward greater involvement in the social struggles through which a revolutionary working-class leadership will be forged. ■

TROTSKY

Bourgeois Democracy and Workers Revolution

Karl Kautsky, German social democracy's leading theoretician, distorted the Marxist understanding of the state to justify his opposition to the 1917 Russian proletarian revolution. In his polemic against Kautsky, Lenin wrote:

LENIN

Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that the learned Kautsky has never heard that the *more highly* democracy is developed, the *more* the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers? This does not mean that we must not make use of bourgeois parliament (the Bolsheviks made better use of it than probably any other party in the world, for in 1912-14 we won the entire workers' curia in the Fourth Duma). But it does mean that only a liberal can forget the *historical limitations and conventional nature* of the bourgeois parliamentary system as Kautsky does. Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the "democracy" of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage-slaves*. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the people to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of socialism are constantly exposing to the people, *in order to prepare* them for revolution!

—V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Philly Black Mayor Can't Wash Away Victims' Blood

MOVE Massacre: Lies and Racist Murder

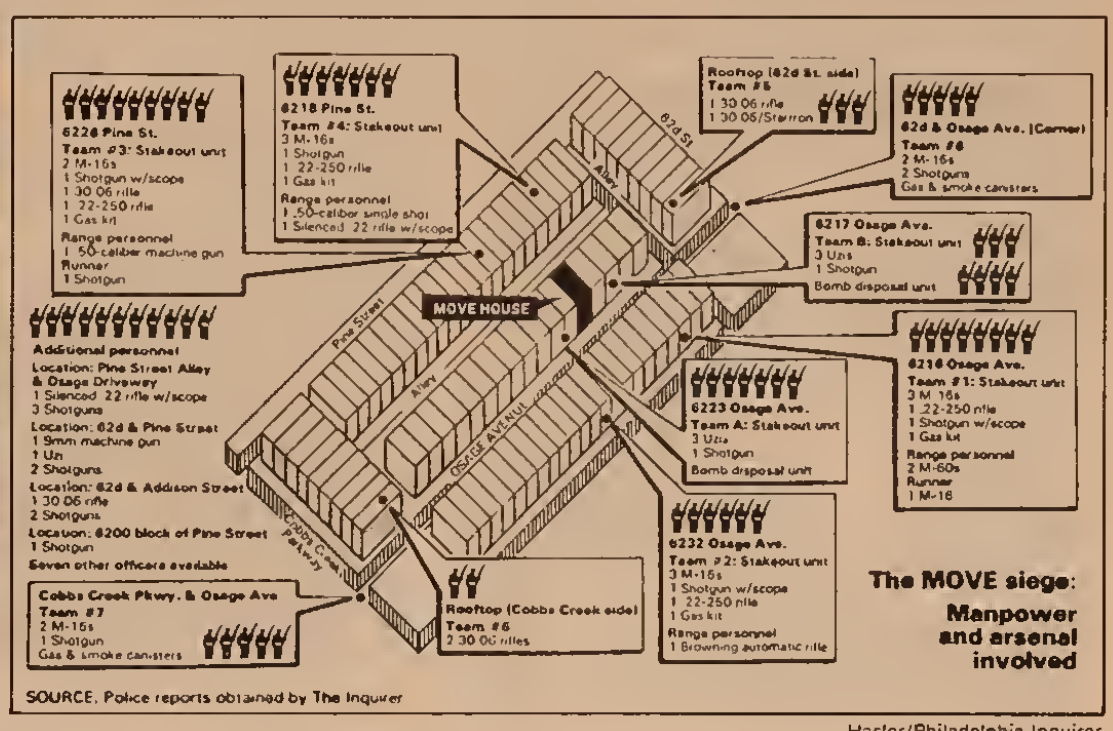
The police bombing of black Philadelphia last May 13 was racist mass murder. Eleven members of the black back-to-nature MOVE group, including five children, were burned alive and 61 homes burned down, leaving 250 people homeless. This cold-blooded execution came in the immediate aftermath of Reagan's salute to Nazi SS stormtroopers at Bitburg. We headlined our story of this Nazi-like holocaust, "Bitburg Hits Philly, Reagan Bombs Black Babies." The MOVE massacre was indeed a sinister symbol of the Reagan years, a warning to every black person and anyone else who might get "out of line" by opposing this hideously racist, anti-Soviet war-crazy government.

Philadelphia's black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode rushed forward at the time to "take full responsibility" for this grotesque massacre, claiming even that he would "do it again." But the searing memory of that inferno would not go away, the televised spectacle of a whole neighborhood going up in flames while water cannons (which earlier that day had poured 600,000 pounds of water on the MOVE house) stood idle. Nor did the support for Goode's mass murder, a chorus extending from Reagan's top cop Meese to Goode's fellow black Democrats, silence the anguished cries of the victims. The foundations of the $110,000 homes being built by the city to replace those it incinerated could not bury the smell of scorched flesh and bone burned beyond recognition, and the sight reminiscent of the World War II firebombing of Dresden.

So Goode appointed a hand-picked commission—composed of a former high-level FBI official, a former Pennsylvania state supreme court justice, and various cronies and supporters—to give his administration a whitewash. "A farce, a circus," is how Goode's commission was described by Louise James, a former MOVE member whose son was one of the eleven incinerated by the Philly cops. Even former mayor William Green, who appointed Goode as city managing director during his administration, criticized the commission as a panel of "allies, supporters and recipients of city business," comparing it to Nixon appointing his own Senate Watergate committee.

AP

The mayor and his battalion of death. Racist murder conspiracy ran from Democratic mayor Goode to the FBI and Reagan's White House.



Hasler/Philadelphia Inquirer

ere was a carefully planned conspiracy to commit state terrorism, a conspiracy that extended from Philadelphia city hall to Meese and Reagan's White House.

The one incontestable fact to emerge was that from the moment of this heinous crime, Philadelphia officialdom did nothing but lie. The most incredible testimony came from the mayor himself. Elected on the claim that he was a "competent, hands-on manager," Goode testified that subordinates kept him ignorant of the details even though the operation involved the military mobilization of an entire city government in collusion with the feds. In particular, Goode said he knew nothing of the plans to drop a bomb from a helicopter until he saw it on TV in his office. He then obscenely claimed to have watched the ensuing fire rage out of control for an hour, incinerating the MOVE house and surrounding black neighborhood, because he thought it was being put out... until he "realized" that what he saw on his screen was not water but "snow" or electrical interference!

Goode's testimony was flatly contradicted by his former deputy and managing director Leo Brooks (who was forced to resign over the bombing) and chief of police Gregore Sambor. Brooks, a former army major general, claimed he was so out of touch that he first heard about the evacuation of the West Philadelphia neighborhood over his car radio as he returned from Virginia the day before the assault. Contrary to Goode's claims, both Brooks and Sambor testified that the use of explosives against the MOVE house had been planned *for over a year*. And Sambor openly bragged that he asked fire officials to allow the fire to rage unimpeded, purportedly to burn a "bunker" off the roof, thereby contradicting earlier statements that firefighters were prevented from putting out the fire because of gunfire from the MOVE house.

Realizing they could be up on homicide charges, several key police personnel, including Lieutenant Frank Powell, the bomb squad commander who dropped the bomb, and William Klein, who built the bomb, have refused to testify on grounds of self-incrimination. But on October 24, two cops, Sergeant Albert Revel and Officer Michael Tursi, revealed that the water cannons *could not* remove the "bunker," and that the police had contingency plans to plant explosives on the roof of the MOVE house before the May 13 bombing. Other cops testified that prior to the helicopter bombing, Sambor ordered at least three powerful explosives charges to blow open the house. One explosion blew the front off the house and off three neighboring houses, leaving a pile of rubble waist-deep.

Perhaps the most important testimony to come out of the hearings is that directly linking the MOVE massacre with the Reagan administration. Shortly after the bombing, Sambor told the *New York Times* (19 May) that he and his aides went over the plans for the assault with local FBI agents on May 11 and "The F.B.I. found the plan sound." Revel revealed in his testimony that the city obtained Browning automatic rifles, an M-60 machine gun (which fires 800 7.62mm calibre rounds per minute) and an anti-tank gun with the help of an agent of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. The ATF is the same gang which sent an agent to help organize the 1979 Klan/Nazi massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The following day, the commission released a letter from the FBI confirming that in January it gave the cops *39.75 pounds* of the extremely powerful military explosive C-4. What Goode originally called an "entry device," police now claim contained two pounds of Tovex TR-2, the Du Pont high explosive used in underground mining, combined with 1.25 pounds of C-4.

While Jesse Jackson rushed to the side of his fellow black Democrat Goode, various reformist and centrist pseudo-socialists fell over each other apologizing for the Philadelphia mayor and/or denying White House involvement, obscenely blaming the MOVE massacre on the martyred victims. It fell to the Spartacist League to expose the horrendous racist crime, and that the murderous conspiracy necessarily ran from the black Democratic mayor to the racist Republican administration in Washington. It was up to the Trotskyists to show elementary human decency and compassion for the family and supporters of the incinerated MOVE members. We demanded freedom for their comrades, 13 of whom are still incarcerated because they tried to defend themselves from a 600-strong cop assault on their Philadelphia home in 1978 in which one cop was killed, and for Ramona Africa who is being held on *$3.2 million bail* because she survived the May 13 racist holocaust.

In addition to prominently denouncing this crime from the pages of our press, the SL organized a public meeting in New York City, July 11 to memorialize MOVE. We were honored to have LaVerne Sims and Louise James speak at that forum. LaVerne concluded her remarks with the warning, if you don't do something about the MOVE massacre, you're "only going to wake up tomorrow and find it happening right here in New York." Impelled by the Philadelphia inferno and the rampage of racist killings by Koch's cops in NYC, the Spartacist election campaign in New York has centered on the need for labor to mobilize to crush racist terror, from Philadelphia and Harlem to Cape Town and Soweto.

It is our obligation to evoke outrage over the hideous racist MOVE massacre, engraving it forever in the memory of the working class and its allies. As SL spokesman Ed Kartsen told the July 11 forum: "Neither the Greensboro massacre nor the Philadelphia bombing will ever be forgotten. A victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for the Osage Avenue massacre to *revolutionary justice*. They'll be treated fairly, just like American GIs that liberated Hitler's Dachau death camps treated the prison guards who were there: the GIs executed about 122 of them before they could be stopped, and the liberated prisoners dispatched another 50 with shovels." Proletarian vengeance for the MOVE martyrs! ■

Steve Webb/Philadelphia Tribune photos

LaVerne Sims (far left) and Louise James indict Goode as "Mayor of Murder," October 10.

Wilson Goode: "Mayor of Murder"

With the exception of the powerful testimony of Louise James and her sister LaVerne Sims who indicted Goode as the "Mayor of Murder," the hearings, now in their third week, have indeed been a circus of cover-ups, buck-

Britain...

(continued from page 1)

whole state apparatus of British capitalism, *but they were not broken.* They proudly marched back to work with union banners flying, with drums and bagpipes playing. Maggie Thatcher vowed to be "vindictive in victory," and she certainly carried through on that threat. But a mere six months later the Iron Lady was in big trouble. Her popularity sank to new lows, and as her cops rampaged through the ghettos of Birmingham, Liverpool and London, the impoverished residents—black, Asian and white—fought back with justice on their side. The haughty Tories in Whitehall are well aware that Handsworth, Toxteth and Brixton could spark a new wave of militant social struggle.

Nero fiddled as Rome burned: Thatcher lit the torch and stoked the fires that set Britain's cities aflame. Meanwhile the opposition Labour Party offers nothing but soft-core Thatcherism. From the year-long miners strike, the most important struggle in this country in decades, to the recent ghetto revolts, Labour leader Neil Kinnock has done nothing but stab the struggles of Britain's poor and working people in the back. Judas got the proverbial 30 pieces of silver for his treachery, but Judas Kinnock is working overtime to earn his peerage. *The country is falling apart and it will take socialist revolution to rebuild Britain.*

As almost nowhere else in the industrialized capitalist world, the stark choice in Britain is socialism or rampant decay and devastation—and the devastation is there for everyone to see. After half a decade of Thatcher's monetarism, unemployment is officially 13.5 percent, and double that in the industrial areas of northern England, Scotland and South Wales. In ghettos like Handsworth and Brixton it approaches 60 percent. The reformists' welfare state schemes have already been tried and proven bankrupt. The standard of living has fallen below Italy and Spain. And it's not just Thatcher: the Wilson/Callaghan Labour government broke strikes, sent troops to Northern Ireland and instituted the notorious virginity tests for Asian women seeking entry into Britain.

For decades, the British left has been straitjacketed by Labourism, subordinating itself politically to the parliamentarist lieutenants of British capital. The British Communist Party, now deeply split between ultrareformist "Euros" and old-line Stalinists, long ago embraced the "parliamentary road" to oblivion and became a second-rate Labour Party. The Spartacist League of Britain fights to *split* the Labour Party, winning the working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops. Right now is a unique opportunity to unite minorities and the poor with the heavy battalions of organized labor. And it is a key moment to forge a genuinely Bolshevik party of workers revolution.

The last time Thatcher's popular ratings were so low she managed to get out of the hole with her dirty little Falklands/Malvinas war, drowning hundreds of Argentine sailors aboard the *Belgrano* out of sheer bloodlust. This time Thatcher tried to whip up a massive provocation against what she perceived to be the most vulnerable section of the British populace. She *wanted* the cities to burn—and then blame it on the blacks, Asians and reds. But hardly anyone is buying this one. Hostility to the government and especially the police permeates wide layers of the population. Whole sections of the industrial proletariat have been made permanently jobless, and the memory of brutal police charges against the overwhelmingly white miners is fresh in everyone's mind. The government's attempt to scapegoat the minorities as "work-shy welfare hums" fell flat. It was white as well as black and Asian youth who drove Home Secretary Douglas Hurd out of Handsworth and battled the cops in Tottenham.

Even the influential *Economist* (5 October), expressing widespread unease within the ruling class, told Thatcher to call a halt the week after Brixton with its headline, "Disarm Britain's Police." These snobbish Tories are not concerned with the lives of blacks and Asians; they're worried about the shattering of the political fabric of capitalist Britain: "British policemen are losing their traditional respect." And when the Tories convened in Blackpool for their annual conference, it took an army of cops to guard it. No one has forgotten that only a year ago Thatcher and her entire cabinet were almost blown to kingdom come by the IRA, to the expressed indifference or outright jubilation of the vast majority of her subjects. An *Economist* (12 October) photo of Thatcher in Blackpool was aptly captioned, "From the bunker."

Thatcher in the Bunker

Thatcher deliberately sought to foment a racist bloodbath, either through naked police terror or through an attempt to incite interracial violence. One week before Handsworth blew, the police sponsored a white vigilante meeting that targeted a popular bingo hangout for arson attack. That was the first building to burn. Then they tried to pit Asians against blacks: the Fleet Street press deliberately spread lies that two Asian men were seen being beaten up and thrown into a burning building by "black mobs." Every sector of the Handsworth community repudiated the police/media provocation: black and Asian community leaders came together to lay wreaths in memory of the two Asian men burned to death, and publicly called for a boycott of a government "inquiry."

On September 28, seven armed police kicked down the door of a council house in Normandy Road, Brixton at 6:30 in the morning and shot black housewife Cherry Groce in cold blood, paralyzing her from the waist down. What followed was a police riot, as cops first rampaged on the streets and then systematically terrorized residents of black housing estates. As a pall of smoke hung over whole sections, Brixton was sealed off under police occupation.

A week later, London police stopped black man Floyd Jarrett, ostensibly searching for stolen goods. The cops knew Jarrett: he worked in a community youth organization preparing free meals for pensioners. No stolen goods—but they arrested him anyway and took his keys. Then they burst into his home in Tottenham and pushed his mother, who suffered from heart trouble, to the floor. They refused to call an ambulance while she lay dying. After a protest over the racist murder, hundreds of cops swarmed the Broadwater Farm Estate. But in an ensuing ten-hour battle, the cops got what they had coming: 230 were injured, several wounded by shotgun fire, one dead.

In the wake of Tottenham, the Thatcherites and the cops pulled out all the stops. The metropolitan police commissioner put London's residents "on notice" that in the future the cops would use tear gas and plastic bullets—standard tools of the trade for the British occupation forces in Northern Ireland. Four kids as young as 13 and a local shopkeeper were hastily framed up for "murder" of a cop. But more far-sighted sections of the imperialists are worried. The editors of the *New York Times* (10 October) had this advice: "...unskilled young Britons in the inner city see themselves as left out of the Government's plans for eventual economic revival. As long as they do, these outbursts of violence are likely to be repeated."

The day before, the same paper published a perceptive article by R.W. Apple, who recently completed an eight-and-a-half-year stint as *Times* bureau chief in London. Apple related the following story:

> "A West German industrialist who negotiates labor contracts spent a few days recently talking to some English counterparts and looking at their figures. When he saw the average wage of an unskilled factory worker, he asked how such a man could ever afford to take his family to a good restaurant. Told that he could not, the German remarked that neither he nor his employees would ever tolerate such a situation."

Thatcher has deliberately deindustrialized Britain, shutting down large chunks of steel and coal production. In fact, Britain is the only industrial nation with an *absolute decline* in manufacturing output in the last decade. An all-party House of Lords committee warned of the impending collapse of British industry as North Sea oil runs dry, and of "a major political and economic crisis in the foreseeable future." For blacks and Asians, brought over in large numbers in the '50s and '60s to do the dirtiest, lowest paying jobs, there's nowhere to go. Yet the Nationality Act, *which was prepared by a Labour government*, denies citizenship to many children of West Indian, Asian and other Commonwealth citizens who lived and worked in Britain most of their lives.

Bankruptcy of Labourism

The need for working-class power and socialist reconstruction of society is posed pointblank in Britain today. The Thatcher government is exposed, exhausted, brittle and discredited. The most militant section of the proletariat—the miners—was defeated but hardly crushed. And Labourite parliamentarist illusions have been shaken. Certainly after a year of hard class struggle the reformist pipe dream of a peaceful transformation of British society is a bad joke for militants. These conditions sharply pose the possibility for a regroupment of class-struggle militants into a revolutionary vanguard party.

Furthermore, traditional barriers between the proletariat and the oppressed Irish, black and Asian minorities were pierced during the miners strike. Minorities who knew from their own experience the savagery of the cops were the most stalwart supporters of the embattled miners. The Brixton community "adopted" six South Wales pits: Protestant British miners marching in Belfast to demonstrate support for the Catholic population were greeted with banners saying "Victory to the Miners!" And sparked by the miners' wives committees, the role of women in the coal strike reverberated through the country. The miners and their allies learned some hard lessons about the capitalist state. What's needed is a Bolshevik party at the head of the working class, acting as a genuine tribune of the people, so that next time around *we win.*

But the workers movement remains tied to the reformist Labour Party. In decaying Britain, where there is no room for credible reform, social democracy today means increasingly overtly breaking social struggles. Striking miners and other militants disparagingly refer to Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock as "Ramsay MacKinnock," after despised Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald, who defected to the class enemy in the 1930s. Kinnock supported Thatcher's scab ballot and condemned the miners' defense of their picket lines against the strikebreaking cops and scabs.

Now, as a section of the bourgeoisie has deserted Thatcher, and Kinnock smells the possibility of leading the next government, he is all the more eager to demonstrate his loyalty to the capitalist order. When a local black Labour councillor, Bernie Grant, refused to condemn Tottenham youth for courageously defending themselves against Thatcher's cops and forthrightly asserted that the police got a "bloody good hiding," Kinnock echoed the savage Tory denunciation of Grant. He and his deputy chief Roy Hattersley immediately issued a statement dissociating the Labour Party from Grant's eminently decent stance.

If even most militant workers remain tied to the Labour Party, it is not on account of the despised Kinnock but out of illusions in the "lefts" in the trade

AP

Press Association

Thatcher's "law and order": police brutalize Brixton black youth (left), attack miners' picket line (right).

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

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Morison "Espionage" Frame-Up

Ronald Reagan wants war, and no war mobilization is complete without muzzling government employees and the press. So last year government prosecutors found a victim—Samuel Loring Morison, a civilian employee of the U.S. Navy—and charged him with "espionage" for a routine leak to the press. This week Morison was convicted and now faces up to 40 years in prison and a $40,000 fine. The Reaganites' totalitarian message has been sent to every journalist and government employee in the country: toe the line or else!

This utterly *gratuitous* frame-up was clearly a test case aimed pointblank at the First Amendment's guarantees of free speech and freedom of the press; it was designed to shut up government employees and intimidate the news media through fear. It's part of a campaign by the White House including exclusion of reporters from U.S. military operations (the "Grenada guidelines"), systematic eavesdropping on government phones, proposals to arbitrarily subject millions of federal employees and employees of government contractors to polygraph tests, a lifetime secrecy oath for over 100,000 government officials, and the elimination of the already highly circumscribed Freedom of Information Act.

A 1982 Reagan administration report asserted that the espionage laws "could also be used to prosecute a journalist who knowingly receives and publishes classified documents or information" (*New York Times*, 23 February). The only other time the U.S. government tried to use espionage laws against its officials for leaking information to the press was in the case of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, who leaked the famous "Pentagon Papers" that exposed massive government lying about the Vietnam War.

That case was dismissed in 1973 because of government misconduct, but now Reagan wants to set a precedent that will stick. So they picked true-blue Morison, a civilian analyst for the Naval Intelligence Support Center in Suitland, Maryland and grandson of the famed naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison. If this scion of a patrician naval family can be jailed on "espionage" charges for a run-of-the-mill leak, then you can be sure that real opponents of the government will face an even worse fate.

It was the sort of leak which every Pentagon general hands out daily in order to push his pet weapons program—the inside scoop on the so-called "Soviet threat." Besides his naval analyst job, Morison also worked for years as American editor of the prestigious British military publication, *Jane's Fighting Ships*. His Navy employer knew this relationship and countenanced it, as do the military establishments in every other Western country, for which the *Jane's* publications serve as house organs and reference guides.

So Morison saw nothing wrong with sending three satellite photos to *Jane's Defence Weekly* showing a Soviet aircraft carrier under construction in a Black Sea shipyard. He also sent the magazine classified Navy reports about a series of controversial, and well-publicized, explosions which occurred at a Soviet naval port in 1984. The photos and reports were published, and the U.S. government seized on that as an excuse to prosecute not simply for theft but for "espionage" as well. A Justice Department lawyer argued with a straight face in federal court, "foreign agents read that magazine"!

At the heart of the government case was the fact that the photos were made by the technically classified KH-11 photo reconnaissance satellite, and so releasing them would supposedly be "potentially" damaging to U.S. security. But this would-be sinister charge fell apart when defense witnesses explained that the KH-11 satellite has been an open secret for years—at least since 1978, when a CIA officer sold the technical manual for the KH-11 to the Soviets for $3,000. (Knowledge of the "Keyhole" satellites may also have been passed to the Soviets in the mid-'70s by Christopher Boyce, who wanted to throw a monkey wrench in U.S. spy-in-the-sky operations and CIA

continued on page 9

unions and Labour Party. Divisions within the British workers movement are shaped by the conflict between the groveling pro-CIA, anti-Soviet right wing and a disparate, mushy "left." The most prominent "left" leader is National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) head Arthur Scargill, who had earned the widespread enmity of the right for his forthright denunciation of Polish Solidarność as counterrevolutionary.

The bosses may cheer for Kinnock, but much of Labour's working-class base looks to Scargill's NUM and the class struggle it symbolizes. At the recent Labour Party conference a resolution was put forward by Scargill calling for a future Labour government to reinstate sacked miners, review the cases of jailed miners and reimburse the NUM for its funds seized by Thatcher. This got a majority despite frenzied opposition by Kinnock. And yet Scargill, along with the other lefts, calls for unity within the Labour Party, supporting the election of a Labour government under strikebreaker Kinnock!

The miners strike was an acid test for evaluating every grouping that would lead the British proletariat. The right-wing Labourites who most hate the Russian Revolution proved themselves equally the enemy of the British revolution—they were the open scabherders. But in the final analysis it was the treachery of the "lefts" in refusing to spread the strike that defeated the NUM. They did not want to shut down Thatcher's Britain because they are unwilling to *fight for power*. As for the myriad pseudo-Trotskyists, both inside and outside the Labour Party, they at best tailed the "lefts," helping the backstabbing social democrats maintain their hold on the proletariat.

The Spartacist League sharply exposed the Labour and union "lefts," demanding they break *in struggle* from the open class traitors. The SL called for a Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers to strike jointly against Thatcher. This would have been in effect a general strike, posing the question of workers power. But although two dock strikes were called briefly, union leaders in rail, transport and maritime who proclaimed their "solidarity" with the NUM would not break with the scabherding leadership of the Trades Union Congress and mobilize their ranks alongside the miners. The miners strike perfectly bore out Leon Trotsky's observation about the British "lefts":

> "...leftism of this kind remains left only so long as it has no practical obligations. But as soon as the question of action arises, the left wingers respectfully cede the leadership to the rights."
>
> —"Problems of the British Labor Movement," 12 January 1926

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

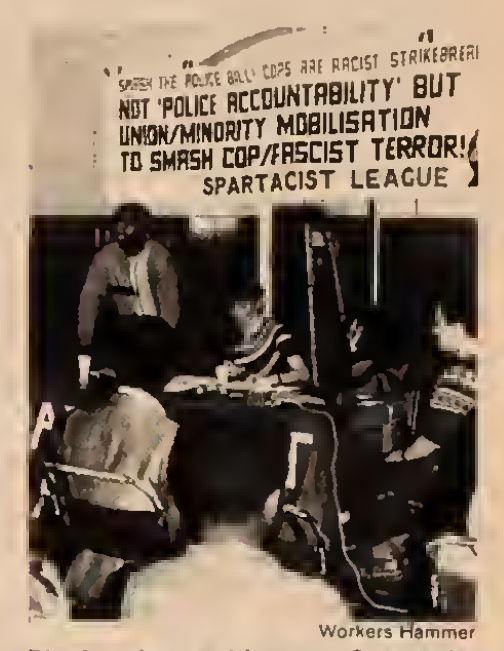
A revolutionary vanguard party in Britain can only be forged through breaking the stranglehold of Labourism on the working class. But that will take effective Leninist tactics. Simple sectarian dismissal of the divisions within British social democracy no less than opportunist tailing of the Labour and union "lefts" are equally formulas for sterility. A Leninist-Trotskyist party can be forged only through splitting the Labour Party, bringing key sectors of the working class under the revolutionary banner while exposing and politically defeating the pro-capitalist misleaders, both "left" and right. *Today the opportunities for a regroupment, through splits and fusions of would-be revolutionary forces, are more favorable than at any time in years.*

The organizations of the so-called "far left" for the most part have either liquidated into the Labour Party or blindly tail it. And in the face of massive, turbulent social struggle the Labour tops lined up *against the miners*. Today, not surprisingly, Kinnock & Co. are even more hostile to the black, Asian and white poor in the ghettos exploding in just outrage against the murdering cops. For pseudo-socialists who think that the Labour Party is an instrument for progressive change, that poses a big problem. No wonder that today various fake-left groups in Britain—from the limp Communist Party to the ex-guerrilla enthusiasts of the ex-IMG—have split or are on the verge of splits.

And where is Gerry Healy? The Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) just announced that its founding father and Stalin-style infallible-type leader has been expelled for bureaucratic abuse of power, self-glorification, personal degeneration, corruption and "unprincipled relations with bourgeois nationalist leaders and with trade union and Labour Party reformists in Britain."

After Tottenham, the Thatcher government attempted unsuccessfully to whip up a red scare blaming the ghetto explosion on "outside agitators," in particular "Trotskyites and anarchists." A few days later the establishment Tory London *Times* (10 October) ran a story headlined "Far Left Exerts Little Influence in Riot Areas," debunking this. The *Times* article noted frankly that it could find only two ostensibly Trotskyist groups that even sided with the embattled ghetto residents against the cops. One was the virulently anti-Soviet Revolutionary Communist Party (which openly courted scabs during the miners strike); the other was the Spartacist League.

"The Spartacists call [for] 'mobilising whatever resources possible in organizing mass protest against the police occupation'," reports the *Times*. The article added, "Most of the other multifarious leftist groups, including the Workers Revolutionary Party and Militant have explicitly condemned rioting." The WRP egregiously called for "neighbourhood defence guards to prevent vandalism, looting and the drugs trade" (*News Line*, 1 October)—in short, a ghetto auxiliary for Thatcher's racist cops! In contrast, the SL uniquely demanded: Down with the racist cop occupations of Handsworth, Brixton, Tottenham—Cops out now! Drop the charges against victims of the police dragnets—Free those framed up for "murder" in Tottenham! Jail the killer cops and throw away the keys!



Workers Hammer

Black miner addresses Spartacist meeting in Birmingham: "Defend Handsworth! Racist cops out now!"

Build trade union-centered community defense guards to defeat racist attacks and cop terror!

The SL called an emergency meeting in Handsworth when the area was under police occupation. The cops hated it—they arrested three of our comrades for leafletting. But a well-integrated crowd of several dozen blacks, Asians and whites showed up in defiance of the cops. The miners we organized to come were particularly well received. As one miner put it: "Ten years ago I wouldn't have bothered...but now you're going through what we went through." There are *tens of thousands* of militant workers who share these sentiments; indeed, at a miners meeting in Barnsley on October 19, several thousand miners cheered NUM leader Arthur Scargill when he condemned cop violence in Brixton. Condemnations are not enough—in the face of Thatcher's cops rampaging, the watchword must be: Cops out! Miners to Brixton!

The British proletariat needs a Bolshevik party, modeled on the party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Russian workers and oppressed, all races, all nationalities, men and women, to victory over capitalism in 1917. ■

As Thatcher burns Britain, she hollers for red scapegoats. Tabloid press shrieks, "Trots blamed for riot terror."

Gamma

Democrats, Labor Fakers Whip Up

Protectionist Poison, Anti-Japanese Trade War

Commemorating the 40th anniversary of the U.S. victory over Japan, the *New York Times Magazine* (28 July) ran a virulent article on "The Danger From Japan," by well-known journalist Theodore H. White. For White, the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not devastating enough: "Today... the Japanese are on the move again in one of history's most brilliant commercial offensives, as they go about dismantling American industry." He concluded:

> "The superlative execution of their trade tactics may provoke an incalculable reaction—as the Japanese might well remember of the course that ran from Pearl Harbor to the deck of the U.S.S. Missouri in Tokyo Bay [where the Japanese capitulation was signed] just 40 years ago."

In other words, if they don't stop sending us their Toyotas, we're going to start sending them our H-bombs.

American imperialism is going to war, trade war against the Japanese. And the whole country is being prepared. "Trade Wars," proclaims Uncle Sam on the front cover of *Time* magazine (7 October). America's universities and think tanks are churning out tracts, claiming that the American eagle is being slowly roasted in the heat of Japan's rising sun: *Japan Is No. 1. The Japanese Challenge. The Japanese Conspiracy—The Plot to Dominate Industry Worldwide and How to Deal with It.* There are now over 300 protectionist bills before Congress. One likely to pass would slap an additional 25 percent tariff on goods from Japan as well as South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil.

The most rabid trade warmongers are not the usual right-wing yahoos, or even the Pentagon's kept academics, but liberal Democrats and the labor bureaucracy. In fact, protectionism is the liberals' and reformists' *only* answer to mass unemployment, wage-gouging, union-busting and the deindustrialization of America. On this issue they are waving the flag more frantically than the Reagan gang.

Not so long ago Democratic presidential loser Walter Mondale ranted to an electrical workers convention:

> "We've been running up the white flag, when we should be running up the American flag! ...if you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks."

Speaking in the depressed auto capital of Detroit, Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill blustered, "If I were President... I'd fix the Japanese like they've never been fixed." And International Ladies Garment Workers' head Sol Chaikin appeals to the worst kind of "yellow peril" racism: "It's as if we're being poured into a Mixmaster with China, India, Japan, Taiwan; they've homogenized the international labor market and are squeezing us out like toothpaste." Sounds like the KKK screaming about "race mixing."

Protectionist poison runs deepest in the burnt-out industrial belt of the Midwest, the so-called Rust Belt, where foreigners and foreign products have become whipping boys for capitalist immiseration. While the United Auto Workers did nothing to fight hundreds of thousands of layoffs in the early 1980s, and gave multibillion-dollar concessions to the auto bosses, UAW officials encouraged Toyota-bashing as a way to let hard-pressed workers blow off steam. Solidarity House banned foreign cars from union parking lots. At the Ford plant in Lima, Ohio, Howard Fields, a 28-year veteran in the plant, was fired *with union support* for parking a Nissan in a company parking lot. Even more chilling was the 1982 murder of Chinese American draftsman Vincent Chin by a Chrysler foreman and his stepson who chased Chin out of a Detroit club and beat him to death. The club owner described the scene:

> "We got 16 percent unemployment in town. There's lots of hard feelings. In my opinion, these people come in, they see a man, supposedly Japanese. They look at this guy and see Japan—'the reason all my buddies are out of work'."

Protectionist hysteria leads to racist murder.

WV Photo

Labor Day, New York City: Trade-union bureaucracy shoves protectionism down the workers' throats.

Anti-Soviet Militarism Cripples U.S. Industry

Reagan took office in 1981 vowing to achieve "military superiority" over the Soviet Union, that is, first-strike nuclear capacity. Since then the Pentagon has spent $1 trillion on fancy-ass weaponry that doesn't work. In this same period the U.S. balance-of-trade deficit increased *fivefold*, from $28 billion to an estimated $150 billion this year. The trade deficit with Japan alone jumped from $13 billion in 1981 to an expected $50 billion in 1985.

Is it just a coincidence that we now have both runaway military spending and a complete collapse of American industrial competitiveness? Not at all. To finance the war drive against the Soviet Union, the U.S. has racked up mammoth budget deficits. Under Reagan the national debt has increased *more* than in the previous 200 years of the American republic! The Treasury now says that unless Congress raises the debt ceiling to over $2 trillion, Uncle Sam is going to start bouncing checks.

Reaganomics has dealt a crippling double blow to American industry. First, massive borrowing by the U.S. Treasury drove interest rates to historic highs and starved civilian industry for funds for investment in new plant and equipment and for research. *Half* of the $100 billion spent annually for research and development in the U.S. comes out of the Pentagon budget. And even hardline militarists like Barry Goldwater complain this is a colossal boondoggle of waste and mismanagement. For example, the army spent almost $2 billion on the Sergeant York antiaircraft gun, a total lemon which in one test shot up the air conditioning unit of a latrine. The finest technical minds in this country are too busy perfecting the likes of the Sergeant York and working on the Star Wars fantasy to bother about the modernization of American industry. In an article on "America's High-Tech Crisis," *Business Week* (11 March) warned:

> "The U.S. is frittering away its lead in high tech by spending too little on civilian research and development. Expenditures there have fallen behind those of our trading partners as a percentage of gross national product."

Secondly, much of the U.S. budget deficit—40 percent last year—is financed by foreign borrowing. In April the United States became a debtor nation for the first time since World War I, and by early '86 it is slated to surpass Brazil as the world's biggest debtor. The massive inflow of foreign money soaked up by the Pentagon drove the value of the dollar through the ceiling, pricing U.S. exports out of world markets and making imports artificially cheap. As former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Fred Bergsten explained:

> "Such an external position, which is clearly unsustainable, is meanwhile causing severe—in some cases irreversible—damage to U.S. export and import-competing industries. More and more are finding they simply cannot overcome a price disadvantage of 40 percent or so now levied on them by the artificially strong dollar."
>
> —"The State of the Debate: Reaganomics," *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1985

The mad ambitions of the U.S. ruling class to dominate the world and roll back Communism are far beyond the capacity of American capitalism. The Soviet Union through its collectivized economy, despite Stalinist bureaucratic deformation, has in the past 20 years achieved a rough nuclear parity. The capitalists are bleeding the productive wealth of America as they drive hell-bent toward nuclear holocaust. The labor fakers who scream for protectionism are simply paving the road to war. The real answer to this bankrupting of

Anti-Japanese jingoism paves the way for imperialist war.

America is to build a workers party that will lead the fight for a workers government that will take industry out of the hands of its corrupt and predatory owners, rebuilding this country—and the world—on the foundations of a planned socialist economy.

Reaganomics and Protectionism

Unbridled militarism has intensified all the weaknesses and contradictions of American capitalism as it plunges into global trade war. Seemingly, Reagan is standing up for "free trade" against the rising protectionist tide coming from Congress. He even recently recalled the fiasco of the 1930 Smoot-Hawley tariff, which deepened the Great Depression both here and abroad. However, Reagan's "free trade" posture is just that—a posture. Early this year the conservative and generally pro-Reagan London *Economist* (16 February) commented:

> "Four years of Reaganomics have consigned American trade officials to the dust-heap of economic policy. The strength of the dollar...and the $123 billion trade deficit that emerged in 1984 have forced free marketeers like Mr William Brock, President Reagan's trade representative, and Mr Malcolm Baldrige, the secretary of commerce, to protect more industries from foreign competition than any of their recent predecessors."

Former Treasury official Bergsten noted that "the current administration has adopted more import controls than any of its predecessors since at least the 1920s." Most of these are directed at Japan, but nothing and no country is sacred. This June the Reagan gang launched the spaghetti war with Italy by imposing a 40 percent tariff on pasta made without eggs and 25 percent on pasta made with eggs.

Faced with moves for even greater protectionism from Congress, last month Reagan announced his own program for the trade crisis: pressuring foreign central banks to drive down the value of the dollar and subsidizing exports. These are simply *another form* of protectionism. Every textbook on international economics has a standard demonstration that currency devaluation and export subsidies have the same effect as increased tariffs and quotas.

While Reagan's reference to the Smoot-Hawley tariff is hypocritical and self-serving, the experience of the 1930s is, indeed, very relevant in today's world. Protectionist measures provoked retaliation and counter-retaliation. Foreign trade—vital to a healthy economy—was reduced to a trickle of what it had been in the 1920s. Mass unemployment and economic nationalism fueled the rise of fascism in Germany and militarism in Japan. Foreign markets could no longer be secured through economic competition but only by war. There is a direct line from the Smoot-Hawley tariff to the A-bombing of Hiroshima.

Why Japan, Inc. Works

No one is putting a gun to the head of American businessmen and consumers to make them buy $60 billion worth of Japanese steel, computer parts, photocopiers, autos, televisions, etc. Japanese products are not only cheaper but also better quality, and everyone knows it. Protectionist yahoos complain that the deficit is all the fault of "unfair trade practices." Yet, apart from agriculture and forestry, Japanese protectionism has a negligible effect on American exports. In fact, Japan has the *lowest* average tariffs of any advanced capitalist country. They don't need them. The Japanese government would have to pay its citizens to get them to buy American-made cars, TVs or personal computers! Even Undersecretary of Commerce Lionel Olmer admitted:

> "Take away all barriers to the Japanese market, push the yen to a sharply higher level against the U.S. dollar, and I believe the U.S. would still run a trade

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Solidarity House Asked For It, We Got It

Fremont Toyota/GM Sweetheart Deal

OAKLAND—The New United Motor Manufacturing, Inc. is not exactly a household name in this country. Yet NUMMI, a joint venture between General Motors and Toyota in Fremont, California, is being viewed as an important development in the American auto industry, both by the bosses and their labor lieutenants in the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy. The UAW Solidarity House leadership hailed the NUMMI agreement as "a new kind of labor-management relationship," to serve as a test model not only for other Japanese-owned operations or joint ventures but also for the American Big Three, for example GM's new Saturn Project.

For the UAW tops, Fremont GM/Toyota is a great "success story" in their campaign for import protectionism. In late 1982, then-union president Douglas Fraser declared that passage of the ferociously protectionist "domestic content" bill would be "a major step toward forcing the Japan-based multinational auto companies to create jobs here in America where they enjoy a huge market" (*Solidarity*, 16-31 January 1983). The Japanese auto giant Toyota could see what was coming and moved to get in under rising import barriers. The result was Fremont GM/Toyota. The Solidarity House gang asked for Japanese investment in the U.S., and auto workers got it...in the ass.

The *San Francisco Examiner* supplement *Image* (6 October) recently ran an article titled "'Wa' and the Art of Auto Assembly," hailing the "new spirit of cooperation" at Fremont! The labor fakers, too, are proclaiming a new era of deepening class collaboration. A "Special Report to the Membership" (June 1985) on the NUMMI contract states: "the union acknowledges that it must contribute to the company's prosperity and productivity in order to secure the goals of stable employment and rising income for the members." A letter to the members of the Fremont local by district director Bruce Lee informs them:

> "...the parties agree to share all the *risk, responsibility and reward of partnership.*
> "We share the risk in that the union agrees to abandon part of its traditional reactive, adversarial role in favor of a proactive, advocacy role...." [our emphasis]

This "new cooperation" is plain old class collaboration.

And like Mary and her little lamb, wherever the UAW bureaucracy goes, America's social democrats are sure to follow. Thus the social-democratic *In These Times* (24 July-6 August) wrote of the NUMMI agreement: "the union has the luxury of watching how the new agreement works, without the backs-to-the-wall antagonism that has characterized auto industry labor relations in the last decade."

The NUMMI pact, a "luxury" for the union?! This contract, possibly the

UPI

Toyota chairman Eiji Toyoda (left) and GM chairman Roger Smith tour their joint venture in Fremont.

worst ever negotiated by the UAW, is not only a complete sellout of Fremont workers, but poses a real danger to the rest of labor. It could become the leading edge for wholesale attacks on basic union conditions across the country, starting in auto. The new Saturn contract with GM may be the first fruit: no expiration date, no membership ratification, and introduction of what amounts to piecework wages.

What's happening at Fremont is *not*, as is being claimed, the importation of exotic "Japanese management techniques." Rather, it's another step in American capital's offensive to roll back decades of hard-won gains for industrial unionism. The NUMMI agreement is not a "new kind of labor-management relationship" at all. It used to be called *company unionism* when it prevailed in the U.S. in the 1920s. There is little in the present Fremont contract that old Hitler-lover Henry Ford would not have felt at home with back in the open shop days before the UAW was forged in the mass, militant struggles of the 1930s and early '40s.

The Wages of Protectionism

Once the largest auto plant on the West Coast, Fremont GM was shut down in early 1983. From a peak of 7,000 workers, successive layoffs reduced the workforce to 2,000 when the gates were shut. When GM reopened the plant last year in partnership with Toyota, they ripped up the old UAW contract—no recall rights, no seniority rights, no nothing. Among the 1,200 workers hired so far, veteran Fremont workers and members with ten or more years seniority, if they were rehired at all, are treated as "new hires" with 15 percent *lower* wages than the industry standard.

The heart of the agreement is the virtual elimination of the approximately 85 specialized job classifications that are typical in U.S. auto plants. Instead, there are now only four basic classifications: one for production workers and three for skilled trades. Skilled workers are also being trained to work on the assembly line when needed. What all this means in practice is that with each worker expected to perform a variety of jobs, anywhere in the plant, the company is able to use fewer workers to produce a given number of cars. Some industry experts estimate labor cost savings as high as *40 percent*. In Marxist terms, it's a whopping increase in the rate of exploitation.

Gone are the relatively "easier" jobs that older workers with seniority used to get—the only way they could survive the pounding pace. You work where management says and how management says—period. Seniority has little or nothing to do with it. There is *unlimited* mandatory overtime in the first year of the contract. The UAW "cooperatively" eliminated any reference to a grievance procedure, and union shopfloor representation is a bad joke. So behind all the talk of "shared responsibility," the reality is the UAW bureaucracy working openly as company cops to give GM and Toyota a free hand for massive speedup and labor discipline—all in the name of making NUMMI a protectionist "success."

A Class-Struggle Answer

From the first givebacks at Chrysler in 1979 to giving up basic union conditions at NUMMI, Solidarity House has argued that such sellouts are necessary to "save" jobs. In Fremont the class-struggle road to save jobs, wages, benefits and union conditions was put forward by the UAW Militant Caucus, an opposition group politically supported by the Spartacist League, with an almost decade-long history in the plant. When GM announced it was shutting down Fremont in early 1982, the Militant Caucus campaigned for a sit-down strike, the very tactic which helped build the UAW during the Great Depression of the 1930s. This proposal won widespread support from Fremont workers, their backs to the wall, but the UAW officialdom buried it under a barrage of anti-Japanese protectionism.

After the shutdown, the Militant

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WV Photo

August 1983: Union members protest dissolving of UAW Local 1364 in Fremont, California.

Protectionist Poison...

(continued from page 7)

> ueficit with Japan, perhaps on the order of $15 billion."
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 4 April

Another common protectionist argument is that the Japanese rip off American inventions and then produce these items more cheaply, partly due to lower labor costs. The head of Congress's Office of Technology Assessment, John Gibbons, asserts: "We are ahead in fundamental research, but they [the Japanese] get all our science papers and research, and they add to that their mastery of 'process technology,' translating fundamental research into the making of things."

This may have been true in the 1950s, but it is certainly not true today. It was the Japanese who *first* developed the household VCR, Walkman tape player, Trinitron TV tube, stratified-charge automobile engine, portable copier, as well as many industrial manufacturing systems. Japan is even supplying the Pentagon with high-tech items such as heat-resistant ceramics, fiber optics for computers, and lasers. In short, Japanese industry is on the cutting edge of technological progress in manufacturing.

Explaining the undeniable superiority of Japanese industry has become an academic industry in America's university economics departments and business schools. Some "experts" emphasize the "samurai spirit" of the Japanese businessman. You almost expect the Harvard Business School to start teaching *iaido* (traditional Japanese swordsmanship). Other experts put it down to the ineptness of American businessmen trying to sell in the Japanese market; for example, almost none bother to learn Japanese. More significant is the fact that most Japanese plant managers are engineers, while their American counterparts are financial operators, interested in short-term gains, who might just as well be running condos or casinos.

However, the basic reason for Japan's competitive superiority can be explained in a few statistics. Between 1960 and 1983 Japan invested 30 percent of its gross national product in new plant and equipment; the U.S. only 18 percent. Since the mid-1950s Japan has not only devoted a larger share of its industrial production to capital goods but the gap has progressively widened. During the 1970s half of Japanese manufacturing output consisted of capital goods compared to only 30 percent in the U.S. So there is really no mystery as to why the Japanese can produce better and cheaper goods.

A more fundamental question is, what accounts for Japanese capitalism's ability to invest 40 percent more a year in its industrial plant than its deteriorating American rival? There are two basic reasons. First, personal savings in Japan average over 25 percent of after-tax income; in the U.S. it's only 5 percent! In both societies personal savings are concentrated overwhelmingly in the upper and middle classes. It is thus determined by the lifestyle and values of the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on. America is the country which gave the world the term "conspicuous consumption." And the yuppies of the "me generation" have even less concern for the future than their forebears. Additionally, the U.S. tax system massively *subsidizes* home ownership for white middle America. While Japanese junior executives and civil servants are buying industrial bonds, their American counterparts are taking out second mortgages and racking up their credit card balances.

Der Spiegel

Schell/Youngstown Vindicator

Computerized Nissan plant in Japan (above). Obsolete blast furnaces being leveled in Youngstown, Ohio (below). U.S. bosses drove industrial plant into the ground, now complain "competition ain't fair."

The second main reason for the far higher rate of investment of Japan, Inc. is the qualitatively lower level of military spending. To be sure, Japan can no longer be spoken of as an economic giant but a military midget. Japan's military budget has grown quite rapidly in recent years, especially under Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, a would-be Japanese Reagan who served as a naval officer in WW II. Japan today has the sixth largest military budget in the world. A resurgent Japanese imperialism has its own expansionist program aimed at creating a new Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. And this includes taking the Kuril Islands from the Soviet Union, which occupied them after Japan was defeated in World War II. There is nothing pacifistic about Japan, Inc.

Nonetheless, Japan's military budget still accounts for only 1 percent of its gross national product compared to 7 percent in Reagan's America. In other words, American capitalism spends proportionally *seven times* as much on the military. The *Washington Post* (14 August) projected:

> "...if Japan were to spend at the same rate as the United States, it would have to come up with about $65 billion more in tax revenues this year, money that would then not be available for new equipment for factories, research and development, education and other programs that figure in Japan's economic success."

While the elite of America's scientific community is building missiles to blow up the world, its Japanese counterpart is revolutionizing industrial production.

How U.S. Imperialism Helped Break Japanese Labor

There is another important way in which U.S. imperialism has strengthened the economic power of Japan, Inc. The Japanese labor movement is notoriously unmilitant and class-collaborationist even by the standards of traditional American business unionism. The big firms like Mitsubishi and Nissan all have "enterprise unions," similar to the company unions which prevailed in the U.S. during the reactionary 1920s. During the past three years the annual time lost due to strikes in Japan averaged *16 minutes* per employee! As economist Kozo Yamamura put it, "cooperative, if not docile, labor unions and employees willing to work unstintingly also seem to be integral parts of the [Japanese] model" (Yamamura, ed., *Policy and Trade Issues of the Japanese Economy* [1982]).

Especially in American academic circles, "enterprise unionism" is commonly said to be the product of traditional Japanese paternalism. Japan's exceptionally rapid transition from feudalism to capitalism in the late 19th century (the Meiji Restoration) has left its mark on all aspects of Japanese society, including relations between labor and capital. However, the Japanese labor movement as it exists today was in a sense made in the USA. The present-day company-unionism was forged during the American occupation of Japan under General Douglas MacArthur (1945-51) and its immediate aftermath.

The humiliation and defeat of Japanese militarism and the *zaibatsu* (old ruling families like Mitsui and Mitsubishi) in the Pacific War led to a potentially revolutionary situation in Japan. Thousands of leftists and working-class militants were released from prison. After a decade of near-totalitarian suppression, the Japanese toiling masses exploded. By 1948, 6.5 million workers had organized themselves into trade unions. The main union federation, Sanbetsu, was strongly influenced by the pro-Moscow Communist Party. In 1947 a massive strike wave, involving 40 percent of the organized labor force, shook MacArthur's Japan.

In the first years of the occupation, the U.S. sought to block the economic revival of its defeated imperialist enemy. However, the unexpected shock of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War the following year radically reversed Washington's attitude toward Japan, which now became the "cornerstone" of the Cold War alliance in the Far East.

To make Japan safe for the "free world," MacArthur moved to break the labor movement for the benefit of the *zaibatsu*. In 1950 the American occupation authorities helped set up the pro-company union federation SOHYO in order to undermine the militant Sanbetsu. A red purge drove some 20,000 union militants from their jobs. It is historical irony that the American Caesar, Douglas MacArthur, helped bring about the powerful revival of Japanese industrial capitalism, which is now causing U.S. imperialism no end of trouble. But then militant anti-Communism often rebounds against its perpetrators. Consider, for example, Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

Company unionism in Japan was consolidated during the height of the Washington/Tokyo Cold War axis in the early 1950s. The combative and leftist-led labor movement was effectively destroyed in a series of bitter, hard-fought strikes—Nissan and Toyota auto, the Mitsui coal mines, Nihon steel. A labor historian at Tokyo University, Ichiro Saga, rightly observed in a TV documentary on Nissan:

> "There is no denying that in Japan labor and management cooperate closely. But it wasn't always so. In the early postwar years there were unions that put the interests of the workers first. It was only after these unions were crushed that today's collaborative system of labor relations comes about. It is definitely not the product of Japan's culture."

The Bitter Fruits of Protectionism

It takes nerve for American labor fakers like the Garment Workers' Sol Chaikin or the UAW's Owen Bieber to scream protectionism by pointing to the weakness and class collaborationism of Japanese unions. With every passing day the AFL-CIO acts *worse* than the Japanese company unions. The Reagan years have been the years of the giveback contract throughout American industry. *Three million* unionized workers—one out of every six—have been forced to take wage and benefit cuts by the rapacious employers and cowardly, legalistic labor bureaucrats. Has this "saved" jobs? No way! Since 1981 almost two million manufacturing jobs have gone down the tubes as American industry has gone to seed. American capitalism's brutal offensive

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against labor and the collapse of its international competitiveness have the same root cause: the insane war drive against the Soviet Union.

Despite all the clamor from protectionist yahoos, the U.S. is *not* and has not been for many years an open market. Steel, auto, textiles and apparel, shoes and other industries are all protected, in some cases since the 1960s. What have American working people gotten out of this? Take the quotas on Japanese autos, which were imposed in 1981 and expired early this year. Toyota, Nissan & Co. naturally jacked up their prices, netting an *additional* $2 billion a year profit in the American market. And, of course, the U.S. Big Three were also able to raise their prices. The Federal Trade Commission estimated that four years of import quotas "saved" 44,000 jobs in auto but at a cost

Crachiola/Macomb Daily

Taking the heat off the Big Three: Datsun-bashing in Detroit suburb in 1980.

to consumers of $240,000 per job!

For the UAW bureaucracy, the quotas were also a means of pressuring Japanese carmakers to produce in the U.S. In this sense Fremont Toyota/GM is a great "success story" of anti-Japanese protectionism (see "Fremont Toyota/GM Sweetheart Deal," page 6). In 1982 GM closed down its plant in Fremont, California, once the largest auto factory on the West Coast, claiming it could no longer compete with the Japanese. Early this year the plant was reopened as a joint venture between Toyota and GM. As an inducement to the Japanese carmaker the UAW tops negotiated a sweetheart deal, arguably the worst contract in the union's recent wretched history. And Fremont Toyota/GM is not an isolated case. On the contrary, it is widely viewed as a trial model for things to come in the American auto industry.

Protectionism is the road to industrial rot. Look at the steel industry. Since 1968, when the Nixon gang muscled Japan into "voluntary" export restraints, steel has been the most protected of any basic U.S. industry. And every year the U.S. steel industry becomes more backward, its plants more dilapidated, productive capacity is cut. Some 700,000 steel workers have been thrown on the scrap heap in recent years. Since 1979 U.S. Steel has closed down 150 plants and facilities, reducing its capacity by 30 percent. And this massive retrenchment in steelmaking is *not* because the company is going bankrupt. It spent almost $6 billion a few years back to purchase Marathon Oil.

The capitalist rulers of this country are driving American industry right into the ground, while the labor fakers' only answer is giveback contracts and trade protectionism. The real answer is for the working people to *take control* of the economy and run it in their interests. In other words, we need a workers government. To get a workers government we have to build a revolutionary workers party to fight both capitalist parties, the liberal "friend of labor" Democrats as well as the Reaganite right.

From Trade War to Hiroshima

While Americans may not see any particular connection between protectionism and war, that connection is seared with the heat of nuclear fission into the memory of the Japanese. A leader of Tokyo's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, Susumu Nikaido, explained a few years ago: "Opinions expressed about Japan in the United States are anti-Japanese. They give us the impression of the prewar days" (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 March 1982). Likewise, prominent Japanese political commentator Akrasono has stated, "The Japanese people are reminded of the pre-World War II ABCD [American-British-Chinese-Dutch] encirclement of Japan."

Indeed, the stage is being set for another Pacific War. Japan was driven into that war by a decade of trade protectionism and economic sanctions directed against it. With the onset of the Great Depression, tariff barriers were erected everywhere against the Japanese "trade menace" as it was then called. Most damaging to Japan was trade protectionism in the Asian colonies of the other imperialist powers (e.g., British India, French Indochina). Japan was thus pushed into creating its own East Asia Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere.

To counter Japanese expansionism American and British imperialism resorted first to economic warfare. In July 1941 (five months *before* Pearl Harbor) the U.S., British and Dutch embargoed Japan's oil supplies without which it could not survive. The eminent British military historian B.H. Liddell Hart wrote, "the steps which Roosevelt and Churchill took in July to cut off her [Japan's] economic resources were bound to make her strike back in the only way possible for her—by force of arms" (*History of the Second World War* [1970]).

U.S. imperialism thus provoked Japan into war and then ended it with one of the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: dropping the first nuclear weapons on the defenseless populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. While the Japanese were the victims of the A-bomb attack, in a sense the real target was the Russians. The Japanese government was ready to surrender, and Washington knew it. The bomb was dropped to intimidate the Soviet Union, whose victorious armies threatened to overturn capitalism, albeit in a bureaucratically deformed way, across Eastern Europe. Now, once again, the cries coming from Wall Street and Washington are "roll back Communism" and destroy the Japanese "trade menace." As we wrote (*WV* No. 385, 9 August) on the 40th anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

> "It will take international socialist revolution to create a world in which there will be no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis. We look forward to the day when we can all enjoy American jazz on Mitsubishi stereo TVs while sipping Stolichnaya vodka." ■

Fremont...

(continued from page 7)

Caucus put forward a motion, passed by Fremont Local 1364, to "use every tactic necessary" to ensure that all hiring at the reopened plant would be according to seniority, and that there would be no substandard contract. Doug Fraser's final act as union president was to keep the question from coming to a vote at the UAW convention. His successor, Owen Bieber, "resolved" the seniority issue by *dissolving* Local 1364, and then, in September 1983, signing a tentative agreement with NUMMI, Tony DeJesus, a former president of 1364, was hired by the company to help them weed out troublemakers from the thousands of ex-GM worker applicants. Once the plant opened, DeJesus moved from his management job into the presidency of the "new" Local 2244.

You don't have to be a socialist and a Marxist to know that the NUMMI agreement is a sweetheart deal—any good trade unionist can tell you that. But the roots of this sellout lie in the bosses' greed and the decrepit state of American capitalism. The U.S. ruling class, while pouring hundreds of billions into war preparations against the Soviet Union, has run this country's industrial plant into the ground. Japanese industry is more efficient because they invest more in it. Today American capital can compete with the Japanese only through wage-gouging and speedup, and even that won't succeed.

American and Japanese workers must unite against their bosses, who are in league with each other *and with the union misleaders*, as the Fremont example so strikingly shows. UAW chief Bieber & Co., who are trying to outdo the Japanese company unions in class collaboration, must be swept away by a new leadership forged on a program of militant class struggle. We must rip the productive wealth out of the hands of the bourgeoisie through workers revolution, replacing the boom-bust anarchy of capitalist production with international socialist planning. ■

Morison...

(continued from page 5)

"destabilization" of the Australian Labor government.)

Roland S. Inlow, a retired top CIA official who was "closely involved" in the KH-11 program, testified in Morison's defense that the release of the photos now "would cause no damage or injury to the United States." The defense also tried groveling with a "patriotic" stance, arguing that Morison only wanted to alert the American people to "increase the defense budget." But it was no use—the Reaganites had found a convenient victim, ironically one of their own who fully supports the anti-Soviet war drive.

If this ruling stands, Reagan & Co. will have succeeded in establishing a version of the British Official Secrets Act, enabling them to clamp down on news leaks inside and outside the government. The *New York Times* (4 March) called attention to the sinister implications and editorialized, "It Isn't Spying." "If you stopped leaking in government, you wouldn't know anything," said defense attorney Robert Muse. That is precisely Reagan's purpose. The U.S. capitalist media is docile enough to pretend to believe Reagan's account of his KAL 007 spy plane adventure, for example, in which over 200 innocent airline passengers died. But (despite the *Times*' best efforts) not all of the bourgeois media were servile enough to totally suppress the various facts that objectively show that KAL 007 was a deliberate U.S. war provocation. The Reaganites want to "finish the job" on the press.

American Civil Liberties Union Washington area director Morton Halperin, who as a former senior staff member of Nixon's National Security Council was himself a victim of government spying, noted that the trial and conviction are a "threat to the First Amendment." But the *Times* and ACLU liberals are sporadic and selective defenders of the First Amendment. Former ACLU general counsel Morris Ernst maintained a collaborative relationship with FBI führer J. Edgar Hoover for anti-communist witchhunting and persecution that spanned four decades. During the 1950s McCarthy period, the *New York Times* conducted its own witchhunt, firing staff members who took the Fifth Amendment before redbaiting Congressional committees.

Like Captain Dreyfus, the Jewish officer of the French army who was framed on treason charges at the turn of the century, Samuel Morison is a loyal servant of his imperialist ruling class. But the Morison "espionage" case like the Dreyfus "treason" trial poses vital issues for all champions of democratic rights, especially the working class. Because these rights are vital to the legal existence of the workers movement in bourgeois society, labor must be their most consistent champions, with its own class-struggle methods and through the strength of its own organization. For these rights can only be ultimately secured when state power is taken away from the war-crazed capitalist class by a workers government. ■

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Bury Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

ambush in the middle-class "coloured" (mixed-race) Cape Town suburb of Athlone by driving a flat-bed truck around in an attempt to lure stone-throwing youth. When the youth appeared, cops jumped out of crates on the truck and opened fire with pump-action shotguns, killing three youths (ages 11, 16 and 18) and wounding 15. In the past year, according to official figures nearly 800 have been killed, mostly at the hands of the police. Anti-apartheid activists place the death toll at well over 1,000.

President Botha tried to put on a pretense of a return to normalcy by announcing on October 24 the end of the state of emergency in six of the 36 magisterial districts covered. But the next day he declared a new state of emergency in and around Cape Town, the country's second largest city, where 30 or more people were killed in the space of 12 days this month. Meanwhile the police made a sweep of the Western Cape, detaining over 40 anti-apartheid activists, "including virtually all of the executive members of the multiracial United Democratic Front in the area" (*New York Times*, 26 October).

The UDF is a class-collaborationist coalition of hundreds of organizations, from unions to church groups, opposed to apartheid. The UDF leaders, drawn largely from the clergy, preach "non-violence" to reform the massively armed police state, to which that state has responded by killing or jailing the entire UDF leadership. In Pietermaritzburg on October 21, the "treason" trial of 16 UDF leaders began. If convicted, they could be hanged. This racist dictatorship is out for blood.

The escalation of repression in South Africa in the past few weeks amounts to a gigantic "screw you" to the world, aimed particularly at the liberal sanctions/divestment movement which peaked this past summer as *billions* of dollars were pulled out of the country by nervous bankers. All of that "moral" pressure did not save Benjamin Moloise, let alone dent apartheid. The apartheid butchers cannot be pressured into reforms, they must be *overthrown* by a revolution of the black proletariat.

But the UDF and the ANC, and the South African Communist Party, are still banking on the so-called "progressive" capitalists like Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American conglomerate, who met with the ANC recently. The result of this search for a rotten deal has been that the black working class has been reined in by the reformist and nationalist leaders, as demonstrated by the aborted miners strike last September, even in the face of the escalating apartheid repression. Lately, the National Day of Prayer of October 9, called by Bishop Tutu and others, was explicitly not to be turned into a "stayaway" strike day, and key black union federations such as FOSATU deliberately avoided turning it into one. It was left to the defiant youth of the now-banned Congress of South African Students (COSAS) to enforce a "stay-away" by action in the streets: "COSAS leaders claimed a victory when, by all accounts, more than 50 percent of the African workers in Johannesburg stayed away from work, some risking their jobs" (*Newsday*, 21 October).

With the power of the black working class under restraints by its own leaders, the pent-up anger of the black masses has begun to burst out dangerously in unplanned and unsupportable random attacks on whites, playing into Botha's plans for a bloodbath. As we have stated repeatedly: *Blood will flow in South Africa. The question is whose blood, when, where, why and how.* There is no solution to apartheid slavery short of a civil war, but it must be fought along *class*, not national, lines, giving rise to a black-centered workers government under which whites, too, will have a place.

WV Photos

Coast to coast, SL and Labor Black Leagues initiated protests on the eve of Benjamin Moloise's execution. Clockwise from top: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, New York.

Avenge Moloise! Bury Apartheid! Workers to Power!

In the U.S. the liberals' and reformists' moral protests and divestment strategy, which relies on the American government and finance capital to pressure Botha & Co., is meant to undermine mass struggle against apartheid—especially since Reagan recently co-opted their program. Where were the divestment moralists when Moloise faced execution? In the U.S. only the revolutionary Trotskyist Spartacist League mobilized emergency demonstrations around the country in a last-ditch attempt to save Moloise's life. In conjunction with these demonstrations, the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the political views of the SL, sent a telegram to key longshore leaders on the East and West coasts, demanding: "Labor must immediately halt all South African shipping to stop the execution! Save Moloise!"

In New York 90 people responded to our call to demonstrate outside the South African consulate October 17. In response to our appeal for a united-front protest, the ANC held a three-hour meeting. Sectarian reformists of Mareyite Workers World persuasion convinced that meeting to call a separate candlelight vigil. This pathetic vigil attended by at most 15 candle-bearers was held even before Moloise had been hanged as if to parody that old fighting Wobbly slogan into "Mourn, Don't Organize." Some of the frustrated and angry people at the Mareyite wake came over to the SL-called demonstration where they could express their outrage in a genuine protest.

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York City mayor in the upcoming November 5 election, spoke to the gathering on the eve of Moloise's execution:

> "The South African regime has threatened to execute Benjamin Moloise tomorrow morning at dawn. In August an international campaign of protest was successful in winning a stay of execution for Benjamin Moloise. It must be done again.... We say Benjamin Moloise is not a criminal, we say Benjamin Moloise is a martyr. We say: Save Moloise, hang Botha—Smash apartheid slavery!...
>
> "While the liberals are appealing to the enemies of black liberation—to Reagan, to Koch, to pressure their junior partners, to pressure Wall Street to pressure Pretoria, we look to the power of the working class. We look to international labor solidarity to aid and strengthen the black workers movement, the black unions in South Africa, the brothers and sisters whose blood and sweat has created the riches of South Africa, the brothers and sisters in the gold mines and the diamond mines and the townships and the industries. They have the power to smash apartheid slavery. From Durban to Detroit, Workers to Power!"

From coast to coast, Spartacist comrades mobilized against the impending execution. At Oberlin College in Ohio, a demonstration initiated by the Spartacus Youth League demanding "Hang Botha! Free Moloise!" drew upwards of 40 people, including the black student group ABUSUA and the Student Coalition Against Apartheid. In Cambridge, Massachusetts, a spirited SL/SYL demonstration attracted onlookers outside Harvard's Holyoke Center. In Atlanta we soapboxed near Morehouse College and leafleted an ANC vigil, while in Chicago SLers with signs calling to save Moloise attended a regular Thursday demonstration by the Free South Africa Movement. In Los Angeles, two dozen people attended a Spartacist protest outside the South African consulate, while the ANC held a prayer meeting instead.

In San Francisco, the October 17 demonstration was the third in that city called by the SL and the Labor Black League for Social Defense in recent weeks to demand Moloise's freedom. LBL spokesman Jeff Higgins told the 70 anti-apartheid militants: "Labor must act to smash racist terror from San Francisco to South Africa." Spartacist spokesman Martha Phillips summed up:

ANC

BENJAMIN MOLOISE

> "Our job as revolutionary Marxists in the belly of the imperialist Yankee beast is not to stand on the sidelines and cheer as the black masses armed with sticks and stones go up against the apartheid butchers' modern weaponry. Our job as Marxists, learning the lessons of history, is to show the working class *how to win*—both in South Africa and here in America.
>
> "What is to be done? The South African masses need a party, again a party and once again a party—to use comrade Trotsky's words. They need a party like the Bolshevik Party in Russia that brought down capitalism. They need a revolutionary party to stand as the tribune of all the people—to break out of the dead end of nationalism—race against race—and forge multiracial working-class unity based on a revolutionary working-class program." ■

AFP

Blacks in Johannesburg erupt in anger after the hanging of Moloise. Botha wants a one-sided bloodbath.

WV Photo

Defend Picket Lines! Labor's Gotta Play Hardball! Ed Kartsen with hotel strikers, June 1985.

NYC Election Brochure...

(continued from page 12)

Big MAC banker boss Rohatyn while city workers get shafted. We need a new union leadership to unleash labor's power through the class-struggle methods that built the unions. **Take back the givebacks! Smash the no-strike Taylor Law! Defend picket lines! Labor's gotta play hardball to win!**

• • • • •

This city was built by immigrant labor. We say everybody who's here has a right to stay. **No deportations—Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! For the independence of Puerto Rico! Political asylum for refugees from death squad terror from Haiti to San Salvador!**

• • • • •

Time to finish the Civil War—Black liberation through socialist revolution! We need schools and jobs, but Koch builds prisons. Capitalism has no jobs for ghetto youth, so there's no profit in teaching our kids to read. A whole generation is being tossed on the scrap heap: black youth unemployment in this city is over 50 percent and the high school dropout rate for minorities is over 70 percent. They're closing hospitals in Harlem while infant mortality rates in the ghettos are approaching "third world" levels. **Free quality education for all—defend busing and extend it to the suburbs! Open admission to college with living**

The Perry Family, NY Times, NY Daily News

Killed by the racist cops: We will not forget!

stipend! Free 24-hour quality day care! Free subways! Triple welfare! For the socialist reindustrialization of America!

• • • • •

The Moral Majority bigots are trying to run our lives, from school prayer to outlawing anything that's fun. NYC's reactionary archbishop John O'Connor loved the Vietnam War, now declares war on abortion clinics and homosexual rights. Take a stand against these meddling snoops—vote Spartacist! **We say: government out of the bedrooms! Down with all porn/sex/drug laws!** People should be able to watch, read or do anything consensual they want! **Free abortion on demand**—free quality health care! **Full democratic rights for homosexuals!** Millions for AIDS research! For the separation of church and state!

• • • • •

America's cities have Democratic mayors to keep the lid on while Reagan reaction squeezes. In New York we have racist labor-hating mayor Koch. In Philadelphia the black mayor approves the firebombing of his own city, while cynical apologists for the Jesse Jackson/Mondale "Rainbow Coalition" excuse the massacre of eleven black people. The Philly holocaust had the signature of the Reagan regime. The government terrorists bomb black America to send a bloody message to all who dare step out of line—watch your ass, you could be next! **Down with the Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of the capitalist ruling class—build a fighting workers party!**

• • • • •

When Reagan laid wreaths at SS graves in Bitburg, he was trying to bury the Soviet Union's victory against Nazi Germany and prepare nuclear war against Russia. **Remember the Holocaust! Defend the Soviet Union, birthplace of the first workers revolution!** For workers democracy, for revolutionary internationalism—return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

• • • • •

While Reagan tries to seal off and starve out the Nicaraguan Revolution, U.S. troops are poised to invade. The Democrats coo like doves, vote like hawks for aid to CIA/contra killers and Reagan's invasion plans. The obstacle to U.S. imperialist intervention is the "Vietnam syndrome," the population's continuing reluctance to sacrifice for more losing military adventures. **Labor must fight imperialist war with class war—for political strikes! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution—Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in Central America! Vietnam was a victory!**

• • • • •

Koch "divests" city funds from South Africa while his cops are shooting down blacks at home. No "divestment" illusions in bloodsucking imperialists—for international labor solidarity! **Hot cargo military goods—smash apartheid slavery!** Workers revolution must rip the wealth the workers have created from the capitalist rulers who own the mines and factories. **A vote for Spartacist is a vote for the program of workers power—from South Africa to the U.S.!**■

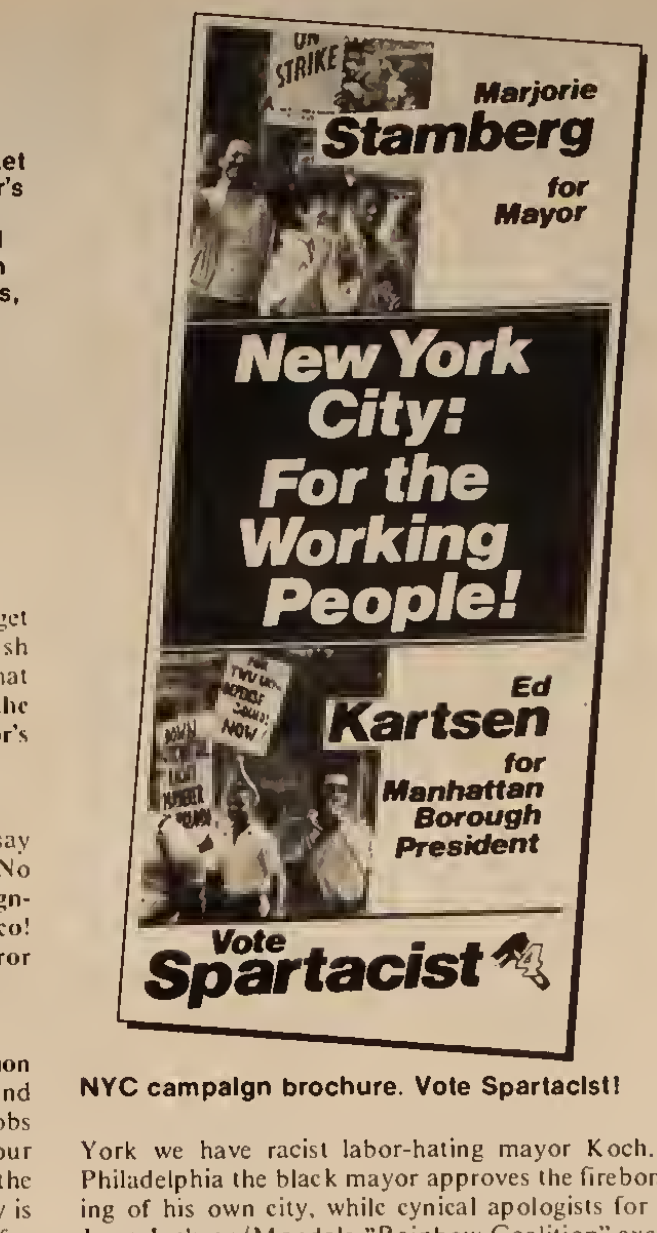
WV Photo

Mass labor/black action to stop the race-terrorists: "We Stopped the Klan!" demonstrators chant in Washington, 27 November 1982.

WV Photo

Young Spartacus

Smash apartheid slavery! American workers, students in solidarity with South African struggle.



NYC campaign brochure. Vote Spartacist!

The Spartacist League is a multiracial socialist organization fighting for an end to exploitation, oppression and war through world socialist revolution.

Recently we sued against the FBI's new witchhunting Guidelines on "terrorism," and forced them to retract their set-up "definition" of us. This is a victory for everyone the government sees as troublesome. Socialism won't be won in courts or through the ballot box, but on the picket lines and the battle lines of working people's struggles throughout the world and here at home.

Whether it's mobilizing to stop the fascist Klan or collecting funds for striking British miners, the Spartacist League has been the vanguard of working people who want to fight back—and you can help. **If you like what we stand for, get involved!**

SUPPORT THE STAMBERG/KARTSEN CAMPAIGN—FIND OUT WHAT YOU CAN DO

The capitalist candidates get big bucks from Wall Street, the real estate interests, the cops' protection societies. The working people's candidates depend on you.

Please send your contributions* to:
Spartacist Party Campaign Committee,
c/o Box 444, Canal St. Sta., NY, NY 10013

Stop in at our campaign headquarters at
41 Warren St. in lower Manhattan
(Monday through Thursday 5-8 p.m., Saturday 1-5 p.m.)

For more information, to volunteer some time to work with us, to find out what you can do to build the Stamberg/Kartsen campaign, call:

(212) 267-1025

*Election law requires reporting names of contributors of more than $99. We will not disclose individual names and therefore will not accept individual contributions of over $99. Organizations, trade unions, etc. are more than welcome to donate larger amounts.

Vote Spartacist!

MARJORIE STAMBERG FOR MAYOR

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg was the Spartacist Party candidate for New York state assembly in 1978, calling for a union-led fight against the cutbacks and takeaways during the bank-engineered "fiscal crisis." The campaign fought for united action against racist cop brutality, and against the vicious ethnic vigilantism which had erupted in Crown Heights after the cop killing of a prominent black community leader. During the 1960s, Stamberg was an activist in SDS, the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movement, and a staff writer for the New Left *Guardian*. A leader of Oakland Women's Liberation, Marjorie spent nine years as a telephone worker, active in the Militant Action Caucus of CWA. A member of the editorial board of the Spartacist League's newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, she is active in the Spartacus Youth League campaign to raise desperately needed dollars to defend Nicaragua against the U.S. imperialist siege, and is recently back from Managua, where she attended the sixth anniversary celebration of the victory over Somoza.

ED KARTSEN FOR MANHATTAN BOROUGH PRESIDENT

WV Photo

Edward Karlsen, a signal maintainer in the New York subways until recently, was the oppositional candidate for Transport Workers Union Local 100 president in 1983. Ed and the Committee for a Fighting TWU campaigned for the union to act in solidarity with key strikes, like PATCO in 1981. When black TWUer Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist mob as he was leaving his job in the Coney Island shop, Kartsen said the union's 33,000 members should demonstrate on flat-bed trucks in the Gravesend, Brooklyn area in a forceful display of labor's power to stop racist terror. In 1982, Kartsen chaired the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington on November 27, when the Spartacist League and black unionists led the thousands who militantly faced down the KKK, dealing a stinging political defeat to Reagan and the cops in the streets of the nation's capital.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Vote Spartacist!

We reprint below the text of the Spartacist Party platform in the election campaign for Marjorie Stamberg for NYC mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president. To date, over 100,000 brochures in English and Spanish have been distributed on the streets of New York.

New York City is on the razor's edge. Reagan tells New York to drop dead, while Koch's racist cops terrorize the city with their wanton killings. In Philadelphia, they bomb black babies to evict the back-to-nature MOVE commune. In the Bronx, the cops evict by shotgun—like black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, blown away for falling behind in her rent. And Donald Trump the Condo King makes millions.

But America needs its financial and political capital, and New York can't run without black transit workers, Hispanic hotel workers, hospital workers—the whole powerful integrated city union movement. From this election platform we raise our revolutionary program: not only in New York but throughout the nation, the situation cries out for a **workers party** to defend the interests of labor, the poor, minorities and the hard pressed middle classes against Reagan, Koch, and the capitalist class they represent. We need a labor and minority-led fight for a **workers government** which will seize all major industry without compensation and institute a planned socialist economy. **New York City: For the working people! Vote Spartacist! Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor! Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President!**

• • • • •

Avenge victims of the racist cops—Edmund Perry, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs! From the Queens stun gun "torture precinct" to Harlem to posh Park Avenue, nobody is safe from Koch's killer cops. It's a system: D.A. Morgenthau and the ghoulish coroner cover up for the cops. In 1982 black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob in Gravesend—but brother Turks might be alive today if he had a piece. On the subway Queens meets Harlem: the intensification of the social contradictions between the squeezed middle classes and increasingly desperate oppressed minorities is what produces a Bernhard Goetz.

Capitalism breeds crime and everyone knows the cops won't protect them. While liberals prattle about gun control, racist forces like Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* seize upon the vulnerability and defenselessness of the population to whip up an atmosphere of "law and order" vigilantism. **Everyone has the right to defend himself! Gun control kills blacks! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks! For integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women!**

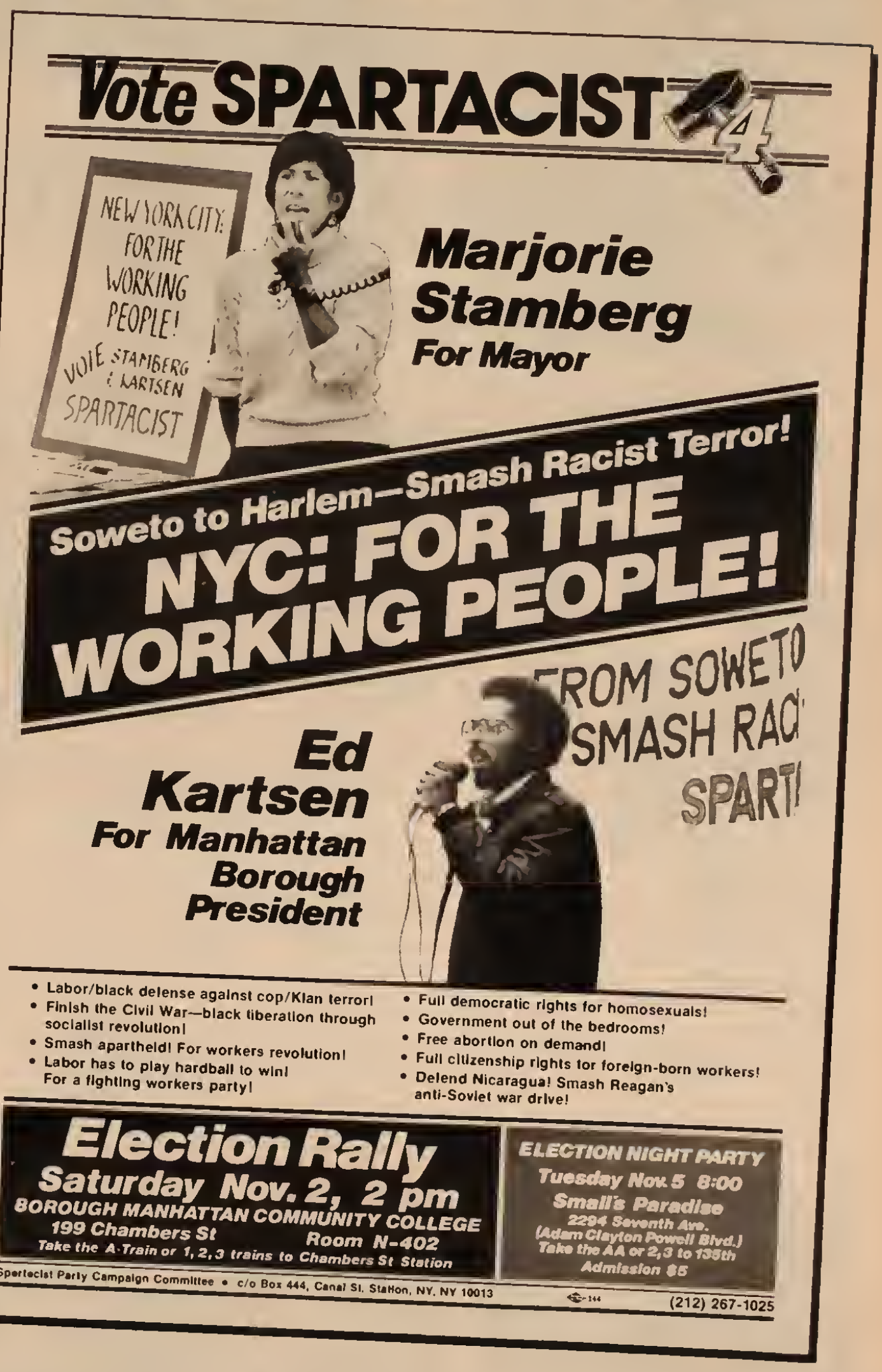
• • • • •

An army of homeless huddle in the streets while countless thousands eke out a miserable existence in the welfare hotels. Meanwhile, they're trying to gentrify Harlem and turn the *barrio* into the "Yupper East Side." **Restore and extend rent control! Homeless should seize Trump City! Expropriate the real estate robber barons!** That city councilman had a good idea when he called for Soviet aid to the South Bronx. **Make NYC a place where working people can live! Vote for the candidates who say no to the slumlords and big-time rent-gougers—support Marjorie and Ed!**

• • • • •

Koch glories in union-busting. He orders city sanitation workers to cross hotel strikers' picket lines. He stood on the Brooklyn Bridge in 1980 whipping up hatred against the transit strikers and greeting joggers led by his Yuppie opponent Carol Bellamy. Labor misleader Gotbaum literally plays ball with

continued on page 11



WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 391 X-523 15 November 1985

No Détente Illusions—Defend the Soviet Union!

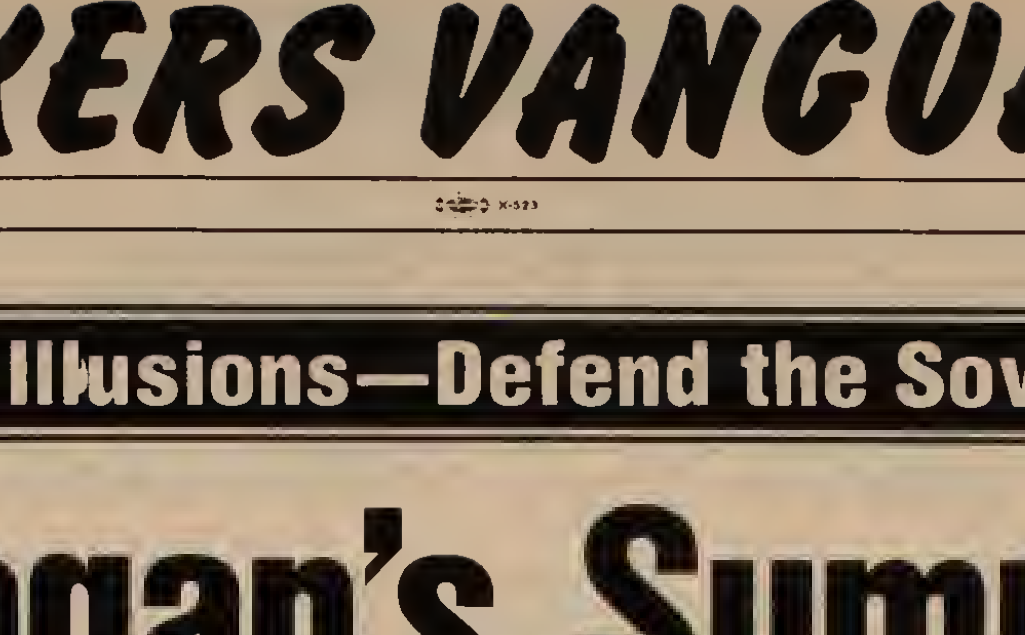
Reagan's Summit Blackmail

While the Russians talk peace and disarmament, Reagan shouts about anti-Communism and counterrevolution. Going into the summit, the Reagan gang has been even more warmongering, insulting and provocative toward the Soviet Union than their usual foaming at the mouth about the "Evil Empire." The White House has made it unambiguously clear that there will be no talk at Geneva about "Star Wars," MX missiles, the U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles stationed in Europe—eight minutes from Moscow—or any other American weapons system, either in place or on the drawing board. As part of his dangerous game of nuclear chicken with the Russians, Reagan is trying to bully and blackmail Gorbachev and roll back armed resistance and anti-imperialist social revolutions, from Managua to Moscow.

The Russian leaders cannot understand this behavior, especially before a meeting that is supposedly to "negotiate differences and reduce tensions." In his recent interview with *Time* magazine, Gorbachev exclaimed:

> "The summit meeting is designed for negotiations...on the basis of equality, and not for signing an act of someone's capitulation.... Then the bellicose outcries are all the more inappropriate. Why flex muscles needlessly, why stage noisy shows and transfer the methods of domestic political struggles to the relations between two nuclear powers? Here the language of force is useless and dangerous."
>
> —*New Times* (Moscow) No. 37, September 1985

Dangerous it is: as Gorbachev reminded his American audience, "We have not lost a war, or even a battle to the United States, and we owe it absolutely nothing." But the Kremlin leadership is in a bind. Having forsaken the program of proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, they know no other way to ultimately stay the hand of the bloodthirsty, war-crazed imperialists than through the dangerous illusion of "disarmament." The only way the imperialists can be "disarmed" was demonstrated in Russia itself in 1917: by workers revolution.



UPI

War-crazy Reagan could blow up the world trying to "roll back" Soviet workers state.

The Kremlin tops insist that the USSR and U.S. have a mutual interest in these negotiations—preventing nuclear war. Even Reagan doesn't want World War III for its own sake; he doesn't long to see the U.S. destroyed in a nuclear holocaust. But the commander in chief of American imperialism is both saner and crazier than that. Karl von Clausewitz, the great Prussian military theorist, stated that war is the continuation of policy by other means. Washington's policy toward the Soviet Union now is, simply put, to destroy the land of the Bolshevik Revolution of

continued on page 6

Mark Meyer/Time

Defective Defectors

"He's for real," crowed a senior Reagan administration official over the supposed defection of alleged KGB spymaster Vitaly Yurchenko. Senator Patrick Leahy, vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, hailed Yurchenko's crossover this summer as a "hell of a blow to the Soviets." And British intelligence analyst Christopher Andrew opined that Yurchenko was worth "about 20,000 seduced West German government secretaries" (*Newsweek*, 4 November). But last week the CIA's "prize catch" strolled away from a Washington restaurant, Au Pied de Cochon (The Pig's Foot), leaving his hosts with the tab and appearing shortly thereafter at a news conference at the Soviet embassy to announce his "redefection" to the USSR.

Funny things are happening to Ronald Reagan on his way to the summit, and we're enjoying the spectacle as he tries to wipe the egg off his face. Redefector Yurchenko didn't provide anything "new or sensational" after all, claimed the U.S. president, dismissing the affair as a "deliberate ploy" by the Soviets. Too bad for Reagan. From the halls of the U.S. embassy in Kabul to the shores of the Mississippi, would-be American intelligence and propaganda coups are turning into embarrassing fiascos as various Soviet "defectors" seem to want nothing more than to go home to Russia. "I know your side" now, said the redefecting KGB colonel. "It's better than reading a thousand books."

The Cold Warriors figure anyone from a "captive nation" yearns to "escape to freedom" in the U.S. of A. From the Reagan White House to the *New York Times* editorial offices, it's axiomatic that every Soviet citizen wants to betray his country, or else. To prove their point, the CIA terror international operating out of Langley, Virginia kidnaps, imprisons, drugs, tortures and bribes any potential "defecting" Russian they can get their hands on. But it doesn't seem to work. We wonder, did Yurchenko reject the CIA's reported offer of $1 million because it wasn't enough for an apartment in Manhattan? After all, you have to have a pretty hefty stake to enjoy the "magic of the marketplace."

Some Congressional intelligence "watchdogs" now say they suspected

continued on page 8

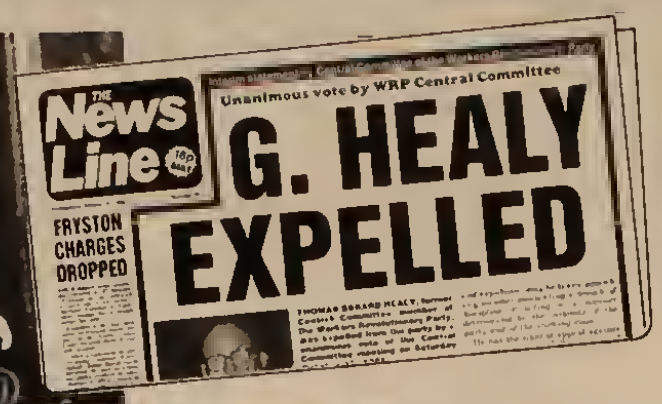
Emmert/AFP

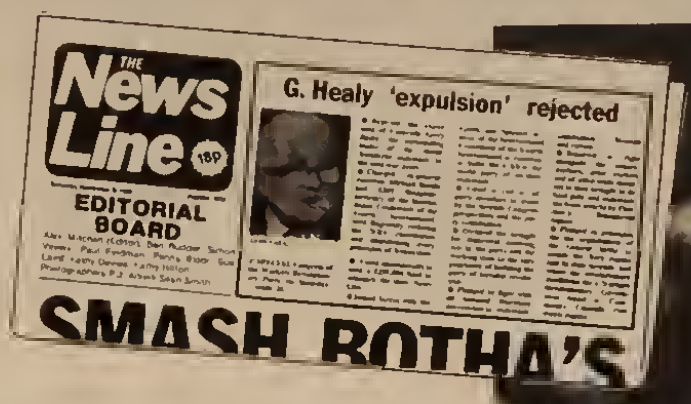
Vitaly Yurchenko: Back to the USSR!

Banda/Slaughter vs. Healy/Redgrave

News Line

Michael Banda, Healy's long-time hatchet man, now claims he was born yesterday.





Workers Press

Life-sized little Healy (foreground) dwarfed by his egomaniacal projection.

Healyites Blow Up

The spectacular explosion of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) is a sweet moment of revenge for a wide swathe of Trotskyists, ostensible Trotskyists, embittered ex-members and others who have been abused and slandered by the Healy/Banda machine of political bandits over the course of decades. The story broke late last month when two warring wings—one led by Gerry Healy and actress Vanessa Redgrave, the other by Healy's long-time hatchet man Michael Banda and above-the-battle intellectual Cliff Slaughter—expelled each other. The ostensible basis was the rather remarkable charge that the 73-year-old Healy had been sexually abusing women comrades for the last 19 years or so. What gives the event its impact is not the "Red in the Bed" angle so lavishly featured in the smarmy, prurient and vicious British bourgeois press but the fact that Healy's role in the WRP roughly mimicked that of Stalin in the CPSU. The WRP's supreme organizational principle was keeping the ranks in line by a combination of simple physical gangsterism and the cult of Healy as unique interpreter of the twin mystifications, "security" and "dialectics."

As we continue collecting and evaluating the information, we think *WV* readers will find informative the article reprinted below from *Socialist Organiser* No. 251, 7 November 1985. The article, titled "The WRP Proves Us Right," appeared under the byline of Sean Matgamna, a sharp-tongued British centrist. Matgamna and his *Socialist Organiser* know whereof they speak. And they surely have earned the right to enjoy the WRP's downfall, having been hauled into the capitalist courts by Healy/Banda for having published "libelous" statements about the WRP which were manifestly true.

Matgamna's article presents, from his own political standpoint, as good an interpretation of the split as we are likely early to encounter. And he nails the whole WRP cabal for its most corrupt political act—the explicit justification of the execution of Iraqi Communist militants by the Ba'ath military regime. "Healyites: Kill a Commie for Qaddafi" was *WV*'s headline in 1979 when the WRP thus took to the loathsome logical conclusion its corrupt press agentry for murderous bourgeois-nationalists like Libya's Qaddafi, Iran's Khomeini and the PLO's Arafat.

In bringing Matgamna's article to the attention of *WV* readers we of course are not endorsing Matgamna's centrist political views, particularly his stance toward the Labour Party—from which, we think, he also derives the characterization of Healy as a revolutionary in the immediate postwar period and the evaluation presented of the alignments in the British Trotskyist movement at that time, i.e., around the demise of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

REPRINTED FROM
SOCIALIST ORGANISER
NO. 251, 7 NOVEMBER 1985

By Sean Matgamna

Kennington Park Road, South London, last Saturday, 2nd. Four people are selling "Newsline" as they wait for the anti-apartheid march to come by. Two men and two women; all of them are in their late 20s or early 30s.

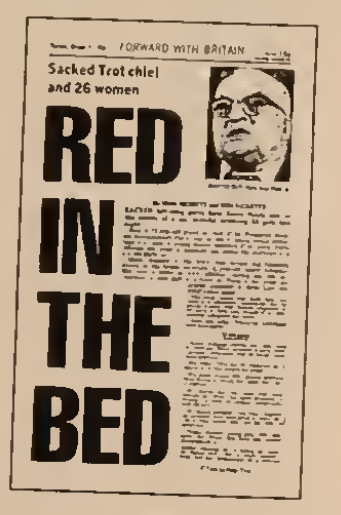
Suddenly a half-brick comes whizzing through the air from the other side of the road and lands at their feet. It has been thrown by a burly man, also about 30.

The brick is only the start. A steady rain of stones follows the brick across the road, and soon the intrepid four take refuge in the rhododendron bushes.

Triumphantly, the bombardier then jumps on a wall, raises both hands above his head after the fashion of football fans, and chants "Healy! Healy! Healy!" Then he drops back into the housing estate.

After the events of the WRP's week, it's a wonder they haven't been going for each other with guns and knives! The picture of what has happened in the WRP is now reasonably clear.

The organisation has split down the middle. The Healy faction's claim that they have the majority of the members of the old organisation on their side may even be true. The bourgeois press credits the old WRP with five to seven thousand members, but it was probably not more than one-tenth of that.



British gutter press drools over the Healy affair.

So when the Bandaites jeer that Healy only has 250 supporters, they are admitting that he has something like half the organisation.

The Healyites have declared their expelled Central Committee minority to be the WRP, and claim to have held a special conference which "rejected" Gerry Healy's expulsion and instead expelled Michael Banda and the other "conspirators" who raised their hands against the great leader.

Their resolution explicitly gave Healy a special place in the WRP, making it an article of faith to believe Gerry Healy to be "the outstanding leader of the world Trotskyist movement in the post-war period." They have brought out one issue of their own "Newsline" (eight pages and without any sports section—which undoubtedly points to a propagandist deviation by them away from mass work) and an issue of "Young Socialist." They have launched an appeal for £250,000 to bring out their "Newsline" daily from next January.

Gerry Healy is accused of sexual abuse of 26 and more women. This salacious "red-in-the-bed" stuff has

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TROTSKY

Fortress of the World Revolution

Against Stalin, the destroyer of the Leninist Comintern, the Trotskyists upheld the integral relationship between defense of the gains of the Russian October and world proletarian revolution. In 1928, James P. Cannon, veteran American communist, launched the Militant, *then the voice of American Trotskyism, declaring:*

LENIN

Eleven years have gone by since the Russian workers took the hammer of revolution in their hands and broke the chain of world imperialism at its weakest link....

The Russian revolution broke forever the unity of the world and divided it into two hostile camps—the camp of imperialist exploitation and the camp of social revolution. At one polar extreme stands America, the strongest imperialist world power. At the other stands the USSR, the land of the workers' rule. The antagonism between them, and the systems they represent, is irreconcilable. They cannot live together permanently side by side. The victory of the Soviet system on a world scale means the liberation of enslaved humanity and its ascent to heights of culture and achievement beyond our dreams—to socialism and beyond that to communism. The victory of imperialism would hurl civilization into the abyss. Such is the issue of the epoch of wars and revolutions in which we live and fight....

The defense of the Soviet Union is our own fight. It is and will be a central rallying slogan of the labor militants of the entire world. "Defend the Soviet Union!" is a slogan leading the workers to follow the example of the Russian revolution. So they must conceive it. So will the victory of socialism in Russia and throughout the world be finally secured.

—James P. Cannon, "Fortress of the World Revolution" (15 November 1928)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 391 **15 November 1985**

Smash Zionist Stormtrooper Kahane!

SAN FRANCISCO—Israeli fascist thug Meir Kahane was met by protest demonstrations at his two appearances here October 28. The Zionist terrorist Kahane, former two-hit *Führer* of the Jewish Defense League, is pushing his program of genocide against the Palestinian Arab people in a 12-city fundraising tour of the U.S. Meanwhile, according to the *Los Angeles Times* (9 November), the FBI is attributing to Kahane's successors in the JDL the bombing murder of Alex Odeh, head of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, in Southern California a month ago.

At San Francisco State University there was a chance to drive the murderous scum Kahane off the campus by militant mass mobilization of students and labor. This is what the campus Spartacus Youth League called for in the leaflet we reprint below. The SYL leaflet was distributed prior to Kahane's appearance at Professor Dwight Simpson's International Relations class. Fearing that Kahane would get the treatment he justly deserves, the SFSU administration cordoned off the classroom with riot-helmeted campus cops and the meeting was closed to the press and all but selected students. Campus and SF cops and Kahane bodyguards even set up an elaborate scheme to get Kahane off campus after his meeting, involving decoy cop cars and a Kahane impersonator.

But the liberal Zionist and Arab student organizations played right into the hands of the administration and Kahane. Aping the chauvinist "Peace Now" movement in Israel which excludes Arab participation, the campus Zionists held a soft-core pro-Zionist anti-Kahane rally at noon. Meanwhile, the Palestinian nationalists and their Marcyite hangers-on, after staging a brief counterdemonstration at the Zionist rally, held a picket outside Kahane's appearance.

Both groups were united only in their opposition to the SYL's call for militant action to drive Kahane off campus. John Rothmann, president of the Northern California chapter of the Zionist Organization of America, denounced "our friends the Trotskyists, the Spartacus League" for our leaflet and defended Kahane's "free speech." And the Palestinian nationalists policed their demonstration, attempting to disperse students who sought to confront Kahane as he left campus. SYL members joined the picket outside the class at 2 p.m. with signs calling for "Drive Kahane Off Campus!" and "Arab, Hebrew Workers, Overthrow Your Rulers!"

In the evening, Spartacist supporters formed the largest contingent at a demonstration of 500 protesting Kahane's appearance at the posh St. Francis Hotel. Our chants included "Smash Kahane's Final Solution, For Arab-Hebrew Workers Revolution!" and "Eli 'The Wolf' Got His, Smash Fascist Kahane!" ("Eli" was an American-born kill-crazy paratrooper in Vietnam and an FBI agent-provocateur who became a Zionist and converted to Judaism and emigrated to Israel to murder Arabs. In 1980 this fascist killer was justly dispatched by a Palestinian militant.) Against the pitiful liberalism of the Marcyite front group PAM—whose signs read "Say no to Kahane" and who tried unsuccessfully to grab our bullhorn and then appealed to the cops—we counterposed our revolutionary strategy for the genuine realization of the right to self-determination for both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew peoples in a socialist federation of the Near East.

WV Photo

October 28: SL contingent at demonstration protesting Kahane outside St. Francis Hotel in SF.

SYL Leaflet

The fascistic, murderous Meir Kahane's scheduled appearance at SFSU on October 28 is an outrage and a provocation against the Palestinian victims of genocidal terror and against all enemies of racism. Kahane should be *driven off campus* by a *united* action of Arab, Jewish, black, leftist and other opponents of racism and fascist terror. He should get the same treatment here that he got on 29 August 1984 in Israel, when 20,000 Israeli Arabs and 2,000 Jewish protesters drove him out of the Arab village of Um el Fahm.

Kahane had declared he would march on Um el Fahm to "register" Arabs for deportation, ranting that the town had "no right to exist," because "there are no Arab towns, only Jewish towns occupied by Arabs." Deliberately modeling himself on Hitler, Kahane seeks to spearhead the "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem"—genocide. Stop Kahane!

Kahane, a Brooklyn-born rabbi who for years tried to pass as a gentile, "Michael King," became notorious in the U.S. for building the ultraright terrorist Jewish Defense League, which attacked black militants, Arabs and leftists, and bombed Soviet diplomatic offices. He wanted to be a full-fledged fascist in the U.S., but he had a problem: fascist movements in America not only centrally target blacks, as well as going after other minorities, leftists and unionists, but they also seek to kill Jews. This was again demonstrated recently by the fascists' machine-gun murder of a Jewish talk-show host in Denver, and by the recent bombing of a synagogue and a rabbi's home (as well as the Humanist Party's office) here in SF with the same type of bomb used [against] an Ethnic Studies class at SFSU.

So Kahane emigrated to Israel, where he built a *bona fide* fascist cult called the Kach party, and got elected to the Knesset (parliament). Openly campaigning for the expulsion and genocide of Palestinian Arabs from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, Golan, Gaza and southern Lebanon as well as the 600,000 Arabs who are Israeli citizens, Kahane's armed thugs, often Jews from the U.S., have terrorized Arab communities and schools. The fascist Kach party has grown rapidly in a country where sadistic police, troops and fanatical "settlers" armed to the teeth get their Gestapo-like kicks humiliating, beating and killing Arab men, women and children.

Der Spiegel

Meir Kahane, fascist ayatollah of Israel.

As the noted Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak, a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, stated in an interview with the Spartacist League's newspaper *Workers Vanguard* (12 October 1984): "Israeli Jewish society is being more polarized and about half of it is being rapidly Nazified. The more the U.S.A. supports Israel, the greater and more rapid will that Nazification be." The Zionist Hitlerite Kahane represents not only a broadly supported genocidal campaign but the fact that ultraright Zionism, which is increasingly becoming "respectable" in Israel, is fueled by cadres and money from the U.S.

We solidarize with the Palestinian youth under the Israeli boot who are *fighting back*. They need a Marxist leadership, a Trotskyist party, to point the way to liberation through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. Not only is Zionist Israel based on denying the Palestinians their birthright, but it is a deathtrap for the Jewish people. If they are to have a future, the Hebrew workers must be broken from their Zionist rulers and exploiters and won to the cause of Palestinian national justice. The anti-Kahane protest at Um el Fahm, a rare demonstration of Arab-Jewish unity, shows the real potential for a binational revolutionary party dedicated to the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking people within a socialist federation of the Near East.

Liberal protest organizers "concerned" for Kahane's "free speech" have refused to call for driving Kahane off campus. "Free speech" is a red herring here. The issue is self-defense against fascistic terrorists and organizers for genocide. At the same time it is suicidal to call on the capitalist SFSU administration to "ban" Kahane. The bourgeois state and its minions cannot be "pressured" into becoming "friends of the oppressed." This is the same administration that "banned" the revolutionary Marxist Spartacus Youth League, and which would be only too happy to have a pretext and "precedent" for going after Arab student militants, other politically active foreign students, black activists and leftists.

What has *sabotaged* the necessary united mobilization against Kahane of Arab, Jewish, black, leftist and other opponents of his genocidal terror? *Nationalism*. The nationalism of both liberal Zionist and Arab student organizations has stood in the way of giving Kahane the Um el Fahm treatment he so richly deserves to get here at State. At an October 14 meeting called by the General Union of Palestinian Students, a vote was taken to exclude the Jewish Student Action Committee (JSAC) from the planned anti-Kahane protest. Protest organizers pay lip service to "the spirit of Um el Fahm." If they had been at Um el Fahm on 29 August 1984, would they have told Jewish anti-Kahane protesters to go home?! Kahane benefits from this division.

But while the Palestinian students put forward the nationalism of a terribly oppressed and desperate people, the liberal Zionists echo the nationalism of the oppressor. JSAC wants to protest Kahane. At the same time it takes pains to put itself forward as the "true" defender of Zionism. But despite JSAC's protestations to the contrary, Kahane expresses in fascist form the Zionist *consensus* for massive state terror against the Palestinian people. From Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan to Begin, Sharon and Peres—from Deir Yassin 1948 to Sabra/Shatila 1982 and Tunis 1985—Israel has been based on robbing the Palestinians' birthright through state terrorism. Even the most "leftist" of the pioneer Zionists carried out the exclusion, dispossession and expulsion of the Palestinians in line with the slogan, "conquest of land, conquest of labor." The "Labor" and Likud war criminals are following in their footsteps.

Doing its best, as always, to fan the flames of other people's suicidal nationalism is the Workers World Party (WWP), better known in the guises of its myriad front groups (People's Antiwar Mobilization, All-Peoples Congress, etc.). Of course the Marcyites of the WWP are the most gung-ho armchair *fedayeen* (Arab commandos). They not only promiscuously embrace infinite varieties of nationalism; they revel in its genocidal logic, endorsing even indiscriminate acts of terror against innocent civilians. But the bottom line for these "Third World" cheerleaders *par excellence* is: "Uncle Sam to the rescue." When Israel launched its *blitzkrieg* into Lebanon in 1982, the WWP organized a protest which called for "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal." Well, Reagan gave the Marcyites effective U.S. action with the sending of the Marines and the disarming and evacuation of the PLO fighters. The direct result: the Sabra/Shatila bloodbath directed by mass murderer Ariel Sharon.

The Arab/Israeli conflict is the product of the historic interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory. The Zionist state was created by their forcible separation through the national expropriation of the Palestinians. There is no just, democratic solution under capitalism to the claims of both the Hebrew-speaking people and the dispossessed Palestinian people for the right of self-determination. This can be achieved only through a binational Palestine in a socialist federation of the Near East.* The urgent need is for an internationalist workers party, a Trotskyist party, to lead the way forward to peace and national justice for all the peoples of the Near East.

KAHANE OFF CAMPUS!

*(For an in-depth presentation of the Trotskyist analysis and program on this question, see "Near East Tangle," *Spartacist* No. 35, Autumn 1983.)

Spartacus Youth League
27 October 1985

California Labor: Stop the Scabs, Stop Scab Goods!

Watsonville Cannery Strikers Determined to Win

WATSONVILLE, California—For ten weeks of hitter class struggle some 2,000 striking Teamster Local 912 frozen food workers have stood their ground against the bosses of Watsonville Canning and Richard Sbaw, the arrogant rulers of this company town. Neither the hack-stabbing union misleaders nor the scabherding capitalists, their brutal cops and injunction-waving courts have broken the militancy of the mainly Mexican women strikers. At mass meetings workers have eleeted their own strike committee; two weeks ago they jeered and voted down Watsonville Canning's "final offer" of a 25 percent cut in base wages by an overwhelming margin of 800 to 1! But the companies hope to defeat this strike by holding out until mid-Decemher, when the broccoli season winds down and many workers return to Mexico until produetion starts up again in early spring. The bosses must be brought to tbeir knees *now*—and labor is gonna have to play hardhall to win.

On November 12 a busload of scabs was surprised at the Soutb Valley Shopping Center in Gilroy. "Flying pickets" reportedly arrived in five or six vans, and tbe strikebreakers were apparently badly routed (San Francisco *Examiner*, 12 November). The courageous strikers have galvanized support from working people: weekend rallies in Watsonville have repeatedly drawn several thousand people from the Mexican community, local eampuses, and significantly from the labor movement in the Bay Area (two hours drive away). Union leaders from Cesar Chavez of the Farmworkers to the ILWU's Curtis McClain bave felt compelled to posture as supporters of the strike. But meanwhile unionized farm workers continue to harvest the vegetables, and heavily unionized railroad workers, warehousemen, drivers and grocery workers transport and handle the produce—while the strikers are left to man the picket lines by themselves. In Watsonville five other unionized canneries are working!

Deeisive labor action now ean win tbis struggle! Spread tbe strike—shut down all the canneries! Weekend parades won't stop tbe scabs—for mass pieket lines at the plant gates! For labor solidarity—let the scab produce rot! A few truckloads or boxcars of broceoli dumped on the roadside will win this strike a lot faster than all the hot air "solidarity" messages of union fakers put together.

Output of frozen broccoli, the plants' basic product, has been reportedly eut by up to 60 or 70 pereent (San Francisco *Examiner*, 20 October). But the companies are now reeruiting seabs all over, first and foremost in Watsonville itself. Turn the strikebreaking court injunctions "ordering" token picket lines into worthless scraps of paper! Bay Area labor—Teamsters who've had it with takeaways and union-busting, members of the International Longsboremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Farmworkers, Machinists, Molders—must flood Watsonville to *shut the canneries tight*. Remember the 1934 San Franeisco general strike and the 1946 Oakland general strike! The unions in tbis area were built by class struggle—not by playing according to the bosses' rules.

WV Photo

Militant strikers and supporters march through Watsonville, November 3.

Real solidarity is on the picket lines, not in Sunday sermons. As striker Gloria Bettencourt told *WV*, "A weekend march does nothing, because the plants are closed then. They should come during the week." Bettencourt is a member of the Strikers' Committee that 500 strikers, fed up with the sabotage of Local 912 bureaucrats, elected at an October 15 assembly. The cops are trying to railroad her husband, Amador, a striker, picking him out of a crowd of 50 strikers and charging him with throwing a Molotov cocktail at a scab bus. He has been held in jail for one month with bail set at $250,000. Free Amador Bettencourt!

Strike Together and Win!

Liberal union misleader Cesar Chavez promises victory by urging people to withdraw their money from Wells Fargo, the bank apparently used by the struck companies. Such consumer boycott strategies—based on applying "moral pressure" to the bosses—are totally impotent. It didn't save striking air traffic controllers their union or their jobs, and it won't win here either, where the big California-based banks, the growers and cannery operators are all tied in together. Chavez's Farmworkers ought to be *striking alongside* their sisters and brothers in the canneries. And railroad workers must stop the freight cars from the struck plants that carry scab produce bound for big national supermarket chains. Flying pickets linked up with Teamster and ILWU workers must keep this scab trash out of the warehouses. Retail Clerks must block it from getting onto the shelves. That's the only "solidarity" worthy of the name—the kind that *wins strikes*.

The Teamster tops kept all seven Watsonville canneries working without a contract for three months. All but Watsonville Canning and Richard Shaw are still working. At three companies sellout contracts were "ratified" without union meetings called to discuss them: Smucker's and Crosetti's are to have a two-tier wage scale with $1.50 less an hour for new hires, takeaways in health benefits and a pay freeze. Rip up the contracts—all the canneries must join the strike!

Workers told *WV* that at the beginning of the strike a group of women put forward a resolution for a "general strike of all the canneries." Teamster officials blustered that this would be "illegal." The strikers reportedly asked why they had to toe the line drawn by the bosses, "since the companies do illegal things all the time." As Gloria Bettencourt told us:

> "That's the only way we'll win: by everyone going out on strike. The other companies are helping the struck bosses—like Crosetti's is helping Watsonville Canning fulfill its deals with broccoli growers. Boxes marked 'Crosetti' and 'Watsonville Canning' go in on the same trailers."

The strikers want to fight and win. At the October 28 mass meeting where they overwhelmingly rejeeted Watsonville Canning's ultimatum, workers stood in line to snatch up 500 copies of a Spartacist leaflet in Spanish; a number eame back to ask for stacks to give out themselves. Many unionists emphatically agreed with our calls for militant, mass labor action to win the strike. Sales at the contract vote and at solidarity rallies the following weekends raised the number of Watsonville subscribers to our press to more than 70 (overwhelmingly to Spanish-language *Spartacist*).

Labor Wars in the Fields

Our program of class struggle is drawn from the militant traditions of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and early Communist Party, which fought against racism and for the principles of industrial unionism and independence from the capitalist state. It was the reds who did the first real organizing of California farm and cannery workers, long spurned by the imperialist-bribed labor lieutenants of capital like Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor. While Gompers spurred on the murderous anti-Asian racism that led to pogroms and expulsion of Chinese workers from agriculture and mining in California, the IWW advoeated "direct action" by the masses of all races and both sexes, and it practiced the solidarity it preached. The IWW fought tooth and nail against the bosses' racist "divide and rule" tactics by organizing on both sides of the border against the racist union-busters.

In the early 1930s the Communist Party organized the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU), which led a series of militant strikes and organizing drives. The CAWIU embraced farm workers, cannery workers and packing shed workers in a single industrial union to wage class struggle against the bosses. And it was a far cry from the pacifism of people like Chavez. In 1933 when vigilantes shot three workers to death and the National Guard rounded up Mexican, Filipino, black and white cotton strikers in the San Joaquin Valley, the CAWIU demanded: "Disarm the rich farmer or arm the worker for self-defense!" (This history of California farm labor organizing, from the 1870s to WWII, is covered in Cletus E. Daniel's *Bitter Harvest* [1981].)

The pioneer efforts to organize militant industrial unions of agricultural workers were defeated by bloody repression. The Stalinist CP long ago went the way of reformism, of the "popular front" with the anti-labor Democrats, while today's union leaders like Chavez try to pretend the old days of class struggle are over. They rely on liberal Democrats and government bodies like the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (controlled by California governor Deukmejian and his growers) in a futile effort to keep the bosses in line. But it won't work: in Watsonville today the bosses' press smears the strikers with charges of "arson" and "violence." The cops carry out mass arrests of strikers and student supporters, while winking at scabs who brandish firearms, knives and clubs.

From the Chinese Exclusion Act to the murder of farm strikers by vigilante mobs in the '30s, to the incarceration of Japanese American farmers, to the racist "bracero" programs and "migra" raids of today, the history of California agribusiness is a history of racist crimes against working people. The Spartacist League demands: Full citizenship and union rights for foreign-born workers! This means a struggle against the union bureaucracy, which pushes racist "Buy American" protectionism and refuses to lift a finger against racist "migra" raids. (Chavez has actually called on the hated INS in the past to "stop illegal aliens" being imported as scabs.)

Watsonville strikers told *WV* they had to fight just to get union materials translated into Spanish; at one point Teamster officials ruled this "out of order" because "this is the United States." The bureaucrats have also been content to allow the segregation of women workers in the lowest-paid job titles. Women cannery workers getting a taste of power through class struggle are demanding an end to discrimination. Free, company-paid childcare available 24 hours a day is also a burning need for these workers, many of whom have young children.

It is only by mobilizing the full power of the working class and *all the oppressed* against the employers and their strikebreakers that the bosses' attacks can be smashed. Screw the bosses' laws! For mass picket lines! Hot cargo scab goods! Victory to the cannery strikers! ■

Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

Communist-led farm workers in California during 1933 cotton strike.

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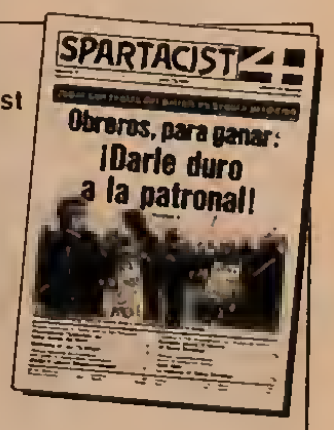

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Spartacist Election Rally:

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

The New York City Spartacist Party election campaign culminated in a spirited rally Saturday, November 2 at Borough of Manhattan Community College. In addition to speeches from the candidates, the BMCC event highlighted Spartacist campaigns of concrete internationalist solidarity, in defense of embattled Nicaragua and supporting the bitter year-long British miners strike. A slide show depicting important class battles and our mobilizations against U.S. imperialism in El Salvador and fascist terror at home was a big hit. The party-building red rally closed with the singing of the communist anthem, the *Internationale*.

Campaign manager and rally chairman Frank Hicks introduced Alison Spencer of the Spartacus Youth League national committee, who told of the SYL's campaign that raised over $27,000 in material aid to Nicaragua against the U.S. trade boycott. "It was about this time a year ago when we learned that the youth of Nicaragua were being pulled from the coffee harvest into defense of their revolution from attack by U.S. imperialism and the 'contras'," Spencer said. "We took this as our signal that it was time to mobilize here in this country."

Gene Herson, a 20-year member of the National Maritime Union, recalled the campaign of the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—which raised over $24,000 to aid striking British miners' families, bringing the significance of that strike to trade unionists throughout the U.S. He displayed a shining brass safety lamp which had been presented to the PDC in New York by the South Wales National Union of Mineworkers. Other lamps, symbols of recognition of the international solidarity rendered to the miners, are in Moscow, in the office of the Soviet mine workers; in Odessa, where many mine strikers' children were invited on holidays; in Sweden, in France, in London, and with the San Francisco Bay Area Spartacist League.

Herson introduced greetings to the rally from Don Hughes, a militant Welsh coal miner and a spokesman of the NUM. Don's telephoned message spoke of the vicious cop violence against the strikers which is now being used against the ghettos of Britain's cities:

> "Throughout the 12-month strike, I saw men on picket lines, mine workers trampled underfoot by police horses. I saw police in riot gear wielding truncheons and riot shields against men dressed only in T-shirts, jeans and sneakers. The same thing has happened today in the black areas of some of the cities of my country. But at long last they are giving the cops a little bit of what they gave them over the years, and more power to them. Because there's nothing in the world more vile than racism, and the British cops and the New York cops are equally racist and vile."

Don concluded with fraternal greetings from the National Union of Mineworkers of Great Britain, and from the South Wales NUM. On the same day of the New York City rally, Brother Herson added, Don Hughes was marching in the streets of London together with the Spartacist League and other miners protesting the apartheid regime in South Africa.

A high point of the rally was the slide show presented by *Workers Vanguard* labor reporter Mark Lance. Beginning with pictures of November 27, 1982, when a Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization stopped the KKK lynchers from marching in the streets of Washington, D.C., he commented, "for us, it was a little taste of workers power." One shot showed Stearns, Kentucky coal miners with a sign proclaiming that scabbing is dangerous to the health; another showed Morenci, Arizona copper miners with the same slogan. The link was *WV* and our "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" supplement, distributed in more than 100,000 copies to militant workers throughout the country.

We reprint below edited excerpts from the speeches by Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg for NYC mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president.

Ed Kartsen and Marjorie Stamberg (above) wind up Spartacist campaign with rousing red rally at BMCC, November 2.

WV Photos

Kartsen: Reagan's America is becoming increasingly racially polarized, as I think everyone in this room knows, and the murder of the eleven MOVE members, including five children, in Philly marked this polarization. The black mayor, Democratic Party lackey who performed this massacre, atrocity, racist murder, is being ridiculed even by more or less standard Democratic politicians. Wilson Goode nationally symbolizes what Reagan expects from every mayor throughout this country. In order to defend this system, you need Philadelphias. And in New York City, Koch is Reagan's man to defend capitalist law and order.

Koch is fully aware, of course, that according to all the estimates half of the black and Hispanic youth in the city are unemployed. He knows that there are people who are going to live in the subways, in the tunnels, many of whom are going to freeze to death this winter. Koch knows that industrial workers in this city are increasingly facing wage freezes and wage cuts, disintegration of union conditions and job conditions across the board. Koch knows that social services are disintegrating. Koch is on a campaign to make Manhattan safe for multibillionaires, or millionaires, which is what you need to get an apartment.

In order to conduct this war, he also needs his army of killer cops. Murderers such as Sullivan and the eleven cops that kicked to death Michael Stewart are mobilizing day in and day out in the courtrooms in order to enforce Koch's racist license to kill. And they're getting away with it. Koch has of course got the media behind him, and in fact the *New York Times* went so far as to criticize the Spartacist League for making the issue of cop terror a central focus of its campaign. The Wednesday issue of the *New York Times* stated as much, that we "play up" this issue. Well, black people are justifiably outraged at the acceptance of racist murder as the normal way things are supposed to run. Even Koch's extensive campaign hasn't stopped an increasing wave of rage at that *racist pig Koch*—a term and a headline that we're very proud of.

Black Democrats can only promise they will not turn into the kind of monster that Wilson Goode is. But no matter how militant sounding, dynamic, articulate these black politicians may sound, their link to the Democratic Party takes all of the forcefulness out of what they propose to do. At the Eleanor Bumpurs memorial meeting this past Tuesday, angry black people including Mary Bumpurs were offered adherence to "proper police procedure" by Vernon Mason. Well, "proper" police procedure is, of course, what was used to justify the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs. And "police procedure" is used in order to justify every instance of cop terror against minorities and union members day in and day out.

As far as we are concerned the only proper procedure under these conditions of mass cop brutality—from the stun gun torturers in Queens to the drunken cops who are marauding the streets of Manhattan—is to organize mass defense squads of responsible working men and women, linked to community organizations and unions, exercising their right of armed self-defense. We demand vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs, for Michael Stewart and Edmund Perry. We're running in the New York City elections in order to build a working-class party that will mobilize minorities and the mass political power of the working class in order to stop Ku Klux Klan and Nazi terror, both in and out of blue uniforms.

New York City: For the Working People!

Koch's black Democratic Party lackeys like Dinkins, who is my major opponent for borough of Manhattan president, did nothing more than cover for Koch when he called Farrakhan a racist. He's covering for Koch's mass racist terror. But Farrakhan by supporting Hitlerism is incapable of leading black people anywhere but to race war, which is a dead end. Hitler used Jews as scapegoats, just as the intention is here to use Jews as scapegoats. Metzger of the Ku Klux Klan makes that clear when he says Jews and blacks are the enemy. So Farrakhan preaches that Jews and whites are the enemy. The flames of anti-Semitism are being fanned in order to divert class struggle against the capitalist system of exploitation. Our slogan is "New York City: For the Working People!"

It is defense of the profit system internationally that is motivating Reagan to do everything in his power to launch a war against Nicaragua. Reagan

continued on page 10

Summit...

(continued from page 1)

1917—the same goal the U.S. and 15 other imperialist powers had when they invaded Russia to crush the early Soviet state in the egg, the same goal Adolf Hitler had when he launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union in 1941.

Remember that last year Reagan "joked" on an accidentally open mike: "My fellow Americans, I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." Oddly enough, the Europeans were not at all amused, and Reagan's fellow Americans also can kiss their asses good-bye should he ever go over the edge and launch a first strike. Of course, Reagan & Co. don't sit around planning when to push the button. Both they and the Democrats want to get global counterrevolution on the cheap by financing their "contra" international. But these "free world" terrorists can lead to a head-on military confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The U.S. imperialists believe that if they continue to escalate an all-out arms race, economic warfare, confrontations and provocations in the colonial and neocolonial "Third World," if they keep trying to slam the Kremlin up against the wall in a game of nuclear chicken the Russians will finally crack under pressure and the U.S. will prevail. Don't bet on it. Hitler applied rather more pressure on the Soviet Union and look what happened to him! American militarism will not cow the Soviet people or even the bureaucrats in Moscow, who are very conciliatory indeed.

Despite bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the remaining gains and powerful example of the October Revolution—whose 68th anniversary we commemorate this month—are the main obstacle to world capitalist domination and exploitation. Crudely put—no Russia, then no Cuba, no Vietnam: these anti-capitalist upheavals and the resulting deformed workers states would have been reduced to irradiated rubble were it not for the military/industrial powerhouse of the Soviet Union. The vision of a communist future, toward which the first great step was taken in Russia in 1917, continues to inspire the working masses and oppressed peoples the world over. That future—the only alternative to barbarism or worse—depends in the most urgent and literal sense on defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialist attack.

PBS

The "workers' bomb": Soviet military parade in Moscow.

Since Reagan does not dare to actually begin bombing Russia in five minutes, U.S. imperialism has focused its attacks on the periphery of Soviet power and influence. During Cold War I this was called the strategy of "rollback." Thus, the day after the Soviet foreign minister recently reiterated to the United Nations a proposal to reduce long-range nuclear missiles by 40 percent, Reagan called for global counterrevolution. He singled out five countries—Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Angola and Nicaragua—claiming they are cases of "Marxism-Leninism's war with the people" (*New York Times*, 25 October). Except for the Moscow-allied military dictatorship in Ethiopia, each of these are arenas of armed struggle for the social emancipation of the workers and oppressed, struggles for national liberation and survival. For the U.S., they are, most importantly, places to fight a proxy war against the Russians.

Wohl/Sygma

UPI

Reagan's blood brothers: Nicaraguan contras butcher prisoner (left); Afghan mullahs at home in the White House.

From Détente to Star Wars

In previous summit meetings, U.S. presidents have made at least a show of pretending to seek some agreement with the USSR. But there will be no "spirit of Camp David" in Geneva. Reagan has demanded unconditional surrender on all fronts. In his *Time* interview, Gorbachev stated, "It appears that even the slightest headway depends exclusively upon concessions by the Soviet Union, concessions on all questions—on armaments, on regional problems and even on our own domestic affairs."

Why then go to Geneva at all just to listen to Reagan's anti-Communist ravings? Because the Soviet bureaucracy hopes and believes that things can be different. They look back with longing to the Brezhnev-Nixon summits and the "détente" period of the early 1970s as a golden era of U.S.-Soviet collaboration second only to the alliance with Roosevelt and Churchill during World War II. (Reagan's trip to Bitburg gives more than a clue about what side the U.S. ruling class would choose now.) In particular, the Kremlin tops hold up as a model of arms control the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) and Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) negotiated in 1972.

But the short-lived détente of the early '70s was a result of the severe *weakening* of U.S. imperialism—militarily, economically and politically—at the hands of the victorious Vietnamese Revolution. ABM and SALT I were negotiated at the same time that Moscow was pressuring North Vietnam to sign the Paris "Peace" Accords. Architect of mass murder in Vietnam and of détente Henry Kissinger called this "linkage": in the Paris Accords the North Vietnamese agreed to a ceasefire-in-place in exchange for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. In his memoirs Kissinger makes clear that had Moscow not helped the U.S. secure an "honorable settlement" in Vietnam, Nixon & Co. would have torpedoed détente entirely.

The enormous expenditure of the Vietnam War, however, retarded the Pentagon's development of strategic nuclear weapons and allowed the Soviets to catch up and achieve rough nuclear parity. SALT I was carefully designed to brake the Soviet nuclear buildup while giving U.S. imperialism time to develop more advanced weapons systems. Kissinger explained: "If there had been no agreement, we could have done no more: and we would have been worse off because the Soviets were in a position to add numbers immediately and we were not" (*Economist*, 3 February 1979).

Reagan came to office vowing to achieve military "superiority" over the Soviet Union—i.e., first-strike capability. Pershing 2s were deployed in Western Europe—over a certain amount of popular opposition—just eight minutes flying time to Moscow. The highly accurate MX missile and now, above all, the Star Wars project were rammed through. Even Reagan admitted that Star Wars produced "distrust in the world" because the U.S. rulers "appear to be seeking the potential for a first strike" (*New York Times*, 7 November). No kidding!

"Star Wars" flagrantly violates—and indeed simply rips up—the 1972 ABM treaty, as Gerald Smith, the chief U.S. negotiator of that pact, has flatly stated. A report by the U.S. Congress' Office of

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New York Times, 8 October 1985

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The Editorial Notebook

The Elusive Lenin

President Reagan was asked the other day if he still thought the Soviet Union was an evil empire. Yes, he told Ted Koppel of ABC, because of things like the downing of a South Korean airliner in Soviet airspace. Moreover, he said, Soviet leaders repeatedly proclaimed their global ambition, which is why "I have often quoted" Lenin's statement that:

"We will take Eastern Europe. We will organize the hordes of Asia. And then we will move into Latin America and we won't have to take the United States; it will fall into our outstretched hands like overripe fruit."

When did Lenin say that? The quote fell like an overripe fruit into a televised discussion that followed Mr. Reagan's appearance. A Soviet official, Georgi Arbatov, denounced it as a Nazi invention once exposed by the commentator Alistair Cooke. Mr. Cooke, sitting at hand, seemed to smile in assent.

When later asked for details, Mr. Cooke said he couldn't recall what, if anything, he had ever broadcast about the quote. He had his own theory: the line might have come to Mr. Reagan from an old movie script. The White House press office wanted to be helpful, but it could not document the quotation either.

At the Library of Congress, researchers found an old folder showing they had been asked several times to check the citation some years ago. It failed to turn up, as promised, in The Collected Works of Lenin, Volume X, page 172—or in any Russian or English edition of the works. Also in the folder was a clipping from The Chicago Daily News, dated Dec. 8, 1958, describing the quote as a fake but giving no source.

Just then, an indirect reference to the same idea turned up in a new book on South Africa by our colleague Joseph Lelyveld. He wrote that he heard

Where Ronald Reagan Read of the Plot To Conquer America

the same language attributed to Lenin by right-wing generals in Pretoria. He said that they apparently learned it from a book called "None Dare Call It Conspiracy," published in Rossmoor, Calif., in 1971 and avidly read by members of the John Birch Society.

Thus prompted, I finally found what seems to have been President Reagan's source: "The Blue Book of the John Birch Society," compiled in 1958 by Robert Welch. On page 10, his book says:

"Lenin died in 1924. But before he died he had laid down for his followers the strategy for this conquest. It was, we should readily admit, brilliant, farseeing, realistic and majestically simple. It has been paraphrased and summarized as follows: 'First, we will take Eastern Europe. Next, the masses of Asia. Then we shall encircle the last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack; it will fall like overripe fruit into our hands.' "

So there it is: an undocumentable Birchite "paraphrase" offered "often" as a live quotation by a President of the United States.

KARL E. MEYER

Try the Traitors Sakharov!

Why Let Bonner Go?

Dripping with "human rights" hypocrisy, U.S. secretary of state George Shultz gloated over the Soviet Union's recent announcement that Yelena Bonner, wife of "dissident" Andrei Sakharov, will be permitted to go abroad allegedly for medical treatment. Gloating is surely the order of the day for the U.S. imperialists and media jackals who have mounted a frenzied years-long "Free Sakharov" campaign, trying every ploy in the book to pressure the Russians, even at one point retailing the "disinformation" that Sakharov was dead. Bonner and Sakharov, the father of the Soviet H-bomb, are *traitors* to the Soviet peoples. They are avid advocates of American nuclear weapons expansion who eagerly sought to pass information to the U.S. embassy and Western "correspondents." We ask: *Why are the Russians playing Reagan's game?*

AP

Yelena Bonner and Sakharov—traitors.

Sakharov and Bonner are a far cry from the usual Soviet "dissidents" as presented in the U.S. press—a downtrodden intellectual shivering in a pathetic unheated cubicle, listening for the footsteps of the GPU while fondly recalling the days of the tsar. Sakharov is a top Soviet physicist who has openly called for U.S. imperialism to develop first-strike nuclear capacity: in the Summer 1983 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Sakharov came out for the MX missile and U.S. deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe. "This is concrete aid to the enemy," we observed in our article "Try the Traitors Sakharov!" (*WV* No. 356, 8 June 1984).

Izvestia had earlier warned that "new provocations are expected of him and not for free, of course. A traitor is a traitor precisely because he sells himself out." The Soviet government organ charged that Sakharov had "repeatedly blabbed about things that any state protects as important secrets" during numerous "intensive unofficial meetings" with U.S. diplomats and correspondents (*New York Times*, 24 January 1980). And it's no secret who most U.S. "correspondents" in Russia are really corresponding with!

When Sakharov was banished to Gorky, Bonner remained in Moscow, frequently in the company of Western journalists. Last year she was caught plotting with the U.S. embassy: after letters from Bonner to the American ambassador were discovered, the U.S. was forced to admit that the plan was for Bonner to get "asylum" at the embassy concurrent with Sakharov's latest hunger strike. She was then sent to join her husband in Gorky, under circumstances which correspond not at all to the *gulag* nightmare portrayed in the Western "free press." Gorky, though off limits to foreigners, is no Siberian tundra but a thriving city of one million. The Sakharovs have a four-room apartment, and his membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences secures them access to all the special stores that make life nice for the bureaucracy.

The stultifying repression of Soviet intellectual life is a continuing legacy of the usurpation of political power by a conservative bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin which smashed workers democracy, physically liquidating the Old Bolsheviks, to embrace counter-revolutionary and anti-internationalist policies. We adamantly oppose state persecution of citizens for purely ideological "crimes"; the parasitic bureaucracy which perverts and disorganizes the economy and demoralizes the working class is a far greater internal danger to the remaining gains of the revolution than the repulsive pro-imperialist "dissidents." But Sakharov and Bonner are a very different case.

TASS, the Soviet news agency, put the matter succinctly:

> "It has been repeatedly pointed out in the Soviet press that, by virtue of his scientific activity, Sakharov is a person possessing important state and military secrets. For this reason and in the interests of national security, he is deprived of the possibility to go abroad."

As intransigent defenders of the gains of the October Revolution against imperialism, we denounce the Kremlin's decision to let Bonner flee into the waiting arms of the atom-bombers of Hiroshima. This piece of détente diplomacy is a deadly dangerous "gesture" of appeasement to the nuclear madmen in Washington who see every act of Russian "reasonableness" as a confession of Soviet weakness and a proof that America uniquely possesses the will to prevail. The truly evil creatures lurking in Langley must be lining up already to beat a path to Bonner's hospital bed.

Last year *WV* made a modest proposal: "Since the Reaganites claim their only concern is 'humanitarian' and not strategic-military, the Kremlin might suggest a simple trade of 'aging' scientists: Sakharov in exchange for Edward Teller, the father of the American hydrogen bomb and now a prime mover of Reagan's plans for the 'Star Wars' program to annihilate the Soviets from space." Here's another: Bonner comes to the U.S. and in exchange Nancy Reagan goes to Afghanistan—where the CIA is instrumental in running much of the world narcotics network—to carry on her battle against drug abuse. ■

Technology Assessment understated the obvious: "A strategic defense which could assure the survival of all or nearly all U.S. cities in the face of unconstrained Soviet nuclear offensive forces does not appear feasible." But the real aim of Star Wars is to protect U.S. land-based missiles, reducing the effectiveness of a Soviet retaliation to a U.S. *first strike*. Responding to this latest massive provocation, Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, chief of the general staff of USSR armed forces, warned the American people that "Washington underestimates the potential of the Soviet Union."

Proletarian Revolution: The Road to Peace

At bottom the Cold War, including the resurgent arms race, is a *class war*, a war which began in 1917 between world capitalism and the state issuing out of the Bolshevik Revolution. This imperialist war, alternating hot and cold, against the Soviet workers state exacts a horrible toll on the economy and masses of the Soviet Union, and in America where the victims of race-terror, unemployment and social decay are supposed to find anti-Sovietism their opiate. Yet the so-called socialist left in this country and internationally *denies* the anti-Soviet war drive is at the root of Reagan's militarism and shamelessly ducks or eschews defense of the Soviet Union. These would-be leaders of a movement for "peace and disarmament" in fact support or adapt to imperialist anti-Sovietism.

In the liberal imperialist, pro-Democratic Party "solidarity" milieus—whether it's over the Near East, South Africa or Central America—various rad-libs and reformists try to ignore the Soviet Union, pretending that U.S. militarism is mainly concerned about Third World nationalist regimes and movements. Archetypal is Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party, dyed-in-the-wool parliamentary cretins who occasionally don Fidelista or Sandinista fatigues for some vicarious guerrillaist cheerleading. You can read pages of SWP paeans to the ever-upward "radicalization" and "freedom movements" from South Africa to the Caribbean (e.g., *Militant*, 13 September) without a single mention of the Soviet Union as a serious factor in world events, much less the *main target* of U.S. imperialism's war drive.

No one outside the blinkered popular-front "progressive" milieu can take such willful blindness seriously. Who is gullible enough to believe that all the MXs, Pershing 2s, cruise missiles, etc. are directed at Managua, not Moscow? Who would buy the line that it was a threat to imperialist profits or imperialist domination of the Caribbean that led Washington to launch a flotilla against the tiny island of Grenada? Yet when the Spartacist League raises slogans like "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America," the pop-fronters go berserk, resorting to thug violence and even calling the capitalist cops against the reds. Why? *Because denying the relevance of the Russian question is the key to their hoped-for political bloc with the Democrats.*

The once-Trotskyist SWP has now become openly and explicitly *anti*-Trotskyist, though still remaining marginally in the more-divided-than-ever "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," led by Ernest Mandel. Mandel's USec still maintains a hollow pretense of identification with Trotskyist tradition, but the last thing they want is Leon Trotsky's uncompromising defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Trotsky and American SWP leader James P. Cannon fought a bitter faction fight against a petty-bourgeois opposition which refused to defend the USSR in the midst of a liberal outcry over the Soviet invasion of Finland in 1940. Yet today in nationalist- and social-democratic-led European disarmament movements, in Central American "solidarity" movements, the Mandelites never mention defense of the Soviet bloc. How do they solve this contradiction? By *explicitly denying that defense of the Soviet Union is posed.*

Peter Turnley

Soviet leader Gorbachev with French president Mitterrand in Paris.

Writing in the *New Left Review* (September-October 1983), Mandel supports the East German "peace" movement which calls for the disarmament of this (bureaucratically deformed) workers state. The task is to "prevent world nuclear war," he says, by relying on "the instinct for survival (in the physical sense of the term) in the possessing classes," claiming the latter would never unleash their missiles "on the altar of abstract ideas or 'absolute principles'" like anti-communism, defense of the market economy or hatred of revolution. The "main danger," he opines, is "foreign interventions against revolutions in progress" in the Third World. In a December 1983 forum in Frankfurt, West Germany this pseudo-Trotskyist was even more explicit in responding to interventions by comrades of the international Spartacist tendency:

> "... my organization has predicted since the late '70s—and this prediction has been proven true—that beyond any doubt it is targeted against the colonial revolution. We have stated that a war with the Soviet Union is not now on the agenda."

This latter-day social-democratic Karl Kautsky has an incredible faith in the rationality of the class enemy. The Pershing missiles will not be launched in the next five years, he assures his listeners, because "the American imperialists know that the

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Summit...

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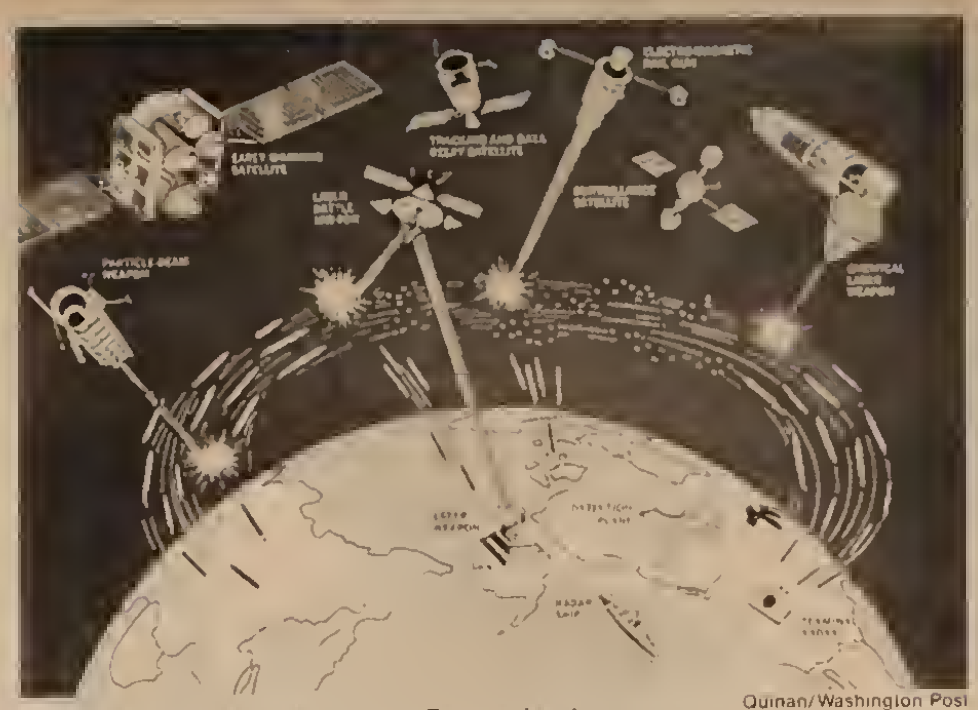
moment they push the button someone in Moscow will push the button too." Thus Mandel assures us that in all the *numerous* times since World War II the U.S. has seriously posed or threatened use of nuclear weapons against the Soviet bloc—from Vietnam in 1954 to the 1973 Israel-Arab war—the imperialists *were simply bluffing*.

As for the rationality of the Reagan gang, consider their behavior last month when they hijacked an Egyptian airliner over the Mediterranean; after forcing it down at a NATO air base in Sicily, American commando troops tried to seize the plane and for several hours faced off against several hundred Italian troops with guns drawn. If they will do that with allies, what are they capable of against Nicaragua, Cuba or anyone else they consider a "Soviet surrogate"? Not to mention what could happen if today's gung-ho Cold Warriors in Washington ever went eyeball-to-eyeball with the Soviets in the replay of the Cuban missile crisis they have been yearning for all these years.

Inveterate tailists, the Mandelites for the past several years have been following in the wake of West European social



Quinan/Washington Post

Star Wars: Reagan's first-strike Fantasyland.

democracy. In his Frankfurt forum, Mandel accuses the Spartacists of "covering for Stalinist crimes against the working class" in Poland. On the contrary, the Mandelite pseudo-Trotskyists—from their opposition to Soviet intervention against U.S.-financed Islamic feudalists in Afghanistan to Poland, where they sing hosannas to Reagan's and the pope's favorite "union"—end up four-square in the imperialist camp.

And what of the Moscow-loyal Stalinist Communist Party? The CPUSA has ducked every important issue posing defense of the Soviet Union, from Afghanistan to Poland to KAL 007. Now general secretary Gus Hall asks rhetorically, "Can the Reagan administration policy of putting profits before peace be turned into a policy of peace without corporate profits?" Yes, says Hall, through "mass protests and public demonstrations across our land.... The people and Congress can force Reagan to meet Gorbachev halfway at the Summit in November" (*Daily World*, 24 October). Hall's faith in the "contra Congress"—which has tried to out-Reagan Reagan in support to Nicaraguan mercenaries—is consistent with the CP's historic policy of groveling before the Democrats.

Whether it's Stalinist-style class collaboration with a non-existent "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie or flagrant anti-Sovietism masquerading as Trotskyism, none of these ostensible socialists offer a road to peace. The most vital task for the peoples of the world today is irreconcilable class struggle leading toward workers revolution against the despots, dictators and imperialist mass murderers who are on a course leading to the annihilation of the planet. Central to defeating this murderous "unholy alliance" is the forging of an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, dedicated in words and deeds to defense of the gains and heritage of the October Revolution against Reagan's hoped-for American Reich. ■

Defectors...

(continued from page 1)

from the beginning it was "too good to be true"—the KGB's supposed No. 2 man for North American operations going over to the West for political reasons. But especially with the ongoing secretaries scandal in Bonn and the "Walker affair" of Navy non-coms allegedly selling the Pentagon's deepest secrets for a few bucks, most took Yurchenko as good coin. He represents "the Macleans and Philbys of 50 years ago," said analyst Andrew. The British intelligence apparatus is still smarting over the fact that Kim Philby, their head of anti-Soviet ops during the postwar years, was a KGB "mole."

Over at Foggy Bottom, the State Department wasn't having much better luck than the bumbling vicarious cowboys in William Casey's CIA. Take the case of Aleksandr Sukhanov, a private in the Soviet army in Afghanistan who wandered into the U.S. embassy in Kabul. Despite inducements from the embassy staff, which in a "nonintimidating atmosphere" (i.e., locked up in solitary with the CIA) attempted to convince him to defect, Sukhanov was only interested in returning to the USSR. That he was not secreted away in a diplomatic pouch probably had something to do with the fact that Afghan troops surrounded the embassy and cut off all utilities.

The Kabul non-defection coincided with a three-part series in the *New York Times* salivating over lurid tales of Soviet soldiers defecting to the bloodthirsty *mujaheddin*. (They came up with a handful, out of the several hundred thousand Soviet troops who have served in Afghanistan.) The *Times* mentioned in passing that there were not more defections because the Islamic feudalists routinely scalp or slit the throats of captured Soviet soldiers. And it alluded to the fact that the CIA's Afghan "freedom fighters" are major sources for international drug trafficking, supplanting the Company's former Laotian poppy fields.

While the Reagan administration was trying to get over Private Sukhanov's refusal to take the anti-Soviet plunge, a Ukrainian sailor jumped ship near New Orleans. Here was a chance to recoup, thought Washington—only local officials didn't seem to catch on. Seaman Miroslav Medved, described by a government-hired psychiatrist as an impulsive lad "grabbing for the glitter and gusto," was returned to the *Marshal Konev*. Thereupon Reagan threatened to seize the *Konev* by force and the State Department kidnapped Medved and held him overnight while the Coast Guard surrounded the Soviet ship. But when the seaman still insisted he wanted to go home, he was reluctantly returned.

The ultraright went crazy. A boatload of Ukrainian émigrés approached the *Konev*, yelling, "Defect! Defect!" The crew turned them down, asking instead for beer and pizza. Meanwhile, Senator Jesse Helms subpoenaed the sailor to appear before the Senate Agriculture Committee. ("It's a grain ship, isn't it?"

Rose/New Orleans Times-Picayune

Soviet seaman Medved (with beard) being seized from freighter by U.S. officials.

said Helms.) After unsuccessfully trying to serve the papers for an entire day, they hid them in a carton of cigarettes delivered to the captain as a "gift." A Helms aide commented, "It appears that this is just another sacrifice in cold blood to the black mass of summitry." But on November 9 the ship sailed.

The script for the double defection of Vitaly Yurchenko could have been borrowed from the film *Night Flight from Moscow*. The international incident around Miroslav Medved's "joy swim" reads like a Frederick Forsyth novel. But as bizarre as aspects of the story may be, attempting to detain a Russian ship and holding a Soviet soldier hostage in a U.S. embassy are provocative *acts of piracy and war*. Imagine what would happen if an *American* ship were hottled up in Leningrad harbor: Washington would threaten to unleash World War III! Nor is this anything new: the U.S. Navy routinely tries to cripple Soviet subs on the high seas.

An earlier Soviet "defector" who returned to the USSR in 1984—Oleg Bitov, an editor of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*—also said he had been drugged and kidnapped, as did three apparent deserters from the Soviet army in Afghanistan. When Soviet ballet dancer Aleksandr Godunov defected a couple of years ago, Washington held an Aeroflot jet with his wife aboard though she wanted to return. And don't forget the State Department's kidnapping of 12-year-old Walter Polovchak when his Ukrainian parents decided to return to the Soviet Union after discovering that life in Chicago wasn't all the "free world" was cracked up to be.

It's not that the Americans are always hospitable to KGB defectors, either. Yuri Nosenko, the bugbear of Nixonite *New York Times* columnist William Safire and his hero James Jesus Angleton, was held in solitary for *four years* while the CIA tried to figure out if he was real. (To this day, former CIA counterespionage chief Angleton claims that the Sino-Soviet split is just a ruse to fool the West.) Perhaps the most telling comment of all, in this spate of defections and redefections, came from a career CIA officer, Harry Rositzke: "I have never seen a political defector in 30 years."

We suspect there were quite a few hearty toasts passed around in the KGB offices at Dzerzhinsky Square in Moscow when their man Vitaly held his D.C. press conference. In Washington, the owner of Au Pied de Cochon announced plans for a new drink, a "Yurchenko shooter," consisting of Stolichnaya vodka and Grand Marnier liqueur. And in Senator Durenberger's "oversight" committee (so-called because of the vast amount of CIA skullduggery they overlook), a bogus leaflet was circulating reporting the defection of CIA director Casey...with "mixed" effects on U.S. intelligence. *The American imperialists are justly victims of their own anti-Soviet hysteria.* ■

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Healyites Blow Up...

(continued from page 2)

heen spread all over the tahloid press for the last week. But by far the most important and interesting developments have heen the other eharges that the Bandaites have laid against Healy and implieitly against their own organisation and its entire history.

In "Newsline" and in interviews with the hourgeois press, WRP general seeretary Michael Banda has repeated SO's [*Socialist Organiser*] eomments on the WRP—phrase for phrase and sometimes word for word.

Banda has:

1. Denounced Healy's followers such as the Redgraves as people who have the attitude of religious eultists towards their "guru" Healy. We were sued for saying that.

2. Denounced Healy for systematie and routine violenee and hrutality against memhers of the organisation. We were sued for saying that.

3. Denounced Healy for using pressure, intimidation and violenee to eoerce young women eomrades into sexual aetivity with him. We were sued for saying that the organisation "exploited" raw young people.

4. Newsline now denounees the Healy faetion for having a morality of "anything goes for the organisation."

5. They ehallenge the Healy-Redgrave faetion to sue them if what they say is not true. "In the days when they dominated the Workers' Revolutionary Party, newspapers, political opponents, trade unionists and individuals who happened to eross them were showered with writs" ("Newsline" 5.11.85). You can say that again!

Paranoid

6. Banda deserihes Healy as "a elassie ease of sehizoid paranoia." Classic ease or not, he has been publicly paranoid for at least a quarter of a eentury.

7. Banda denounees Healy's works on dialeetieal materialism, long the hihle on which WRP members were trained, as "an outrageous pieee of eharlatanism."

8. Banda denounees Healy for justifying the exeeution of Communist Party memhers hy the vile Ba'athist regime in Iraq. Reports have appeared in one hourgeois paper that militants from Iraq who eame to the WRP school were later turned over to the Iraqi regime, which killed them. Banda is quoted as saying that the motive was to get "bags of money."

It is not elear whether this is true or not, though people within the WRP

News Line

"The way they were": Vanessa Redgrave, Michael Banda and the Qaddafi connection.

claim to have evidence that at least one person was so denounced to the Iraqi government.

Explosion

There are also some political shifts hy the Bandaites, adding up to a small move away from the lunaey of Healy and towards a slightly more realistie appreeiation of the world they aetually live in. It is still too early to assess this, because many things are ohviously heing said for effeet, and the anti-Healy WRP has not settled dawn politically yet.

The prohable reasons for the explosion and its dynamies are now pretty elear also. Healy had agreed to take a hack seat or retire, no douht under pressure, but apparently with the agreement of some who are now his supporters. But Healy is a half-crazy—and sometimes completely crazy—old man, who would not find that congenial.

There may have been political differences or nuances in play, but that would have had no autonomous weight. Healy seems to have been forced to sign a written agreement to retire. But the Politieal Committee hloe that had pushed for his retirement then began to hreak up.

Two prominent WRP leaders, Mitehell and Torranee, seem to have ehanged sides, and perhaps others did too. The Politieal Committee reversed the deeision that Healy would retire. A minority led by Banda revolted and appealed to the Central Committee, whose majority haeked them.

They decided on drastie action against Healy, and grabbed the weapons to hand. Hence the charges.

For the Bandaites it was prohably a matter of survival. Theirs is a world where nohody has the right to disagree with the caliph, where disagreement is heresy against the leader in his eapacity as pontiff and treason against him in his capacity as monareh. To "eonspire" and lose, or to usurp and he overthrown, is to lose your head.

Healy has politically "exeeuted" other long-time associates for a lot less than foreing him to retire. For example, Tim Wohlforth, leader of the U.S. elone group for a dozen years, was purged because he was slow to join Healy when Healy denounced Wohlforth's wife as a CIA agent.

If Healy regained control, his defeated opponents would not have lasted long. So Banda and his allies acted as Healy had long taught them to aet: brutally and without eancern for deeency, eredibility or consistency.

The WRP's atmosphere was saturated with ineipient or actual violenee, intimidation and terror. The organisation was a cult, built on the leader principle around Healy. Within it Healy did more or less what he liked.

It is as certain as anything is that in that organisation sexual exploitation, and where necessary harassment, intimidation, or worse, would he part of the great leader's way of life.

In one notorious case—I know the people involved—Healy heat up a woman eomrade, a full-time organiser, because she wanted an abortion rather than to have his haby. (This is probably the case that got to the Control Commission in 1964—she had two brothers and a hushand in the organisation, one on the Central Committee.)

But nevertheless it is also true that a eonsiderable part of the ballyhoo against Healy's sexual antics is both frame-up and an appeal to baekwardness. Insofar as anything was voluntary in the WRP, many of the "harem 26" must have aeted voluntarily.

Revolutionary

Despite the political and personal weaknesses and inadequacies that over 20 years ago turned Gerry Healy into a hitter enemy of the Trotskyism he set in in his youth to fight for, Healy was once a revolutionary. He was one of a small group at the end of the '40s and the beginning of the '50s who had the eourage to set out to rebuild the Trotskyist movement when it eollapsed and fell apart under the leadership of Ted Grant and Jock Haston.

If today there is poetic justice in his treatment at the hands of his pupils, as well as essential truth in what they say against him, that is the measure of how degenerate Healy had hecome.

Machiavelli might draw the lesson for him thus: "He who rules by fear and terror should not live to get old and feehle."

Politieally the Bandaites are in a hopeless situation. Everything they say against Healy condemns them too. They were not rank and file activists or raw youth, hut Healy's elose associates for many, many years.

And what WRP tradition exists apart from the one Gerry Healy made and shaped for three decades? What do they know ahout politics exeept what he taught them? What have they ever heen hut Gerry Healy's stooges, deferring when they felt inelined to take a view different from his?

Teeth

Some of them may have gritted their teeth at various times—but if so, that's all they did. Whether or not the WRP turned would-he communists over to the Ba'athist exeeution squads in Iraq, the WRP's puhlic justification of the exeeution of CPers hy the Iraqi government was there in hlack and white in "Newsline."

And "party diseipline" is no exeuse for going along with Healy and the WRP across the elass line—in glorifying the Iraqi regime, or Gaddafi for example.

Banda's attempt to "hlame Healy" is already going to preposterous lengths. Did Michael Banda and others beat up a Central Committee memher in the north-west last June? Yes. "But Healy told me to," says Banda!

Nohody who went through Healy's "maehine for maiming militants" will fail to find some satisfaetion in the present explosion. Public vindication for Socialist Organiser's stand against the WRP is, of eourse, satisfying.

But if the Healyites and Bandaites eat each other up like the Kilkenny eats, that won't undo the damage they have done to the Marxist movement and to the name of Marxism in the British labour movement.

We can only undo the damage by building the Marxist movement.

Honest members of the WRP can take the word of the Banda faetion leaders for nothing. They should study the reeord, debate the issues that have divided the WRP from other leftists—like those who support Socialist Organiser—and hreak out of the WRP ghetto and into diseussion with other socialists. ■

Hurricane Carter...

(continued from page 12)

Black neighhorhoods." For stating this elementary truth, Carter beeame a marked man to the eops, and the FBI hegan manitoring his whereahouts for the local poliee.

The eonstant harassment of Carter eulminated in the early morning hours of 17 June 1966 when he and Artis were picked up hy New Jersey eops and questioned about a Paterson triple murder. Carter was held for 17 hours and released after passing a lie deteetor test. An eyewitness to the killings eould not identify Carter, and the physical deseriptions of Carter and Artis did not fit those given by witnesses. Two grand juries failed to return indietments.

Nevertheless, four months later, hased on the testimony of two previously convieted crooks, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, Carter and Artis were tried and eonvieted. The New Jersey courtroom bore the atmosphere of the Deep South. Carter later recalled the little he knew about law at that time: "In New Jersey it's against the law to give a hlack man a fair trial." The 400 prospeetive jurors from whom the jury was seleeted eontained only eight hlacks. After Judge Larner dismissed a black prospeetive juror for having a sixth-grade edueation, he refused to dismiss a white juror with a fifth-grade edueation.

In 1974, Bello and Bradley reeanted their testimony, revealing that it was bought hy Passaie County proseeutors for promises of leniency on a string of pending eriminal charges and a reward of $10,500. Two years later Carter was granted a new trial hut it was nothing but a rerun of the earlier railroad joh. Under pressure from the proseeutor, Bello reeanted his reeantation and returned to his earlier story. A polygraph test which revealed this story to he a lie was suppressed hy the proseeution. Regarding the proseeution's eonduet in this trial, Judge Sarokin said in his ruling:

> "Underlying the proseeator's theory and summation is the insidious and repugnant argument that this heinous erime is to be understood and explained solely hecause the petitioners are hlack and the victims are white."

Prior to the 1976 retrial, Carter's ease had gained mueh media attention and public support. Bob Dylan had a song, "Hurrieane," ahout the frame-up, and initiated a numher of benefit eoncerts on his behalf. Muhammad Ali spoke up for Carter, and other luminaries like Harry Belafonte and basketball star Walt Frazier had endorsed his defense. But following the second "trial," Carter was virtually abandoned. The defense committee dissolved, public attention dissipated, leaving the defense without funds to even reproduee the transcripts for his appeal. In 1981 John Artis was released on parole after serving nearly 15 years of a life sentence. But Hurricane remained hehind bars.

Eighteen years of Rubin Carter's life have heen eriminally destroyed, his career ruined, his family hroken up. He had better not he abandoned now. As long as Carter's freedom is endangered,

AP

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter in 1964. Middleweight boxing contender was framed up at height of his career.

no hlack man can walk down the mean streets of raeist Ameriea without fear, none of us ean be free. Hurricane's freedom must be labor's cause—for mass class-struggle legal defense! *All out to keep Hurricane out!* ■

Election Rally...

(continued from page 5)

invaded Grenada to teach Latin America a lesson. But 700 armed Cuban construction workers nearly beat back the forces of 6,000 combined elements of the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force. And you can bet that staggered Reagan's attempt to teach Latin America a bloody lesson in Yankee imperialism. Defense of the profit system, in the form of the International Monetary Fund, which is one of the biggest loan sharks in the world, is why Reagan is out to force a war in Latin America. Defense of the apartheid capitalist system leads him to solidarize with Botha in South Africa.

And the primary threat to capitalist domination of the earth remains the Soviet Union, the home of the first workers revolution in history and the strongest non-capitalist economy on earth. Under the massive impoverishment, isolation and devastation of the young Soviet Republic following World War I, the revolution, the civil war and following the invasion of the European and American armies, that revolution suffered a setback. That setback was in the form of a political abandonment of an internationalist, revolutionary strategy and the leader of that setback was Stalin, who led the physical liquidation of Lenin's central committee including Leon Trotsky.

Today a bureaucracy retains power. But Russia has moved ahead historically in a very important way. Capitalism has been abolished and a planned economy has given that society in many areas a remarkable power of industrial strength. You can see factories being ripped down in this country, but industrial development continues in Russia. Russia needs a political revolution to place the interests of working people fully in command, through reinstitution of Soviet democracy. But a social revolution is needed here, to abolish the profit system. In Russia there are no unemployment lines. The KKK and Nazi-lovers don't dare ride in Moscow.

Reagan's trying to break the Soviet economy by forcing it to devote more and more resources to arms production. Without this arms race the USSR could get on with the business of devoting its resources economically to improving the living standard of its people. But Reagan is stupid enough to believe the CIA propaganda about how the Soviet economy is on the verge of collapse. Workers must act internationally to oppose Reagan's imperialist terror international, from the hijacking of airplanes to terror-bombing of Tunisia. Workers must fight to abolish racist capitalism at home, which means firmly standing against the anti-Soviet war drive and the redbaiting anti-communist policies of the labor misleaders.

We need a workers party in this country and in all countries. And that means mobilizing workers to smash the cop terror in New York City. That means mobilizing against the "contras" in Nicaragua. It means in Afghanistan fighting to crush the pro-slavery mullahs. It means mobilizing to smash the Nazis and KKK terror throughout this country. It means achieving working-class justice with vengeance for the victims of the Philly bombing and the victims of cop terror in this country. It means reinstitution of the understanding that a picket line means *you better not cross*. I'm calling on everybody to join in this fight to build a workers party. Join us in protest and struggle, for the rebirth of the Fourth International!

A Tale of Two Cities

Stamberg: We have a racist mayor in this city who praises the cops for shooting down a black grandmother in the Bronx because she was supposedly behind on her rent. His Republican opponent wants to treat homosexuals like the new lepers. And from the most conservative to the most liberal, all of the capitalist candidates in this city are hard opponents of labor, all of them call for more cops. That's a program for more racist murder in this city.

The Spartacist Party has been campaigning in these elections on November 5 for a revolutionary answer to Crazy Eddie Koch and Mad Dog McGrath. We've been fighting, as the banners and the signs that you see around here show, to smash the racist terror from Soweto to Harlem, for a New York City where the working people can live. And that is, as every speaker here tonight has said, a fight to build the revolutionary party of the working class.

A large part of the Spartacist Party campaign in these elections has been a fight for simple human decency. Take the phenomenon of the bag ladies. Those tens of thousands of homeless on the streets of New York did not just happen. They are the product of the crisis of American capitalism, and of deliberate state action—by Koch, by first Governor Carey and now Governor Cuomo, who threw thousands, up to 15,000, mental patients out of the state hospitals onto the streets. And they are the product of Reagan, who since the beginning of his reign has knocked 150-200,000 people off the Social Security disability rolls.

WV Photo

125th St. and Adam Clayton Powell Blvd.: Soapboxing in Harlem during Spartacist campaign.

What you've got in New York is a Tale of Two Cities, much like the situation in Paris on the eve of the French Revolution. So last week when the UN celebrated its 40th anniversary, you tuned in WINS radio and it told you how there was dreaded limousine gridlock on the Upper East Side. Diplomats and plutocrats and Democrats running around town in their bulletproof smoked glass limousines, so that nobody could see in and they didn't have to see out at the misery of people huddled in the doorways or sleeping in the tunnels of the subways or in abandoned subway cars under Grand Central Station. To paraphrase Anatole France, in New York City today the rich and the poor have an equal right to sleep on the subway gratings.

So here we are running a socialist campaign in the Reagan years. As I go around speaking, people always say to to me, "Are you communist?" And I say, "Yes, sir, we're as red as they come." These are capitalist elections, and everybody better understand that. They're totally rigged against the working people and the working-class parties. If you've got a cool six million dollars from the landlords and the banks like Ed Koch, if you're a rabid Republican gay-baiter like Diane McGrath, if you're a raving "Right to Life" bigot running on the slogan of "Fetus Power" like Rabbi Levin, then you're going to get some publicity in the media. But if you're a working-class party, forget it. These elections are enemy territory. But we seek to use them as the early Communist International said, as a platform to reach the masses with the program of workers revolution.

Revolutionary election campaigns, as the Comintern said, must take up all mass actions, strikes, demonstrations and whatever the fight is of the masses and the working people of its time. And that is what we have sought to do in this campaign, from our protest against "New York's own" cover-up coroner Elliot Gross the ghoul to our emergency demonstration to try to save the life of the black South African anti-apartheid fighter Benjamin Moloise, to our support to the hotel strikers back in June in New York, and also the recent Columbia workers campus strike.

The Russian Revolution in Our Program and Our Blood

James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, said in a speech in 1939, and this was in the midst of an earlier war buildup, "We are, in fact, the party of the Russian revolution. We have been the people, and the only people, who have had the Russian revolution in their program and in their blood." Well, comrades, the Spartacist League today in this country and the international Spartacist tendency around the globe is the party of the Russian Revolution. It's in our program and it's in our blood. And when all the rad-libs and the liberals try to avoid the Russian question, for instance over Nicaragua, our platform says "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America."

Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?* that a revolutionary socialist party must be a tribune of the people. It must react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression no matter where it appears. And here in Reagan's America with the so-called Moral Majority riding high, in the generalized climate of social counterrevolution, our struggle has focused on the most vulnerable. Our fight for full democratic rights for homosexuals has become quite urgent in this city, especially as the AIDS issue has become the focal point for all-sided bigotry. It's in a revolutionary tradition. When the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, they abolished reactionary anti-homosexual legislation.

We've been saying that the anti-Soviet war drive is at the heart of it all. That Reagan's war on what he calls the "evil empire" was behind his war on labor, was behind his smashing of PATCO, behind his war on blacks at home, behind the firebombing of MOVE. You saw this in this election campaign. Let me take a moment to talk about the ill-fated Proposition 6, which will not be on the ballot. A bunch of pacifists and liberals worked very hard this summer and rounded up tens of thousands of signatures. All they wanted was to put a referendum on the ballot against having a nuclear battleship stationed on Staten Island.

Well, we thought this whole thing was pretty absurd: you know, if the *Iowa* isn't stationed here, supposedly New York is going to be safe from the anti-Soviet war drive and meanwhile New Jersey's going to get zapped! Besides the fact that if these bases ever get built, the Russians could take it out with one cruise missile—which we say is a good thing, and in addition it would solve the Staten Island question definitively.

The point is that it's necessary to oppose U.S. militarism *everywhere*, and not get involved in shuffling one or two battleships in the Pentagon's arsenal. So, while sharply criticizing this utopian nonsense, we would have voted for Proposition 6 to keep the battleships out of New York. But Koch got himself some compliant judges and he just knocked it off the ballot, just like they found that compliant so-called administrative law judge who squelched the investigation of the cover-up coroner Elliot Gross. So much for democracy American-style.

For anyone who genuinely opposes Pentagon militarism, who wants to fight Yankee imperialism, the only way is through workers revolution. Because as Trotsky said more than half a century ago, the question for revolutionaries is: whose hands are the weapons in? For us the Soviet arsenal, the bomb, the missiles—we are for them, we defend them, we want them. That is the reason to this date that the U.S. has not been able to go through with its schemes to roll back those revolutions from Eastern Europe to Southeast Asia. And that is why we hail the Cuban troops in Angola, why we say "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and why we say a hallmark of our campaign is defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Now the Spartacist League has revived a tradition of the Third International in election campaigns that we've engaged in over the past several years. Because you know the Second International had become reformist in large part due to the corrosive influence of parliamentarism. So that despite all their high-sounding resolutions, when World War I broke out these social patriots ended up hacking their own bourgeoisie in that imperialist war. When the Third International was set up under Lenin and Trotsky, in order to check this danger the Communist parties required in advance from all the party candidates that they sign an undated resignation from any elected post to deposit with the Central Committee to be used whenever it's necessary. So here are our signed resignations, and this is a guarantee, comrades and friends, that when you're voting Spartacist, you're voting for the party and its program.

We have mounted this campaign in New York City to build the revolutionary party. We do want people to go to the polls on Tuesday—I've been telling everybody, look for the symbol of Spartacist, that's the hammer of workers power, the four of the Fourth International. But mainly and most important, we hope to win many of our friends and sympathizers here to the Spartacist League. Because our task is to build the cadres to forge a revolutionary workers party as the tribune of the people, the memory of the working class in struggle, as the combat party to lead the working class and the oppressed to power and to open the doors to a socialist future. ■

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CP's McDonald Fiasco

In our recent "Open Letter to the Communist Party" (see *WV* No. 389, 18 October) we took the CP's People Before Profits (PBP) slate to task for dropping their candidate for New York city council president in order to put on George McDonald, a self-proclaimed "independent Democrat." Some CP supporters may have been more than a little unhappy about running a candidate whose name appeared around town on red, white and blue striped campaign stickers. But they were really squirming in their seats October 20, when at the PBP's Borough of Manhattan Community College rally they heard with their own ears McDonald's anti-Semitic ravings.

There was no mistaking his racist message. Less than a minute into his speech, McDonald began ranting that "It's a travesty that in the city of New York, we are about to elect three white, Jewish males to run the city-wide offices of this city." There was plenty of muttering in the heavily Jewish audience, and one elderly woman yelled out "They're three millionaires!" McDonald was undeterred. He went on to denounce the makeup of the Board of Estimate for including "Ed Koch, Andy Stein, Jay Goldin, Donald Manes, Howard Golden, Stanley Simon...." And after this recitation of Jewish names he attacked real estate developers for throwing old women on the street "so they can get a few more shekels."

Following McDonald's speech, PBP mayoral candidate Jarvis Tyner felt compelled to criticize, without naming names, those who say the problem is that there are too many Jewish officials. When McDonald signed on the PBP slate, he was a big star in the pages of the *Daily World*. Yet in an October 22 *DW* article on the BMCC rally, McDonald was virtually disappeared. We're not surprised. In fact, we wonder what Soviet Red Army hero David Dragunsky, the highly decorated Jewish general

WV Photo

CP's running mate: anti-Semitic Democrat George McDonald.

whose family fell to Nazi terror, and who was invited by the CP to speak here last spring, would say if he knew who Gus Hall and Tyner have been running around with lately.

The anti-Semitic outburst at the People Before Profits rally was shameful, and many CPers are ashamed. At Schomburg library in Harlem the night before the November 5 election, Spartacist Party mayoral candidate Marjorie Stamberg challenged Jarvis Tyner to explain how they could run on the same platform with a race-baiting Democrat like George McDonald. Tyner avoided the question, but McDonald was unrepentant: "I'm a Democrat and proud to be in the Democratic Party," he proclaimed, explaining his presence on the PBP as a marriage of convenience. "If you're in a bloc with the capitalists, that's what you're going to get," commented Stamberg, calling on labor and minorities to break from the Democrats and build a workers party.

Earlier, at a Spartacist forum in Harlem September 24, Stamberg recalled that during WWII, when in the interests of "the war effort" the CP rejected class struggle and the fight against racial oppression at home, "It was the Trotskyists who called on the working people to defend Japanese Americans and protest their incarceration in concentration camps. It was the Trotskyists who demanded the U.S. open its doors to Jewish refugees from Hitler's terror." From the election platform the Spartacist campaign followed in the tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks—mobilizing workers and the oppressed for proletarian revolution. ■

Election Night at Small's Paradise

WV Photo

After four months of good, hard communist campaigning, Spartacist comrades and friends wrapped it up with an election night celebration at Small's Paradise in Harlem. Beaver Harris, Dave Burrell and the 360° Music Experience provided three sets of superb freewheeling jazz, and the accommodations at Small's insured a good time for those who worked so hard to bring our revolutionary program to the working people of New York.

The benefit performance took place despite the death of band member Francis Haynes the week before. Beaver Harris spoke of the deep personal and professional loss the band felt with the death of Haynes, the only jazz steel drummer in the world.

In a brief presentation, the candidates and principal campaign organizers were awarded party badges—silver lapel pins in the shape of the "hammer and four"—the hammer of workers power and the four for the Trotskyist Fourth International, which was the symbol of the Spartacist Party campaign.

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Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

MOVE members slaughtered in the hideous government bombing of that Philadelphia black commune, Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary and Edmund Perry's mother Veronica spoke out powerfully at Spartacist forums.

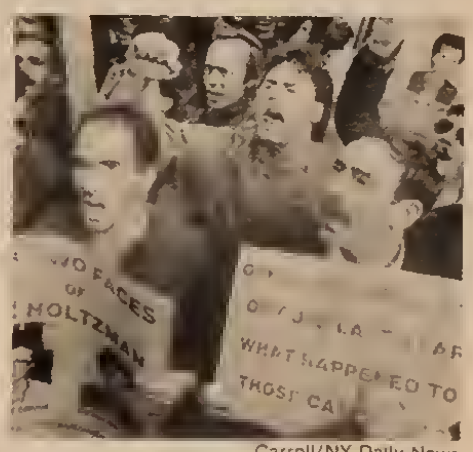
There was effective censorship of leftist parties by the major media. An arrogant *New York Times* (3 November) editorial endorsing Koch complained about an election in which "minor party candidates litter the ground." A mayoral "debate" held in the *Times* offices excluded four of the eight parties from participation. Independent TV Channel 11 interviewed all the mayoral candidates, but the network stations blacked us out. We got some coverage from the smaller black weeklies, and radio appearances on the leading black station WLIB and Pacifica affiliate WBAI, one-minute "equal time" spots on WCBS and a statement on WEVD.

At an election eve candidates night at the Schomburg black history center in Harlem, Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor Marjorie Stamberg told the audience that our program in a nutshell is to "defend black rights, defend the unions, and defend the Soviet Union." Reformists like the Socialist Workers Party want to debate with the Ku Klux Klan. The Communist Party, running on the popular-front "People Before Profits" ticket, looks to the capitalist state to "ban the Klan" and thinks civilian review boards can "control" and "democratize" the police. The Spartacists organize labor/black mobilizations to *smash* the racist terrorists.

Based on the fragmentary unofficial returns available, the votes for the leftist parties were uniformly infinitesimal, hardly going beyond their close supporters. This reflected one of the lowest election turnouts on record—38 percent of the registered voters. In New York City, where 86 percent of the voters are registered Democrats, the "real" race is the primary, and even then Koch had it sewed up. David Dinkins, the black flunkey they ran for Manhattan borough president, was such a shameless running dog for Koch that blacks in particular stayed away from the polls.

But as soon as the elections were over, Koch & Co. were back slamming their killer cops and killer cutbacks down New Yorkers' throats. On November 7, 5,000 armed "off duty" cops surrounded Brooklyn district attorney Liz Holtzman's office, calling her a "persecutor of cops, not a prosecutor of criminals," and screaming for her resignation. It was a repeat of the sinister cop mobilization outside the Bronx courthouse last February, a bonapartist threat which successfully intimidated the city into letting cop triggerman Stephen Sullivan off the hook for the wanton killing of Eleanor Bumpurs.

And the next day a suit filed by the Legal Aid Society revealed the city is snatching *hundreds* of children of homeless parents and placing them in foster care. In a truly sadistic Catch-22, after the kids are nabbed, the parents are



Carroll/NY Daily News

NYC cops on the loose: 5,000 armed thugs surround Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman November 7, demanding unlimited license for racist murder.

then knocked off eligibility lists for family housing on the grounds they are simply "homeless individuals"! So grotesque and intense are New York's social contradictions that even New York Senator Daniel Moynihan picked up the "two cities" theme, warning that seething misery amidst glittering wealth would lead to social explosion.

At an election night party at Small's Paradise in Harlem, Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen summed it up. "This campaign has been a significant step forward for the Spartacist League," said Kartsen. "We've called for a workers party. We've posed the right of working people to defend themselves. We have been recognized for our opposition to cop terror, for mobilizing the communities, the working class, the homeless. We represent the future. And you comrades have put those slogans on the streets."

"We ran in this campaign to build the party that can lead the socialist revolution," said Stamberg. While the reformists were talking about the Board of Estimate, "we were talking about soviets. And when they were talking about tax abatements, we were talking about organizing for the workers to take power." Noting that it was two days before the November 7 anniversary of the Russian October Revolution, Stamberg concluded: "So let's drink a toast and go forward with the struggle, comrades." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacists in NYC Elections

"A Bright Red Campaign"

So here we are, the Spartacists, a principled early communist party of the Lenin-Trotsky persuasion, with a few hundred members, which just ran an election campaign in Reagan's America, in Koch's New York. We told it like it is; some people liked what we had to say, we had a good time saying it, and what it's all about is building the party of workers revolution: socialism is what we want, and communism is how to get it.

The Spartacist Party was campaigning deep into the second term of the most right-wing administration since Herbert Hoover—and at least he was isolationist. If you add up everything negative from Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge and Hoover—racism, blow up the world, hate the working class, glorify the rich—in Reagan's America, we've got it all, and in a virulent superpower that's on its way down.

We were already gearing up for the campaign a year ago, as the wave of police terror, the housing strangulation, the uproar over the Bernhard Goetz case reflected a city on the razor's edge. Unlike the reformists, who spend half their time collecting signatures to "put an independent on the ballot," we were ready with our brochure "New York City: For the Working People!" when the petitioning period officially opened July 9. So we hit the streets with our revolutionary propaganda from the get-go.

The early Communist International insisted that revolutionary election campaigns must take up strikes, demonstrations, all the burning issues of the day. And that's what we sought to do with our October 3 protest against "New York's own" cover-up coroner, Dr. Elliot Gross; an emergency demonstration October 17 to try to save South African black militant Benjamin Moloise from the apartheid hangman; our support for hotel strikers back in June and the Columbia campus workers in October.

WV Photos

Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen campaign for socialist revolution.

The bourgeoisie did everything possible to keep the lid on. The city actually hired new workers for the first time in years, and on the advice of his media advisers, Koch kept his lip zipped. The state called off its Gross hearings, and Mayor Gibson "banned the Klan" from rallying in nearby Newark. But should the KKK lynchers and cross burners insist on committing suicide in heavily black Newark, we are ready to assist them.

We took the campaign wherever working people were struggling, from a memorial for Eleanor Bumpurs in the South Bronx to tent cities on the Lower East Side and squatters taking over abandoned housing in East New York. While soaphoxing outside Woolworth's at 125th Street we had heated polemics with pro-Farrakhan anti-Semitic nationalists, recalling Communist run-ins with the Garveyites in Harlem during the Depression. We stood with labor, leafletting from the garment center and the 207th Street transit repair shop to the NMU hiring hall and CWA union meetings.

And people who met us found that we are a party that isn't afraid to take hard positions, from hailing Cuban troops in Angola to denouncing both the racist pig Koch and sinister demagogue Louis Farrakhan. We campaigned for defense of homosexuals against the AIDS hysteria. We provided a platform for the victims of racist cop terror: LaVerne Sims and Louise James, relatives of

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Imprisoned for 18 Years in Racist Frame-Up

Hurricane Carter Must Not Go Back to Jail!

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, former middleweight boxing contender, was the victim of a racist frame-up in the prime of his life, at the height of his career. Locked up in the hellhole of New Jersey's Rahway State Prison for 18 long bitter years, Carter has finally been released. Treating Carter like black chattel, the New Jersey authorities had him brought to his bail hearing in manacles. But U.S. district judge H. Lee Sarokin, citing the outrageous racism of the Passaic County prosecutor's office, granted Carter's habeas corpus petition and on November 8 ordered him released immediately on his own recognizance. Rejecting prosecution objections that Carter should remain behind bars pending an appeal of his decision, Judge Sarokin appropriately admonished that "I cannot, in the face of... the injustices found, permit Mr. Carter to spend another day or even an hour in prison." "Human decency," he said, "mandates that he be released immediately."

But despite Judge Sarokin's unusual and courageous decision, there is no "human decency" or justice for blacks, workers and the poor in the racist capitalist court system. The vindictive prosecutors who framed up Hurricane Carter almost two decades ago immediately appealed the order releasing him without bail, and have vowed not to rest until they have him shackled again. Ruhin Carter's fate must not be left in the hands of the Reagan/Meese judiciary, for whom racist railroad jobs are particularly inviolable. Only the mobilization of unions, black organizations, socialists and all opponents of racism and defenders of democratic rights can ensure his freedom. Every move by the state of New Jersey to put Hurricane back behind bars must be met by mass protest, including organizing the power of labor through strike action.

Boxing is one of the few occupations where blacks are permitted to "make it" in racist America. Ruhin Carter was a leading contender for the middleweight crown when he was railroaded to prison along with his friend John Artis in 1967. But like Muhammad Ali, who was stripped of the heavyweight crown for his opposition to the Vietnam War, success in the ring was no protection from the racist state authorities when Carter spoke out against injustice.

UPI

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter

Carter was framed up and imprisoned for two consecutive life sentences for his advocacy of black self-defense against cop terror. Following the Harlem police rampage of 1964, Carter told a *Saturday Evening Post* reporter, "Self-defense is the absolute right of every living being on earth.... The Black public ought to protect its own against this type of tyrannical invasion by white cops into

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 392

29 November 1985

Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola

U.S./South Africa: "Free World" Butchers

Lee MacGregor

Newsweek

Proxy war in Angola between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union: White supremacist South African army (left) held at bay by Cuban troops.

Nowhere is the link between the Cold War against Russia and racist terror against black people clearer and bloodier than in southern Africa. In his pre-summit anti-Communist rantings at the United Nations, Reagan singled out Angola as one of five cases of "Marxism-Leninism's war with the people." "The people" Reagan is talking about here is the *South African army* and apartheid's hired terrorists of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA. And at a press interview on the Geneva summit, the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism announced a decision for "covert aid" to the Angolan contras:

> "We all believe that a covert operation would be more useful to us and have more chance of success right now than the overt proposal that has been made in Congress."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 November

For a decade Angola has been a front line of the Cold War. In 1975 the U.S. encouraged South Africa to invade Angola, which had just gained its independence from Washington's NATO ally Portugal. The Washington/Pretoria axis aimed to crush the black African nationalist regime in Luanda and once again make Angola part of the "free world." A South African armored column swept up the coast coming within a hundred miles of Luanda before it was halted by the introduction of several thousand Cuban troops backed and armed by the Soviet Union and East Germany. (West Germany, it's worth pointing out, is the main supplier of nuclear arms technology to South Africa.)

Since the Cubans turned back the South African invasion a decade ago, the apartheid butchers and Savimbi's terrorists have ravaged the country—killing and torturing hundreds of Angolan villagers, driving thousands from their homes, laying waste entire regions and destroying billions of dollars worth of economic resources.

Standing amid the rubble of a town razed by the South African army last year, a young Angolan commander exclaimed: "We have no complaints against the Cubans—they've been our friends. Apart from anything else we cannot defend our long southern border without them" (*Sunday Times* [London], 15 September). Were it not for the 25,000 to 30,000 Cuban troops and Soviet-bloc arms, the South Africans would simply take over Angola and turn it into a giant bantustan under contra chieftain Savimbi. But since the Cubans are holding the apartheid butchers at bay, Savimbi is now demanding that "the intervention of the Americans is needed to stop the Russians doing what they want to do" in southern Africa (*New York Times*, 9 November).

The anti-Communist appeal by this

continued on page 4

Philly Inferno, Rampaging Racist Mobs

MOVE Massacre Won't Go Away

"There will be no peace in Philadelphia, because they killed the only peace they could have ever hoped to have" —LaVerne Sims, MOVE supporter, July 1985. The hideous massacre on May 13, when eleven black people, five of them babies, were bombed and incinerated by the government, will not go away. The stench of racist murder clings to Mayor Wilson Goode and his administration. It bore unmistakably the signature of the Reagan years: the government bombed the MOVE commune and burned an entire black neighborhood because it *wanted* to. The Philly holocaust was meant as a warning: this is what awaits you if you "make trouble" in Reagan's America.

The green light is flashing in Philly: it's open season on black people. Racist scum have taken to the streets in Southwest Philadelphia to terrorize a black family and an interracial couple. On November 20, 400 white racists massed outside the home of Charles Williams and Maritta Bloxom; they were chanting "MOVE! MOVE! MOVE!" The next night 200 rampaging racists grouped in front of the home owned by Gerald Fox and his British wife Carol. These mobilizations have not restricted their terror tactics to verbal abuse and hurling racist epithets:

> "Even before the black couple... moved in a few weeks ago, the house was struck repeatedly by BB pellets, the police said, and bottles were thrown through the windows.
>
> "The nearby home of the interracial couple... was also struck by vandals, who broke furniture and punctured the home's boilers."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 November

Gerald Fox, a former Air Force sergeant, defiantly stated, "I've made up my mind, I'm staying." As for the cops' allegiances, Fox noted:

> "The police have been kind of nonchalant about the whole thing, to tell the truth.... A friend of mine went out and asked if these people had a permit to demonstrate in front of our house, and the officer said police were trying to disperse the crowd. Well, the crowd didn't move until it dispersed itself 2-1/2 hours later."
>
> —*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 23 November

Philadelphia's police force, fresh from their revenge massacre of the MOVE

continued on page 9

You Can't Be a Marxist Outside the Party

September 16, 1985

Dear editor,

In 1982 following the tragic death of Toni Randell I wrote a letter to *WV* which stated that a belief in Marxism was a belief in the need for organized political action to change the world and required membership in a revolutionary political organization. I added that those who still believed in Marxism and quit politics were justly despised by revolutionaries and that I intended to rejoin when I resolved my personal problems. However, as Lenin stated, "You can write on paper anything you like" (*Collected Works*, volume 25, page 26). Therefore I want all my comrades, friends and acquaintances from my membership in the SL from 1970 to 1978 in New York City and Chicago to know that I did apply to rejoin the international Spartacist tendency and the Spartacist League and have been readmitted to membership.

I have not rejoined in order to straighten out the line of the SL or to fight the leadership regime. The political line of the SL has been fundamentally correct in a difficult political period due to the leadership of the SL. Serious political differences are always dealt with seriously but in all of the political disagreements I participated in or saw in the SL, I have never seen an instance of organizational abuse. I have, however, seen a number of people who quit and then said the issue that broke me is the issue where the SL passed over from being revolutionary to centrist or reformist and/or at that time the SL also became organizationally abusive. While those who believe in Marxism and then quit the party are to be despised, those like the so-called External Tendency who quit and then try to find a political justification for quitting are to be doubly despised.

Ex-members, sympathizers and politically disorientated members are encouraged to go back and read the fundamental books of our movement. Read Lenin for the party question and basic class-struggle politics, read Cannon for the struggle to build a revolutionary American party and for the organizational question (especially recommended for anyone who thinks the ET has any sort of political validity—read about the Abern clique, read about unprincipled combinationism and read about how every opposition always raises the question of the party regime), and read Trotsky for general world politics and the struggle to build a revolutionary international under circumstances similar to ours. Reading these books (especially the *Collected Works* of Lenin) is the best cure I have found for political fatigue, pessimism and disorientation and provides the necessary background for a clear understanding of SL politics today.

At this time U.S. society is in a state of flux as the ruling class is trying to change the basis of oppression, exploitation and repression in this country. Workers and students who might otherwise never question the capitalist system are open to discussion about our ideas. Black workers and students are especially open to our politics because of the decline of nationalism and because of the events in South Africa. There is an opportunity for us to recruit a significant number of black revolutionaries, without whom a U.S. revolution is impossible. The experience of our ex-members who were involved in important political struggles in the SL and/or have revolutionary trade-union experience and/or were part of the leadership of SL branches are a valuable political asset for the SL and would be especially valuable for the education of some of our newer comrades. Ex-members who are politically healthy are encouraged to re-apply for membership. Being a comrade of the revolutionaries in the SL is the greatest honor you can achieve in life.

As Lenin put it, "A revolutionary is not one who becomes revolutionary with the onset of the revolution, but one who defends the principles and slogans of the revolution when reaction is most violent and when liberals and democrats vacillate to the greatest degree." In the U.S. we are presently in a period of violent reaction. As Trotsky phrased it, "Every man at his post!" For those who believe in the revolutionary program, your post is inside the SL as a member.

For the revolution,
J. Smith

Freedom for Sergei Antonov!

AUSTRALIAN COMMITTEE FOR
THE DEFENCE OF ANTONOV

35 Daly Street
Kurralta Park
S.A. 5037

17th September 1985

Mr. Doug Flynn
Spartacist League

Dear Mr. Flynn and other Comrades,

Thank you very much for your letter dated 11th September 1985 and for your newspapers and pamphlet which arrived safely here yesterday.

Your newspapers contained many well-written articles of great interest to us, including two masterly reports on the Antonov case in Rome, which will be very valuable to us in our work.

We are indebted to you for your interest.

In response to your enclosed Subscription Form I am enclosing you herewith Seven dollars ($7-00) to subscribe to the "Australasian Spartacist" and to "Workers Vanguard" (sea mail), together with the completed Subscription Form.

Once again many thanks for your help and your sympathy for Sergei Antonov.

Yours fraternally,
Rex Mathews

WV notes: The particular articles referred to are "The 'Pope Plot' Against Andropov" (*WV* No. 323, 11 February 1983), and "Shot Pope Thinks He's Christ" (*WV* No. 382, 28 June 1985).

Bulgarian official Antonov, framed up and jailed in "Pope plot."

TROTSKY

Labor Must Fight Racist Terror

LENIN

In 1942 Klan-incited mobs in Detroit attacked black families moving into the new Sojourner Truth housing project. The authorities then closed the project. The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party demanded that the housing project be reopened under the protection of labor defense squads.

The labor movement must demand that the authorities set a date for the reopening of the Sojourner Truth homes—and that it be soon. Then on that date the labor movement must organize its forces as strongly and as powerfully as they did when they fought and defeated the mighty auto barons and their goon squads and "service men." They must be present at the homes in great numbers with their picket lines and flying squadrons to see that February 28 is not repeated. If they do this, the Negro people will be able to move into their homes; the odds are that under such conditions the Ku Kluxers and fascists would not even dare to show their faces there.

In this way the labor movement could at one and the same time win the wholehearted support of the Negro people and put to rout those fascist forces that seek not only to intensify racial hatred against the Negroes but also to smash the trade unions.

—*Militant* (25 April 1942)

Snobs and Philistines

New York, NY
October 20, 1985

Dear Comrades:

Here we go again! Last year I objected to your designation of Gore Vidal as "our greatest living writer." Now you have marred a brilliant article on "AIDS" [*WV* No. 389, 18 October] by referring to *Forever Amber* (probably the grandmother of all American period romantic trash fiction) as "the fine historical novel."

Comrades, you should stick to being Marxists; forget about being literary critics. Trotsky wrote that art was a part of the processes of history. The party *leads* the working class and tries to *orient* itself to history and art.

Please comrades, if it's impossible, as I'm beginning to believe it is, for you to orient yourself to art, at least refer to *Forever Amber* simply as "the popular historical novel." Vidal, of course, is "the American novelist." Abiding by this standard, and letting it apply to all authors, is surely in the Trotskyist tradition. You must realize how inappropriate it is to engage in literary judgments in unsigned articles such as these.

Communist Greetings!
Price

WV replies: In our article, the word "fine" modifies historical, not novel. *Forever Amber* author Kathleen Winsor evidently did some research on the Stuart Restoration period in 17th century England, perhaps including Samuel Pepys' Diary, and she certainly knows how to give you a sense of the times. Not a bad way to learn some history, after all. And besides, it's not Proust. ■

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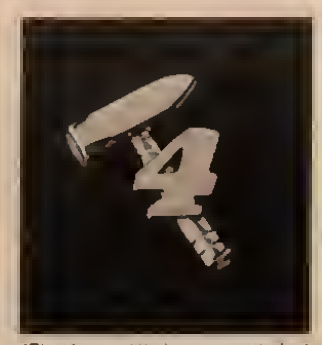

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"Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

Spartacists on WBAI

On Friday, October 25, Spartacist spokesmen Marjorie Stamberg, Ed Kartsen and Don Alexander were the guests on Leonard Lopate's talk show "'Round Midnight" on the New York radio station WBAI. The three-hour discussion, of which excerpts are printed below, centered on the "Russian question" and the Cold War, from Poland to Afghanistan.

WV Photo

SL spokesmen Don Alexander, Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen broadcast live on WBAI radio, October 25.

* * * * *

Lopate: You're always caught in this position of defending countries that you are critical of at the same time, and that has led to certain confusing situations.

Stamberg: Let me try to clear that up, because Trotsky's view was very clear of what the process was that was going on inside the Soviet Union. There was a revolution, capitalism has been abolished in the Soviet Union. That happened with the coming to power of the Bolsheviks and the Revolution of November 7 [1917]. Now because of the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union, because there was not revolution in the West, because the Spartacist revolution was defeated in Germany and so forth, a conservative bureaucracy grew up politically around Stalin which destroyed the Bolshevik Party, and which today has the leadership of the Soviet Union. We believe that with that leadership and the present Kremlin, the society in the Soviet Union cannot go forward to socialism. But you have a dictatorship of the proletariat. Those gains, the collectivized economy, exists and that must be defended at all costs.

Lopate: Do you think Trotsky would describe what's going on in the Soviet Union now, the 60 years of Stalinism, as a dictatorship of the proletariat?

Stamberg: Oh, absolutely. That refers to the economic form, the property forms. We're Marxists, we believe that the economic foundations, forces and relations determine in large part the development of society. It's very important to get that clear, because when we're living in Reagan's America, the whole thrust of American foreign policy is to roll back the Russian Revolution, to roll back the gains. And the whole pressure on the left, the various currents in the left in this country, has been over the years to capitulate to that central drive of the imperialist country that they live in.... You see that in Afghanistan, in Poland, in Nicaragua today, and that's why it must be gotten straight, it's the axis of politics in the country.

* * * * *

Lopate: One of the things that has come up constantly in our conversation is Solidarity, which you've referred to as Reagan's favorite union. And that's probably true. But whatever Ronald Reagan's feelings about it, they did, for the time that they had a certain amount of power, improve working conditions in Poland. And I am curious about why when a workers movement develops to fight against inequities in a society—and Poland was a screwed-up country—why a democratically oriented revolutionary party would be so critical. I can't remember what the headline was on Solidarity, but it was really mean and confrontational, in the *Workers Vanguard*.

Kartsen: Poland got its social revolution in the form of the Red Army driving the Nazis out of Poland. You're probably well familiar with the job the Nazis did to the Polish people, and particularly Polish Jews. The Nazis were driven out by the Red Army. Not by, unfortunately, an indigenous revolution. So you have a lot of backwardness of the Pilsudskiites, who were pro-Hitlerites prior to the invasion by the Nazis. This kind of political thinking is unfortunately still dominant, and plays a threatening role to open up Poland as a fifth column in Eastern Europe for the invasion, particularly the drive by NATO and by West Germany, to reconquer the East. So you want the roots of where our position stands, it is in opposition to counterrevolution, which is what Solidarność represents. It represents a "solidarity" with the Catholic church, with Pilsudski, with counterrevolution.

Lopate: Well, if the people want it—in other words, the people be damned?

Kartsen: The question is, people be damned in Hitler's Germany? If Hitler is leading a mass movement of the petty bourgeois for counterrevolution, do we support Hitler because he's a mass leader? No.

Alexander: Let's recall that at the end of 1981, at a national congress of Solidarność, it was very clear that they were for the overthrow of that deformed workers state, of the socialized property system. Yes, we drew the line. And we understood that the Polish bureaucracy, because of years of misrule and conciliating the Catholic church, drove the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of that Catholic church. You know the situation, in terms of the contradictions, was temporarily frozen. And it's going to take the construction of a Trotskyist party to restore the deep rich internationalist heritage, as represented by Rosa Luxemburg.

Lopate: But it was a mass movement of workers. It's obvious why Ronald Reagan liked it—he liked it because it embarrassed the Soviet Union. But don't you think the Soviet Union and the Polish should have been embarrassed by the mess they'd made of things?

Stamberg: It was going in the direction of a rollback. Now, our two nasty headlines, I was trying to think which one does Lenny mean here, and there are two that come to mind: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution" and "Power Bid Spiked." You see, originally we had an ambivalent position, when Solidarność was first formed. We said, well, it looks in the beginning like it is a movement of the workers. Certain things we didn't like, seeing the workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk down on their knees praying. But we wanted to see which way it was going to go.

After the congress of Solidarność it became clear. We looked, what is the program, what does it mean? It went beyond the question of a union to embrace a clerical/nationalist movement that would like to organize the entire country against the Soviet Union. It had a position to bring the IMF into Poland to resolve the economic problem. Go to the Dominican Republic and talk to those people about what it means to bring the IMF into a country, the starvation....

Now, we were hoping that the Russian troops would not have to go in. We were hoping that it wouldn't come to a lot of blood. We wanted it stopped cold, so that we could play for time. Because we seek to crystallize a Leninist opposition inside Poland, based on the traditions and heritage of Polish communism. Which, as Don was saying, is the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg, who is reviled by both Solidarność and by the Stalinist bureaucracy there, because she's a communist, a woman, a Jew. Because she fought for the separation of church and state. Because she fought for the unity of the Polish and the Russian workers.

* * * * *

Lopate: Let's talk about Afghanistan. Because earlier, Marjorie, you said you were worried that the Soviet Union might have to go into Poland. In Afghanistan, the Soviet Union's army did go in, and it was greeted with headlines in *Workers Vanguard* like "Hail Red Army!" And then later, when this helicopter started attacking people, you had a headline, "Hail Red Thunder." You denied that there were any atrocities in Afghanistan.

In fact, the whole attitude about the Soviets' role in Afghanistan strikes me as a kind of a "white man's burden" argument that you have, that it doesn't matter what the people of Afghanistan want, or believe in, if it's backward, we the Europeans, the voices of enlightenment, know best and we will impose it whether they like it or not.

Alexander: The imperialists over the last couple of years especially have said that the Soviet Union was involved in an endless no-win war that would drain their defenses and open up the formerly Muslim area of Soviet Central Asia to Islamic counterrevolution and capitalist restoration. But basically there was a mopping-up operation that took place last year, and even the imperialist press had to recognize that.

Let's look at the class forces that are arrayed against each other in Afghanistan. On the one hand, you have these feudalist mullahs, who are of course enforcers of the bride price, the veil, that women have to wear from head to toe. What happened to young women, young girls who want to read and write, and those who teach them? They're outright killed. One thing I'd like to say, by way of statistics, that these Islamic guerrillas, these so-called "freedom fighters" have destroyed 1,814 schools, 31 hospitals and 111 medical stations. This is no accident. These targets were specially selected because of the fact that [the mullahs] are for maintaining feudalist relations in that country. And they brag about it, because under Islamic law you have what is known as the purdah, the enforced seclusion of women.

Lopate: But you're still saying "father knows best," we know better than the people themselves....

Alexander: The question of so-called Afghan sovereignty—the notion that the CIA pumping millions of dollars into Afghanistan has been a liberating force in that country is obscene. Look at what's going on next door in Soviet Central Asia by comparison. Because

continued on page 11

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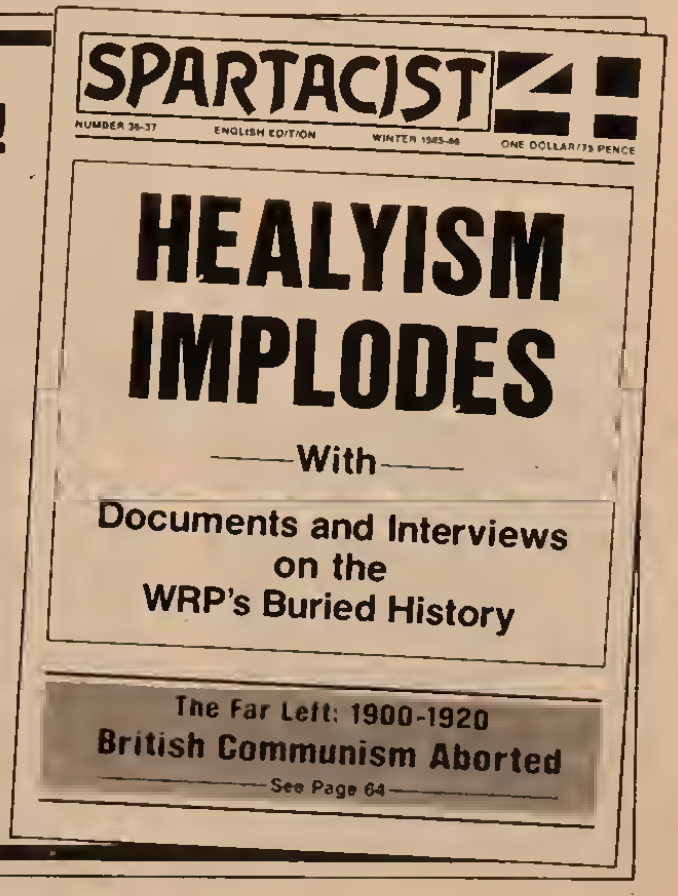


U.S./South Africa...

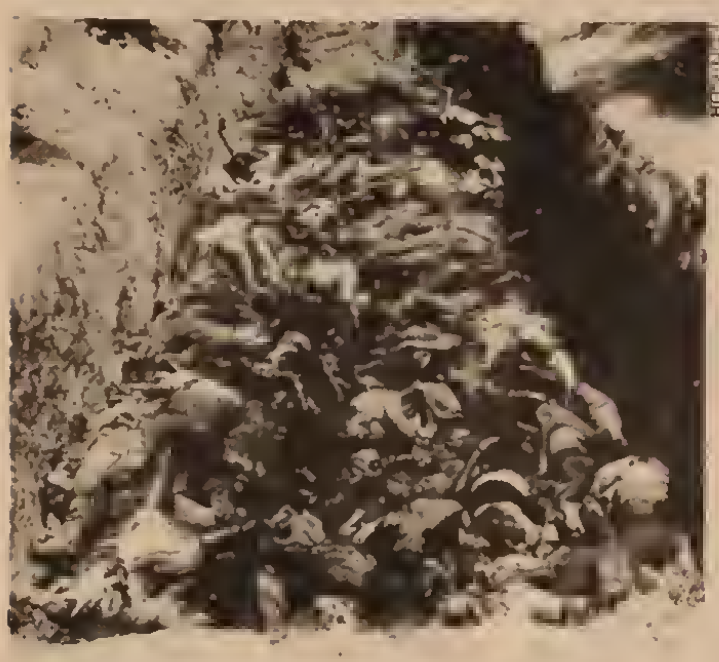
(continued from page 1)

traitor to black African freedom has gotten a positive response not only from the Reagan gang but also the Democrats. Last July the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives voted to repeal the 1975 Clark Amendment, which barred aid to the Angolan contras. There is now a bill before Congress, *co-sponsored* by right-wing Republican Jack Kemp and liberal Democrat Claude Pepper, to provide $27 million in "humanitarian" aid to UNITA. Sounding just like a Reaganite, Pepper declared: "Those people in Africa have the right to be free." And, you must remember, South Africa is part of the "free world." As the courageous black South African fighter against apartheid Winnie Mandela recently stated, the American rulers "view that our liberation will be a setback to your own sphere of influence."

For the past year many Democratic politicians have sought to revive their standing with black voters after the Mondale debacle by holier-than-thou displays of moral outrage over apartheid in South Africa—calling for divestment, boycotts, economic sanctions. Yet one hears hardly a peep from "divest from apartheid" liberals about the war in Angola or the war of national liberation in South Africa's colony Namibia. Not a single Democratic politician, black or white, supports the Cuban and Angolan troops, or the Namibian guerrillas, who are actually *fighting* the apartheid butchers and their puppet terrorists. Nor do they raise the basic democratic demand of immediate and unconditional independence for Namibia. Why, to do that would mean—horror of horrors—giving aid and comfort to the Soviet Union. For the black front men of U.S. imperialism, Russia is *the* enemy, South Africa is a slightly disreputable ally.

Jeune Afrique

Apartheid's hired Angolan terrorist Jonas Savimbi (right) with South African foreign minister Pik Botha.



UPI/Bettmann

Mass grave in Cassinga, southern Angola, where South African army massacred 600, including pregnant women and children, in 1978.

Southern Africa: Where the Cold War Is Hot

The *New York Times* (17 November) recently remarked that the Angolan war "is becoming more costly as it edges closer to a proxy confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union." In fact, Angola *has been a proxy war* between the U.S. and Soviet Union for ten years. A long, bloody liberation struggle finally forced the Portuguese colonialists to pull out in 1974-75. This created a power vacuum and an ensuing civil war between the three main nationalist guerrilla groups, each to a large degree tribally based. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was the best organized and had close ties to the Soviet bloc, gained the ascendancy, taking the key cities of Luanda and Lobito.

At this point Henry Kissinger, who was then running U.S. foreign policy, decided to make Angola a major showdown with the Soviet bloc. He encouraged the South Africans to invade, and after they were checked by the Cubans he wanted to escalate, putting in U.S. military advisers, pouring in arms and money for Savimbi's puppet forces. However, coming just a few months after the fall of Saigon, much of the American ruling class feared "another Vietnam" in southern Africa, that is, a long, losing military adventure. So Congress put salt on Kissinger's tail with the Clark Amendment.

But South Africa did *not* cease its war against Angola. Far from it—they carved out a 30-mile-wide zone in southern Angola, from which the apartheid war machine has supplied air cover and logistics to Savimbi's UNITA, wreaking terror and economic sabotage throughout the southern third of the country. The South African army itself has raided Angola again and again, in particular to destroy the bases of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas fighting to liberate Namibia. A British mercenary, Trevor Edwards, who served with the South African/UNITA forces, gives one a sense of this war:

> "Our main job is to take an area and clear it. We sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people, everything. We are out to stop SWAPO and we stop them getting into villages for food and water. . . .
>
> "Sometimes we take the locals for questioning. It's rough. We just beat them, cut them, burn them. As soon as we're finished with them, we kill them."

A 12-year-old boy was tied up to make his mother talk:

> "Then we played water polo with him, put him in this kind of dam and pushed him about, let him sink. Every so often we took him out. He wouldn't cry. He just wet himself. The mother didn't tell us anything. In the end we just left him in the water and he drowned."
>
> —quoted in Richard Leonard, *South Africa at War* (1983)

These are the heroes of the "free world" in southern Africa.

Reagan claims that the MPLA regime in Luanda is a "Marxist-Leninist dictatorship." In reality these are typical bourgeois nationalists, more than willing to make a deal with U.S. imperialism...and South Africa. The Luanda regime has always maintained mutually profitable relations with Gulf Oil, whose operation in Cabinda provides most of the country's foreign-exchange earnings. Further, the apartheid regime itself maintains capital investment in Angolan mining through Oppenheimer's DeBeers. And in early 1984 the MPLA signed an agreement with the South African government to jointly patrol the Namibian border, preventing the SWAPO guerrillas from crossing over to fight for their homeland!

But the MPLA nationalists' readiness to sacrifice their Namibian brothers has not spared Angola from the apartheid war machine. Not at all! Last spring the South African army raided Cabinda, killing 60 and blowing up oil facilities. A few months ago South African warplanes attacked an Angolan army unit in the field, killing over 50 soldiers.

At the same time, South Africa's war against Angola and Namibia has been a major factor destabilizing the apartheid state *internally*. For South Africa's blacks, the sight of the white-supremacist army retreating before the Cubans and black Angolan nationalists was inspiring. Only six months after the South African invasion of Angola was *defeated*, the Soweto rebellion erupted in the summer of 1976. Soweto opened up a new period of black militancy and struggle in South Africa, the most important development being the emergence of an independent black and coloured (mixed-race) union movement.

It is the black industrial proletariat of South Africa—from the gold mines of the Rand to the docks of Durban, to the auto plants of the East Cape—which has the social power not only to overthrow white racist rule but to liberate all of black Africa from the murderous military despots, tribalist chieftains and treacherous nationalist demagogues who suck the blood of their people. What is needed to realize this program of permanent revolution is a Trotskyist vanguard party in South Africa, forged through political combat with petty-bourgeois nationalism, linking the struggle for national liberation and democratic rights to the conquest of power by the working class.

Soviet Defensism and Black Liberation

Every believer in black freedom and national liberation should hail the Cuban troops battling the Washington/Pretoria axis in Angola. And behind these Cuban troops stands the industrial/military power of the Soviet Union. While this is absolutely obvious, many radicals and self-styled leftists (e.g., the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party) deny that the Cuban intervention in Angola is critically dependent on Russian global power. Despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, the USSR stands as the main obstacle to American imperialism's ambition to dominate and exploit the world. Were it not for fear of war with Russia, Washington would have long since invaded Castro's Cuba and nuked Vietnam.

While Soviet military power has stayed the hand of U.S. imperialism in certain parts of the world, there can be no "peaceful coexistence" between capitalism and social revolution. The world will live under the shadow of nuclear holocaust until the Pentagon war machine is demolished through workers revolution. And the descendants of those black Africans taken into slavery in the New World can, *as a strategic section of the American working class*, play a decisive role in destroying the ultimate stronghold of world capitalism *from within*. Then and only then will the massive redistribution of social wealth produce genuine equality for black people in the United States. And international socialist planning will then raise the wretchedly impoverished peoples of neocolonial black Africa to the level of the most economically advanced countries.

The first great step toward such a world socialist order was taken with the Russian Revolution of 1917. That is why the chieftains of imperialism, from Woodrow Wilson to Adolf Hitler, to Ronald Reagan, have targeted the Soviet Union for destruction. When Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa against Russia in 1941, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party explained in the *Militant* (5 July 1941) why American blacks had a vital stake in defending the Soviet Union:

> "Class conscious American Negroes must defend the Soviet Union against its imperialist enemies as part of their own struggle to abolish the system that starves, lynches, disenfranchises, and Jim Crows them in this country.
>
> "We do not pretend that the Soviet Union is an ideal country, where all problems have been solved, where socialism has been reached. Not at all. But it is a workers' state, where power has been taken out of the hands of the employers and the landlords, where capitalist bosses no longer run the factories for their own profit, where the foundations for a better life have been laid." ■

Eastfoto

Sam Nujoma, head of SWAPO guerrillas fighting South Africa, meets East German leader Erich Honecker in Luanda. Soviet bloc is the main arms supplier to Namibian liberation struggle.

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Malcolm X's Widow Exposes Farrakhan

Louis "Hitler was a great man" Farrakhan is a vile, anti-Semitic demagogue and would-be capitalist exploiter of black people. He first gained national attention last year as a shill in Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign in the Democratic Party. Jackson in turn was hustling the black vote for Walter (the big loser) Mondale. However, since Farrakhan is often used as a whipping boy by the media and racist politicians like New York mayor Ed Koch, there is a strong impulse in the black community to defend and solidarize with the loudmouthed Black Muslim against the white power structure.

Elements of the white ruling establishment as well as his own supporters portray Farrakhan as a present-day version of Malcolm X. Nothing could be further from the truth. Malcolm was a courageous and intransigent enemy of the American imperialist ruling class and its black front men. They therefore slandered and vilified him as a preacher of race hate. Farrakhan actually *is* a preacher of race hate, who falsely claims the mantle of Malcolm X.

This was just too much for Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow. In a TV interview with veteran journalist Gabe Pressman, she exposed Farrakhan's murderous treachery toward her husband. Calling Farrakhan "an opportunist," she declared: "I regret the day I ever had the unfortunate opportunity to meet him or to know him." Malcolm originally recruited Farrakhan to the Nation of Islam. But when Malcolm split from Elijah Muhammad's sect in early 1964, Farrakhan (then Louis X) became one of the leading hatchetmen in their hate-Malcolm vendetta. Farrakhan wrote in *Muhammad Speaks* (4 December 1964):

> "Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape.... Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death."

Two months later Malcolm X was, in fact, killed. Whether or not Elijah Muhammad's people actually killed him—and they may have—they wanted him dead. And Farrakhan was the No. 1 fingerman. Farrakhan very much wants to bury this most ugly chapter in his

UPI

"Malcolm is worthy of death," said Farrakhan (right). Two months later Malcolm X (left) was killed.

UPI

sordid history. But Betty Shabazz will never forgive and forget.

The Farrakhan gang has responded to the Betty Shabazz scandal in the usual way, by blaming Jewish control of the media. Nation of Islam minister Abjul Karriem Muhammad exclaimed, "Gabe Pressman is a Jew and he's mad" (*Amsterdam News*, 16 November). But Jew-baiting is not going to get Farrakhan off the hook this time. Betty Shabazz has exploded a small bombshell in the black community, especially in Harlem where Malcolm X is still personally remembered with deep affection and great respect. "Gil Noble Urges Farrakhan: Tell Us About Your Role in Malcolm X's Murder" blares the front-page headline of the *Amsterdam News* (16 November), New York's main black paper. Noble, a respected black journalist, challenges Farrakhan to come clean on this one: "He needs to tell us why he did that.... Was he jealous of Malcolm; or was he misinformed? He needs to answer that."

Farrakhan's motivation in the hate-Malcolm campaign was neither envy nor ignorance. It was politics. In splitting from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm did not break simply with Elijah Muhammad's personal cultism. He was breaking with bigotry and prejudice inherent in *all* nationalisms. In the last year of his life Malcolm was painfully and in a confused way groping toward a humanistic outlook. For example, he publicly repudiated his earlier opposition to interracial marriage. Where Farrakhan *takes money* from KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger, Malcolm put Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell on public notice: "This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement," and "you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not hand-cuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence" if you harm "black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings." By the time Malcolm was gunned down in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, he had become an *enemy* of the kind of nationalist demagogy and bigotry which Farrakhan peddles as spiritual opium in racist America's hellish ghettos. And that is why Farrakhan wanted Malcolm dead. ■

Letter to Amsterdam News:

Hands Off Hurricane Carter!

We reprint below a letter to the Amsterdam News, *a major black New York City weekly, by Reuben Shiffman, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee.*

25 November 1985

Amsterdam News
New York, NY

To the Editor:

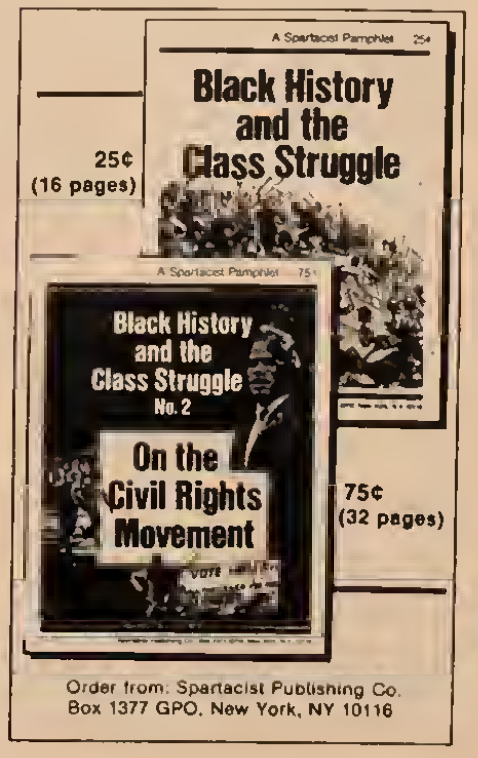
Any decent person familiar with the Ruhin "Hurricane" Carter case has seen it for the vicious racist frame-up that it is. At the peak of his boxing career and prime of his life Carter was locked away for 18 long bitter years in New Jersey's Rahway State Prison hellhole, sent up on the bribed testimony of petty crooks and inveterate liars, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley. The racist vendetta against Carter is retaliation for his call for the right of black people to defend themselves against racist cop terror following the Harlem police rampage of 1964. The racist frame-up of Carter along with his black friend John Artis was so blatant that their conviction has been vacated for the second time. In an unusual and courageous decision United States district court judge H. Lee Sarokin granted Carter's habeas corpus petition, stating that the conviction was based upon "an appeal to racism rather than reason, concealment rather than disclosure." Judge Sarokin rejected Passaic County prosecutors' claim that Carter is a "danger to the community" who must remain incarcerated while the Reagan courts review their appeal. The judge admonished that "human decency mandates that he be released immediately."

It is particularly indecent for the *Amsterdam News*, a newspaper which promotes itself as "the new Black view," to join the vindictive prosecution attempt to railroad Carter back to that prison hellhole for life. Barak Goodman's November 16 article, "Carter's Release, Mixed Bag of Feelings in Jersey" is nothing but a brief for the prosecution. Goodman peddles their vile portrayal of Carter as a "bad dude" who was "capable" of committing the 1966 Lafayette Bar triple murder. Judge Sarokin's carefully reasoned and stinging indictment of the racist frame-up of Hurricane Carter is dismissed by Goodman as a mere "claim." Your reporter echoes the racist appeal made by the prosecution during the 1976 retrial and denounced in Judge Sarokin's decision: that given the racial polarization of the sixties, Carter must have been out shooting whites because he was black.

Goodman wants Carter's frame-up forgotten and complains that his release is "like a ghost rattling its chains." Goodman doesn't mention the real chains in which Carter was brought by New Jersey authorities to his bail hearing as if it were a slave auction. The "mixed feelings" to which Goodman refers are those of the owner of the "star-crossed" Lafayette Bar who wants Carter to rot in prison because the notoriety is "costing us business," and a bigoted white Paterson resident's resentment that Carter "used to drive a purple Cadillac around"!

Twenty-one years after the Harlem cop riot, Koch's killer cops are riding roughshod over New York's blacks and Hispanics. The *Amsterdam News*' "new Black view" is just the tired old con game of binding blacks to the Democratic Party of racist pig Koch and Wilson Goode, bomber of black babies. This treacherous alliance is more important to the *Amsterdam News* than the defense of black children in Harlem, Philadelphia and elsewhere from racist cop terror. Carter was put behind bars solely for advocating the right of black self-defense. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, demands massive protests to keep Carter free. As long as Hurricane's freedom is endangered, no black man can walk down the mean streets of America without fear.

Sincerely,
Reuben Shiffman



American Blitzkrieg

Adolf Hitler's monstrous crimes so horrified the mass of humanity that for decades no intelligent spokesman for Western imperialism would invoke the German Third Reich favorably. But when Ronald Reagan went to Bitburg last spring to salute the elite Nazi SS troops buried there, it was obvious that times have changed. Hitler is coming out of the closet—not only at the White House, but also at the Pentagon. And it's not just those new Kevlar helmets that look so much like the Wehrmacht's. Reagan wants to take up where Hitler left off—with a new "Operation Barbarossa" to smash the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution. So the U.S. Army and NATO have reissued the *Führer*'s plan for a surprise attack on the USSR—updated for the microchip era. It's "Star Wars" for ground troops, as the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (20 May) called it.

Hitler called his battle plan *Blitzkrieg*, a lightning war. The Pentagon's post-Vietnam doctrine is called AirLand Battle, a "forward strategy" for massive "deep strikes" inside the Soviet bloc in the first minutes of World War III. If you haven't heard of it, don't be surprised: for public consumption the "free world" imperialists still pretend they're only planning to defend the West against a mythical Soviet attack. But the new U.S./NATO war plans call for wiping out the "Soviet threat" before Warsaw Pact forces can even assemble. The latest "emerging technologies" would be applied—everything from "smart" anti-tank missiles to special crater-making bombs aimed at Soviet airfields to surgically precise Pershing 2 nuclear missiles.

AirLand Battle is the official strategy for the anti-Soviet war drive in the European theater. "Barely two months after Ronald Reagan took office, the Army Training and Doctrine Command ('TRADOC') blew the bugles," reported *Der Spiegel*. Henceforth in the "NATO area" the goal was no longer "denying victory to the other side" but seeking a "victory" for the West. Soon came Pentagon chief "Cap" Weinberger's FY84-88 "Defense Guidance" calling for the U.S. to "prevail" in a "protracted" nuclear war. And in November 1984, the American Blitzkrieg scenario was formally adopted by NATO under the name "Follow-On Force Attack" (FOFA) or the "Rogers Plan," after its commander in chief, U.S. general Bernard Rogers.

"Blitzkrieg and AirLand Battle"

"Europeans feel that the implementation of FOFA or the AirLand Battle would destroy the image of NATO as a defensive alliance," wrote Drew Middleton in the *Navy Times* (24 December 1984). "Defensive alliance," hell. In *Military Review*, the professional journal of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the new American military doctrine is brazenly presented as the direct descendant of Hitler's "lightning war":

• "Blitzkrieg and the AirLand Battle" is the title of an article by Major General John Woodmansee, Jr., commander of the U.S. 2nd Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas, in the August 1984 *Military Review*. "The blitzkrieg was truly an air-land battle," he wrote, approvingly quoting a description of the Wehrmacht's strategy as "the coiled fist of the Panzer Corps and the thunderbolt of the Luftwaffe." According to Woodmansee, "The [computer] chip is the technological key to the new doctrine." High-tech weapons and deep strikes against Soviet staging areas "could have as much psychological impact as physical in creating the confusion and paralysis of our blitzkrieg."

• The Reaganite war plan was first unveiled in the summer of 1982 in the revised army "operations" field manual, FM 100-5. Two officers closely involved in rewriting the manual cavalierly declared that "AirLand Battle doctrine calls for Army units to conduct their operations so that nuclear fire support can be added or deleted as necessary" (Lt. Col. Huba Wass de Czege and Lt. Col. L.D. Holder on "The New FM 100-5" in the July 1982 *Military Review*).

• "A study of military history reveals that the doctrine employed by the German army from 1917 to 1945 and its underlying philosophy bears a strong resemblance to what we are *trying* to instill in ourselves today," proclaims another writer in the Fort Leavenworth journal, Stephen Richey ("The Philosophical Basis of the AirLand Battle," *Military Review*, May 1984). By "underlying philosophy" he no doubt has in mind the Hitlerite "master race" ideology of genocidal holocaust. "We are all familiar," writes this admirer of the German High Command, "with the superb record of tactical and operational success the Germans enjoyed from the routing of the Italians at Caporetto in 1917, through the spectacular Western Front offensives of 1918, to the dazzling days of the blitzkrieg in 1939-41."

• Major Mark Beto, "currently assigned to the Defense Intelligence Agency," elaborates a scenario for handling anticipated vast numbers of "Soviet Prisoners of War in the AirLand Battle" (*Military Review*, December 1984). Worrying that netting millions of POWs could bog down the lightning thrust, he suggestively asks: "Is there a conflict between our need to conduct aggressive, fast-paced combat operations in depth and our moral and legal commitment to the provisions of the Geneva conventions?" In the last paragraph, after sympathetically quoting Hitler's 1941 lament, "What are we going to do with all these prisoners?", he piously intones: "Let us hope that, on the AirLand Battlefield, we are similarly blessed but are prepared to answer that question." Final solution, anyone?

Remember What Happened to Hitler!

During the losing Vietnam War, the American imperialists thought they could find a technological substitute for a fighting army, so McNamara's "whiz kids" at the Pentagon came up with precision TV-guided bombs, new kinds of napalm and phosphorous bombs, B-52 carpetbombing and electronic sensors on the Ho Chi Minh Trail. In the end it didn't do them any good against a genuine social revolution. But the Pentagon is still looking for a technological answer to imperialist decline. According to Major General Woodmansee, the AirLand Battle doctrine evolved in 1978-80 as the result of new "hardware systems...emerging from the post-Vietnam research and development programs": e.g., the M1 "Abrams" tank, Multiple Launch Rocket System, airborne JSTARS radar linked to a computerized anti-tank missile system, and the "Sergeant York" antiaircraft gun (noted for its accuracy in hitting outhouse fans). Pentagon war planners think they can reestablish world hegemony through a push-button war which would "decapitate" the Soviet leadership, as codified by Democrat Jimmy Carter's Presidential Directive No. 59.

Like the Nazis, the Reaganites cannot believe that the Soviet peoples will defend the gains of the October Revolution—they think the "evil empire" will simply collapse in chaos once the Kremlin bureaucrats are offed. Hitler bragged to his chief of operations, General Jodl, "We have only to kick in the door and the whole rotten structure will come crashing down." History proved otherwise. The Washington think tank ideologues attribute the Nazi leader's failure to ice and snow, or the mistake of "taking on the whole world."

Der Spiegel

NATO fighter jets on maneuvers (above), West German Panzer division; U.S. imperialists revive Hitler's mad dream to conquer Soviet Union.

Military Review
August 1984

Professional journal of U.S. Army Command and General Staff College adopts Nazi SS thunderbolts.

But as many a Soviet general has noted, they too had to fight in the bitter Russian winter, and the "two-front war" was largely a myth—nearly 95 percent of all German combat troops were engaged against the Red Army until 1944, as Soviet defense minister Ustinov bitterly noted last year.

When Hitler hurled three million German troops against Russia on 22 June 1941, he expected the war on the Eastern Front to be over before the end of the year. The six-week war against France, in which the French army simply collapsed under the Blitzkrieg onslaught, was seen as a model. The AirLand Battle ideologues are fixated on the first few weeks of Operation Barbarossa, when nearly a million Soviet soldiers were rapidly encircled by the German armies and forced to surrender. But these initial Russian losses were the result not of a lack of will to fight but of the Kremlin's treacherous reliance on its diplomatic pact with Hitler. To prove his sincerity, Stalin refused to prepare to defend the front, despite numerous reports of the impending invasion.

Indeed, were it not for Stalin's counterrevolutionary purge of the Red Army in the late '30s, the best generals such as Marshal Tukhachevsky would have been at their posts in June 1941 and the Nazi Blitzkrieg might well have been stopped in its tracks. Once the Soviet masses awakened to the reality of the invasion, they rose with a fierce determination—*20 million* died in this war to defend the Soviet Union and crush the Nazi regime. Field Marshal Gerd von Runstedt, who led the German Army Group South against the Ukraine, bluntly told his Allied interrogators after the war, "I realized soon after the attack was begun that everything that had been written about Russia was nonsense." And General Blumentritt, chief of staff of the German Fourth Army, explained:

> "The conduct of the Russian troops ... was in striking contrast to the behavior of the Poles and the Western Allies in defeat. Even when encircled the Russians stood their ground and fought."
>
> —quoted in William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960)

Blinded by anti-Communist fanaticism, the Reaganites are preparing to try again. They conveniently forget what happened to the last guy who tried to march on Moscow. While fantasizing about an unbreakable Star Wars shield to cover for a U.S. nuclear first strike, the Pentagon's plans for an American Blitzkrieg on the ground and in the air are no less fantastical. But this doesn't make them any less dangerous, and "détente" illusions today are just as deadly as Stalin's faith in the scrap of paper signed by Molotov and von Ribbentrop. As the "democratic" imperialists now openly embrace the Nazi war plans, it is doubly clear that the Soviet Union can only be defended by world proletarian revolution, the program of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

MAD, DUMB & Reagan Road Warrior

Nuclear war scenarios used to be so simple: one side would fire off their ICBMs, the other side would launch a massive retaliation, and the world would vanish in a giant mushroom cloud in about half an hour. The Pentagon even had a simple, descriptive name for it: Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD).

The idea was that by guaranteeing the obliteration of each other's populations, a balance of terror would keep both sides from pushing the button. In reality, ever since losing first its nuclear monopoly and then nuclear superiority in the mid-1970s, the United States has embarked on a trillion-dollar weapons drive to regain the nuclear whip hand. The Cold Warriors in Washington yearn for the days when they could blackmail Moscow with threats to drop the bomb, as in the Cuban missile crisis.

When Ronald Reagan moved into the White House they discovered a loophole in the MAD scenario. This revelation no doubt came in a late-night screening of the movie *Dr. Strangelove*, where General Buck Turgidson warns the president: "Supposing the Russkies stashed away some big bombs, and we didn't. When they came out in 100 years, they could take over." Well, hell's bells, the Reaganauts concluded, we'll just stash away some warheads ourselves so we can "prevail" in a "protracted nuclear exchange"!

So the orders went out from the Oval Office. Last year the Air Force spent $10 million studying a plan to build an underground missile base which could survive a nuclear attack. Such a base would cost an estimated $50 billion:

> "The underground base would resemble a 400-mile network of subways that would be 2,500 to 3,500 feet below the surface, probably in a desert in the western United States. It would be self-contained and able to survive for at least a year, the officials said.
> "According to the plan, if a nuclear war started and crews in the underground base were ordered to fire missiles, they would tunnel to the surface with machines, then drive out launchers to fire the missiles from the surface."
> —*New York Times*, 3 October 1984

The base may be ready in the early 1990s, and the scheme has been appropriately named "Deep Underground Missile Basing" (DUMB).

But what good is a base without a president to push the button, the Pentagon asked. Ever since the '70s, plans have called for the president to get aloft fast in a specially equipped 747, so he can direct U.S. forces from a National Emergency Airborne Command Post. However, the "Kneecap" planes are vulnerable to radiation and nuclear turbulence. According to a report by Fred Francis on NBC News (10 September):

> "...a plan has been crafted which calls for the president to ride out the first nuclear exchange for as much as 72 hours aboard this 'doomsday' plane. Then the shell game would begin. The president would be flown to a safe isolated location to rendezvous with a large cargo plane which would be carrying what is called a Ground Mobile Command Center...it's actually an 18-wheel tandem trailer truck hardened against some effects of nuclear explosion and against radiation. With the president or his successor inside, it would head for secret locations outside targeted areas. The president would run the war with the truck's foldout satellite dish.
> "TRW has built two prototypes of the doomsday truck, and they are now being tested. As many as 20 more are planned for use by top generals."

Columbia Pictures

Stranger than Strangelove (left), Reagan sees great future as supreme commander after atomic apocalypse.

So now "Rambo" Reagan is looking forward to playing Mad Max the Road Warrior, barrelling along the highway in his 18-wheeler doomsday rig with the hammer down and his red CB radio on the dashboard!

There are still a few kinks to be ironed out, of course. Will Road Warrior Ronald be able to find a gas station open on Sundays? And what if he runs into Gorby Godzilla, the evil emperor, on I-90? Congressional critics will worry that the expensive schemes (cost $15 billion) could continue ruinous budget deficits into the 21st century. But administration officials already have the answer: a drastic drop in social services expenditures in the post-nuclear environment due to population attrition.

Are we all doomed? Naturally, there would only be limited openings, but in the movie, Dr. Strangelove explains a survival plan for the gang deep under the Utah Salt Flats:

> "It would not be difficult, *mein Führer!* Nuclear reactors could—I'm sorry, Mr. President—nuclear reactors could provide power almost indefinitely. Greenhouses could maintain plant life, animals could be bred and *slaughtered*.... I would guess that dwelling space for several hundred thousands of our people could easily be provided.... Actually they would breed prodigiously, there would be much time and little to do."

As for the celluloid president, he's already planning a bombshell sequel titled, "Reagan the Barbarian." But unless the anti-Soviet war-crazy nuts in the White House and the Pentagon are stopped, they're writing a script that signs off with the message, "Looney Tunes—That's All, Folks!" ■

Rosa Luxemburg: "The Road to Peace"

Disarm Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

With all the "arms control" hoopla around the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, it is particularly timely to reprint "The Road to Peace," Rosa Luxemburg's trenchant denunciation of the fraud of "disarmament" under capitalism. It was written in 1911 when the stormclouds of the first world imperialist war were already gathering. Luxemburg was a proletarian revolutionary internationalist who led the left wing of German Social Democracy (SPD). Against the SPD majority which supported the war effort, Luxemburg together with Karl Liebknecht organized the Spartakushund, the forerunner of the German Communist Party, from which the Spartacist League takes its name. (See "The Spartacists," *WV* No. 389, 18 October 1985.)

Luxemburg insisted that the bourgeoisie will never disarm itself—"militarism can only be abolished by the destruction of the capitalist state." In Lenin's terms imperialist war must be opposed by proletarian civil war for power against the bourgeoisie. Today revolutionaries must stand for the defeat of their own imperialist bourgeoisie and for the military defense of Soviet Russia against imperialism. Despite its Stalinist degeneration the Soviet Union continues to embody the social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. This translation appeared in the October, 1958 *Young Socialist*, organ of what became the youth group of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.

Ullstein

Polish Marxist Rosa Luxemburg addressing anti-militarist rally in Germany in 1907.

What is our task on the question of peace? It does not consist merely in vigorous demonstrating at all times that the social-democrats love peace, but first and foremost, our task is to make clear to the masses of people the nature of militarism and to bring out, sharply and clearly, the difference in principle between the standpoint of social-democracy and that of the bourgeois peace enthusiasts.

In what does this difference consist? Certainly not merely in the fact that bourgeois apostles of peace rely on the influence of fine words, while we do not depend on words alone. Our very point of departure is diametrically opposed: the friends of peace in bourgeois circles believe that world peace and disarmament can be realized within the framework of the present social order, whereas we who base ourselves on the materialist conception of history and on scientific socialism, are convinced that militarism can be abolished only with the destruction of the capitalist state. From this follows the essential difference in our tactics in spreading the idea of peace.

Counterfeit Peace

The bourgeois friends of peace endeavor—and, from their point of view, this is perfectly logical and explicable—to invent all sorts of "practical" projects for gradually restraining militarism and are naturally inclined to consider every outward and apparent sign of a tendency toward peace as the genuine article, to take every expression of diplomacy in this vein at its word, to exaggerate it into a real basis of earnest activity. Social-democracy, on the other hand must consider it as its duty in this matter, just as in all matters of social criticism, to expose the bourgeois attempts to restrain militarism as pitiful half-measures and the expression of such sentiments on the part of the governing circles as diplomatic make believe, and to oppose bourgeois claims and pretenses with the ruthless analysis of capitalist reality.

From this standpoint, the tasks of the social-democracy with regard to the declaration of the kind issued by the British can only be to expose the idea of a partial limitation of armaments in all its impracticability, as a half-measure, and to endeavor to make it clear to the people that militarism is closely linked with the colonial politics and that, therefore, the nations of today, if they are really serious and honest in their wish to call a halt to

continued on page 8

Soweto Hospital Strikers Win Back Their Jobs

Novemher 25—Today the Baragwanath Hospital bosses agreed to reinstate 1,700 striking black norses and auxiliary workers at full pay. The decision eame after a South African Supreme Court justice ruled in favor of three nurses, determining that their lockout was illegal. The rest of the strikers then threatened similar legal action. But the compelling issues which foreed these deeply oppressed hlack workers to walk out will he resolved only through lahor action on the picket line. Victory to the Soweto Hospital Workers!

On the night of November 13, in apartheid South Africa's largest township, the black student nurses and auxiliary workers struek against starvation wages at the huge Baragwanath Hospital. The strikers, organized by the General and Allied Workers Union, were met with the violence of the racist police state from the moment they came out. Nurses were injured hy cluh-wielding guards who were later issued firearms. When management fired the strikers, the army came in and forced them to take their dismissal pay at gunpoint. Eight hundred student nurses have left Baragwanath for their own safety after being surrounded by armed police. The hospital was placed under military occupation, with white soldiers and "civil defense" personnel doing scab work while the bosses sought to replace the strikers.

The repression of the Soweto hospital strikers is part of Pretoria's police-state terror to drown in blood the nationwide anti-apartheid revolt. Since this current revolt began in September 1984 the apartheid butchers have gunned down more than 850 blacks, with 36 killed in a five-day period this past week. One of the most brutal massacres occurred in the black township of Mamelodi near Pretoria, where police murdered 13 protesters, a number of whom were elderly women.

Apartheid South Africa is a giant forced labor camp for black people, and Baragwanath is its main medical wing. The largest hospital in the southern hemisphere, it has nearly 3,000 beds. But that is far short of what is needed to serve the two million people of Soweto. Baragwanath operates at 150-300 percent of capacity. Patients lie two to a bed, beside the beds and *under* the beds—doctors indicate who the urgent cases are by sticking red labels on their foreheads. The wage ceiling for the student nurses and domestic staff, some of whom are still "temporary" after 20 years, is $65 per month.

Peter Magubane

Nurses at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital, largest in black Africa, work under shadow of apartheid war machine.

Neil Aggett, the white trade-union activist who died as a result of security police torture in 1982, worked as a doctor at Baragwanath. His experience there drove home his understanding that only the struggle of the black workers could end such hellhole conditions. Today the hospital workers among whom he worked are unionized and fighting. Hundreds of doctors and senior medical staff at Baragwanath and workers at 40 feeder clinics in the area have declared that they too will strike if those fired aren't reinstated. The strikers have made an appeal for international labor support. Class-conscious militants must fight to hack these strikers and all the black toilers battling apartheid, with union solidarity actions around the world.

South Africa's six-million-strong black proletariat can smash apartheid capitalism. But that mighty force has been mobilized only episodically in the past year and a half of massive anti-apartheid revolt. Shackled by a nationalist leadership, the black masses face the danger of bloody defeat in an all-out race war. The examples of Neil Aggett and the mainly coloured (mixed-race) and Indian doctors who have come out for the Baragwanath strikers show how *class* struggle can cut across the racial/ethnic divisions. To place the black workers at the head of all the oppressed and carry the struggle through to victory requires the leadership of a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party. Victory to the Baragwanath strikers! Smash apartheid! For workers revolution! ■

Appeal By General and Allied Workers Union

Workers from the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, South Africa went on strike against unfair and degrading work practices. At a recent meeting held by workers at the hospital the following grievances were noted: extremely low salaries with no increments for three years; authorities refuse to deal with workers' grievances; assaults on workers by hospital employees (white); use of military and police presently occupying the premises; generally poor working conditions without applying accepted disputes procedures.

The South African government and its allies have again applied the repressive tactics which have resulted in the dismissal of over 900 workers, the majority of whom were subsequently charged with gathering illegally. While the majority of those detained have since been released, the charges have not been withdrawn and workers face severe penalties as a result. The army, as noted earlier, has moved into the hospital and has been taking over the basic duties of the dismissed workers. Any remaining workers are forced by military personnel to perform certain duties even if they are not qualified to do so. The result of this is that basic care has deteriorated to a serious extent and hospital authorities remain committed to their plan of action yet again, though the South African government and its allies are determined to crush any resistance to workers' grievances which arise as a direct result of the system of apartheid. We therefore urge you to support our cause with solidarity action either by financial support or otherwise. We are also requesting that you inform all international organizations of the plight of the workers of Baragwanath Hospital.

Contributions to the strike fund can he sent directly to: Samson R. Ndou, President, General and Allied Workers Union, Box 7549, Johanneshurg 2000, South Africa.

Rosa Luxemburg...

(continued from page 7)

competitive armaments, would have to begin by disarming in the commercial and political field, by giving up predatory colonial campaigns, by abandoning the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world—in a word, in their foreign as well as domestic politics, they would have to do the exact opposite of everything which the nature of the present politics of a capitalist state demands.

A Legitimate Child

And thus would be clearly explained what constitutes the kernel of the social-democratic conception: that militarism in both its forms—as war and as armed peace—is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, and that whoever honestly desires world peace and freedom from the tremendous burden of armaments must strive for socialism. Only in this way can real socialist education and propaganda be carried on in connection with the armaments debate.

Such work, however, will be rendered somewhat difficult and the attitude of the social-democrats will become obscure and vacillating if, by some strange exchange of roles, our party tries, on the contrary, to convince the bourgeois state that it can quite well limit armaments and achieve peace and that it can do this from its own standpoint, from that of a capitalist state.

Scientific Basis

It has hitherto been the pride and the firm scientific basis of our party that not only the general line of our program but also the slogans of our practical every day policy were not compounded out of indiscriminate odds and ends just because they sounded desirable but that we always relied on our understanding of the tendencies of social development and made the objective trends of development the basis of our attitude.

For us the determining factor has hitherto been not possibility from the standpoint of the relation of forces within the state but possibility from the standpoint of the tendencies of social development. Limitations of armaments, the retrenchment of militarism, does not coincide with the further development of international capitalism. Only those who believe in the mitigation and blunting of class antagonism and in the reduction of the economic anarchy of capitalism can believe that these international conflicts will permit of slackening, mitigation and elimination.

For the international antagonisms of the capitalist state are but complements of class antagonisms and world-political anarchy, but the reverse side of the anarchic system of capitalist production. Both grow together and must be overcome together. "A little order and peace" is, therefore, just as impossible, just as much a petty-bourgeois utopia, with regard to world politics as it is with regard to the capitalist world market, with regard to the limitation of armaments as it is with regard to the restriction of crises. ■

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Michael Stewart...

(continued from page 12)

present a *single* witness, so sure were they that the "prosecution" and judge had made their case.

In their "Anatomy of a Cover Up," attorneys for the Stewarts note: "To present this fraudulent case to this jury is to express a contempt for the jury, the public and the proper administration of justice so profound as to cause the most racist Afrikaner judge to raise an eyebrow."

The acquittal of those manifestly guilty of racist murder is more than an intolerable outrage: it is an invitation for more of the same. The precedent was set in Greensboro, North Carolina when in 1979 five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) were gunned down in broad daylight by Klan/Nazi hitmen aided and abetted by government agents. The Greensboro massacre was televised. It was an open and shut case. Millions watched in living color as the fascists took aim and fired, leaving the bodies of the black and white leftists, union organizers and anti-Klan fighters in a pool of blood. The fascist murderers went free. The CWP martyrs were, as Michael Stewart has been, convicted posthumously for their own deaths. Nazi leader Harold Covington was as exuberant over the Greensboro verdicts as the racist swine cops were over the Stewart acquittals.

WV Photo

"Vengeance for Michael Stewart!" demands Ed Karlsen, Spartacist candidate in recent NYC elections, at demonstration against Koch's cover-up coroner, Gross the ghoul.

The Greenshoro massacre under Dixiecrat Carter was the opening shot in a new Cold War against Russia. Carter paved the way for black-hating, union-busting Reagan. At "home" the anti-Soviet war drive has meant a mounting wave of bloody racist terror. The heinous MOVE massacre in Philadelphia is the most horrible example.

In New York, Koch's cossacks are on a rampage and are displaying openly bonapartist attitudes toward civilian officials and legality. When the Bronx D.A. gave a slap-on-the-wrist indictment to the cop who blew away infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs with a shotgun, 10,000 armed cops surrounded the Bronx courthouse where the D.A. has his office. Likewise on November 7, five thousand of these thugs in blue swarmed around the office of Brooklyn D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman because she has started a half-hearted effort to investigate the sharp rise in police brutality in her borough. Michael Stewart is one of many black citizens to die a gruesome death at their hands.

Brothers and sisters: know what city and country you are in. The naked racism of this system is so concentrated in NYC because here the pretenses and façade of capitalist "democracy" have given way to the reality; it is a "tale of two cities." The rich get richer, while thousands of destitute, homeless and mentally ill people are dumped onto the mean streets and into the wretched subway underground, while the ghetto population seethes over increasing poverty and police-state terror, while the unions whose members built this city are subjected to unrelenting attack. To keep this tinderbox under control, the rulers must more and more rely on their armed fist—the police.

What is to be done? The only answer is a workers revolution, led by an integrated vanguard party. For starters, the Spartacist platform in the recent New York City elections put forward this program to combat racist terror: *"Everyone has the right to defend himself! Gun control kills blacks! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks! For integrated workers defense guards drawn from responsible union men and women!"* Black supporters of the Stewarts shouted to the killer cops: "Your day will come!" It must come soon. Communist revolution will avenge Michael Stewart and all the victims of racist terror! ■

Mr. and Mrs. Stewart have filed a $30 million lawsuit against the transit cops and a $10 million suit against Gross. Every class-conscious worker, every opponent of race-terror, should contribute to their legal costs. Make checks payable/mail to: Michael J. Stewart Legal Defense Fund, 75 Maple Street, Brooklyn, New York 11225.

Militant Seamen Demand Labor Protest Against Stewart Verdict

The following resolution was presented on November 25 at the New York Port meeting of the National Maritime Union by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus:

Whereas, it is an outrage that the eleven New York City cops who beat to death a young, black man, Michael Stewart, in the presence of forty witnesses, have now been acquitted! This poses a danger to every decent citizen, especially blacks and Hispanics, as the cops have been given a license to kill—like death squads in El Salvador and South Africa;

Be it therefore resolved, that the NMU membership at this port of New York meeting calls for our union to immediately initiate and call on the rest of New York's unions to organize an emergency demonstration mobilizing labor to ring city hall to protest this legalization of racist cop terror!

MOVE...

(continued from page 1)

people, is undoubtedly overjoyed by these most recent racist atrocities, by the show of force of "white power" rabble. They are plenty surly, too, over the resignation of Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor in the aftermath of the commission of inquiry into the MOVE massacre. Indeed, the day before Sambor quit, he was given an award for his and his officers' conduct in the MOVE bombing by the state Fraternal Order of Police (FOP). FOP spokesman Richard Costello was quite clear: "We're not going to take this lying down if [Goode] demanded Greg Sambor's resignation" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 November).

MOVE Massacre: Symbol of the Reagan Years

Clearly the killer cops carried out their unspeakable atrocity against MOVE under the direction of and in collaboration with the Reagan administration and its top cop, Attorney General Meese. The FBI provided the powerful C-4 military explosive used in the infamous helicopter bombing; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms brokered the purchase of heavy firepower for the onslaught; Goode and his cops did the rest.

The sheer magnitude of the MOVE massacre was too great to cover up entirely. But they tried hard. One "expert witness" who testified before Goode's hand-picked "commission of inquiry" was Dr. Ali Hameli, the coroner who examined Josef Mengele's remains in Brazil. Hameli said that the six adults incinerated in the MOVE home, pinned inside the blazing house by police gunfire, could be classified as *"suicides"* because they "chose" to remain inside. With gratuitous cruelty the city authorities have obstructed their families from obtaining the charred remains of the MOVE martyrs. It's a case where, in fact, the dead can tell tales: Hameli's "difficulty" in determining the cause of death because the bodies "were poorly marked by officials at the scene and later were stored at temperatures that were too warm" is worthy of the Nazi "doctor" Mengele himself. The Philadelphia Medical Examiner's Office dispensed with the problem by ruling "that all 11 deaths were accidental and that the victims died from fire-related injuries" (*New York Times*, 6 November).

A police videotape of the May 13 massacre showed a group of cops laughing it up like Nazi guards at the death camps—laughing it up while flames engulfed the MOVE house at temperatures exceeding 2,000 degrees. The cops are quite triumphal about their bombing of black babies. For them the genocidal attack on MOVE was revenge for 1978 when a cop died during a siege of 600 Philly police against MOVE headquarters. Nine MOVE members still languish in prison for defending themselves against that racist assault. Free all the imprisoned MOVE members!

Philly Inferno Fuels Racist Offensive

Today, the racist mobs are picking up where Goode and the cops left off in May. On November 22, Goode declared a "state of emergency" in the Southwest Elmwood area—scene of the racist mob attacks—banning gatherings of four or more people, with a few exceptions, and subjecting anyone refusing to disperse to arrest. The state of emergency is a desperate attempt by the Goode administration to wash the blood of the MOVE massacre from their hands. At the same time, Goode is trying to appease the racist forces, incredibly claiming that these mobilizations against black and integrated families in predominantly white neighborhoods are "not racially motivated." Goode even went so far as to order round-the-clock police protection for a white woman living peacefully in an otherwise all-black section of town. So far Goode's "state of siege" has been used only against Jesse Jackson's PUSH organization, prohibiting it from marching through Southwest Philly. PUSH called the demonstration off after being threatened with arrest; as PUSH spokesman Curt Richardson put it: "We don't want to defy the mayor" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 November). Of course, black Democratic Party hustler Jackson has from the outset apologized for Goode's racist murder; Jackson's response to the MOVE bombing was to call for black contractors to be used to rebuild the 62 homes burned to the ground in that holocaust!

Seeing Goode's public support dwindling and the cops up in arms, former mayor (and cop) Frank Rizzo—a hard white racist and "law-and-order" fanatic who ordered the 1978 attack on MOVE—is putting out feelers for a re-election bid. Thus the Osage Avenue inferno has sparked a racist offensive that might eventually drive from office the black "Mayor of Murder" Goode in favor of Rizzo—who among black Americans was arguably the most despised big-city mayor of the 1970s. Black Philadelphia knows only too well that if Rizzo crawls back out of his sewer and into office, increased violence by the "boys in blue" and/or the white ethnic mobs (Rizzo's two most solid bases of support) can't be far behind. The "choice" of Goode or Rizzo is like a choice between poison or hanging.

The black people of Philadelphia are threatened with more atrocities if the menacing Rizzo-backed racist mobilizations are not spiked. It is urgently necessary that the city's *integrated labor movement*—black and white workers in transit, longshore, hospital and auto—lead the fight to crush the racist offensive. A mass labor-led demonstration, drawing on the residents of the embattled black and Hispanic communities, should march right through Southwest Philly and put the racist punks on notice: this is not Johannesburg and it's not Hitler's Reich. Workers defense guards, organized by the unions, should be dispatched to the homes under attack and maintain round-the-clock watch. Such integrated labor defense against racist marauders has unfortunately occurred rarely in recent years. United Auto Workers Local 6 deployed a defense squad of black and white workers to defend a black union brother whose home had been firebombed in Chicago ten years ago. The racist filth backed off.

It could not be more clear in Philadelphia that black Democrats like Goode as well as "white power" politicians like Rizzo are guilty of *racist murder*. The workers and oppressed must fight back—and to do that, we must build a proletarian party dedicated to smashing this sick, racist system through workers revolution. We know that it will take nothing less than a third American revolution to get vengeance for the MOVE martyrs, to give their murderers the kind of justice—swift and on target—they so richly deserve. As LaVerne Sims told a Spartacist public meeting held in New York after the MOVE massacre: "And if you don't do something about it, you only going to wake up tomorrow and find it happening right here in New York. Because a precedent has been set. And it's got to be stopped right now. Now, you got to stop it!" ■

Concord, California Lynching

Smash Racist Terror!

A black man has been lynched! The same night in the same California town two other black men were brutally assaulted by two knife-wielding white-robed Klansmen. These hideous atrocities took place in Concord, an overwhelmingly white town in eastern Contra Costa County, just 30 miles from San Francisco. Such fascist outrages are bloody signatures of the Reagan/Meese years. These vile crimes underline once again the urgent and compelling necessity for armed black self-defense and mass integrated labor/black mobilizations to smash racist terror!

Lynching is the grisly hallmark of 400 years of racist murder in this deeply racist country. The lynch rope, like the hooded white robe and the Confederate flag, is the symbol of Ku Klux Klan terror by which Reconstruction was defeated and black people were robbed of the freedom for which they and hundreds of thousands of other Americans fought and died so valiantly in the Civil War. The lynchers are raising their ugly heads again—they must be crushed in the egg!

On November 2, the body of 23-year-old Timothy Lee was found hanging from a tree, his feet only inches from the ground, in an empty parking lot in Concord. On Friday night, Timothy Lee, a black, openly gay, talented design student who'd just won a scholarship to study in Italy, had fallen asleep on the last BART commuter train from San Francisco to the East Bay and was stranded at the end of the line in Concord. Around midnight he called friends to get a ride home; the last they heard of him he was waiting by a pay phone for a call back to arrange a ride. That same night in Concord, two young black men, Tony Lamar Hall and Jeffrey Miller, were brutally stabbed outside a bar at 2 a.m. by two thugs in Klan robes.

Not a word of these bloody atrocities got into the local papers for an entire week—then the cops claimed Lee's murder was "suicide" and that the Klan stabbings were the work of "individuals," with no evidence of Klan involvement! Further, incredibly, the cops claim they know of no Klan activity around Concord—though Contra Costa County, where Concord is located, is notorious for numerous racist attacks over the past years.

Who Murdered Timothy Lee?

The cops' story stinks. Timothy Lee didn't kill himself. He was a productive and talented young man, enthusiastic about his scholarship in Milan, full of zest for life.

When family and friends were contacted by the police to come and identify his body, they were abruptly told his death had been "determined to be suicide" and the case was closed. The cops already had destroyed the strap used in the hanging, disingenuously claiming "routine procedure." But Lee's father said he thought the strap used "wasn't Timmy's. The straps on his backpack were still intact and we don't know where he got the other strap" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 November). It's not known if the cops even fingerprinted the metal buckle on this strap before its destruction. The family didn't recognize the handwriting in a "suicide note" which cops claim was written by Timothy, and his own name and those of his brother and sister were misspelled. The family thinks if Timothy did write it, perhaps it was an attempt to warn them of foul play.

The cops assert there's no connection between Timothy Lee's death and the Klan attack two miles away the same night in the same city. But why did the cops try to cover up both racist attacks for an entire week? And why were the cops so quick to destroy the evidence in Lee's hanging? Why don't they want the facts known? Maybe the race-terrorists who murdered Timothy Lee *weren't* wearing their white robes that night. There are race-terrorists in blue uniforms too.

The lynching of Timothy Lee, like the bombing of black Philadelphia, bears bloody testimony to the reign of Ronald Reagan, the Ku Klux Klan's "preferred" choice for president. Now Reagan's top cop, Edwin Meese, has raised the Dixie cry of "states' rights" against the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, which abolished chattel slavery and gave blacks the vote.

Costantini/SF Examiner

Mr. and Mrs. Lee with photo of their son Timothy, victim of racist lynching.

Klan Stabbing

For sure the racists who attacked Tony Lamar Hall and Jeffrey Miller were in full Klan regalia. The two black men were standing in front of a Concord bar November 1 talking with two white women when they were murderously attacked. The white-robed terrorists went at them with eight-inch knives, then tried to run down Hall with their car. The women raced into the bar for help and the rats didn't get away. Police arrested the two white terrorists after they initially fled but then returned in their car to try to attack the two blacks again.

We have heard that after their identities were discovered the wait in jail was eventful for the two thugs. Good. Keep these scum behind bars and throw away the keys!

The cops—after holding the two for a week without a word to the press—said they didn't think they were Klansmen, retailing the attackers' story that the KKK robes were for a "Halloween party"! But FBI officials called in said the robes appeared to be authentic. And on November 23, two weeks after the attack, the Oakland *Tribune* for the first time reported that the cops had also found Klan material in one of the men's cars.

Since the Contra Costa cops are playing so dumb that they claim they can't tell if two guys with Klan robes and Klan literature who try to murder blacks have anything to do with the Klan, the FBI was called in to help them out in "investigating" this supposedly murky question. Remember how the FBI "investigates" the Klan: the FBI, in the guise of "information-gathering," sanctioned a reign of terror against the 1960s civil rights movement, including the participation of their KKK "informer" Gary Rowe in the shotgun murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo.

The Concord area is over 90 percent white and blacks who live or work there suffer daily harassment and insult. The Contra Costa County cops sure don't protect blacks—but they know how to protect Nazi/Klan terrorists. In 1979, just a few miles south of Concord in Walnut Creek, hundreds of police with scores of attack dogs, mace, helicopters and full riot gear mobilized from all over the area to protect eight Nazis holding a public race-hate rally. It was cop practice for counterrevolution, as they herded the pathetic liberals who came out to "peacefully, legally" protest into a temporary barbed-wire concentration camp.

In nearby largely black Richmond, where there's been a series of cop killings of young black men, the cops openly identify with the KKK terrorists and their banner, the Confederate flag. The notorious Richmond "Cowboy Cops" had themselves photographed with the Dixie flag of racist terror. These racists are a model for their cop cronies throughout Northern California: a photo of the "Cowboys" was prominently displayed in the SF police station where SL supporter Ritchie Bradley was taken after his arrest last year for tearing down that banner of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center.

The two black men stabbed by the Klanners might be safe and uninjured today if they had been armed. The right of armed self-defense is absolutely vital for blacks facing daily race-terror. Liberals are for gun control, which leaves guns in the hands of criminals and cops. We say gun control kills blacks! Events in Contra Costa County prove that.

The powerful forces of organized labor ought to have cleaned out the racist vermin of Contra Costa years ago! Throughout 1980 and 1981 there were a series of terrorist attacks, including KKK death threats, against black homeowners in Contra Costa. In November 1980 a racist fired a shotgun blast through the front door of black longshoreman Roosevelt Presley. The Spartacist League and its trade-union supporters fought for what was needed—for labor/black defense squads to smash these nightriding racist vermin. "Will it take black people being killed before the labor unions act decisively? The Klan's intentions are very clear: further acts of racist terror," said SL supporters in the Militant Caucus in the ILWU in their "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" (2 January 1981). But it didn't happen, as cowardly pro-Democratic Party reformists and liberals in the unions squashed our motions, claiming the police could be pressured to protect blacks. The lynching of Timothy Lee is the bitter result of the labor bureaucracy's craven passivity which has allowed the race-terrorists to run amok in Contra Costa County.

The Bay Area labor movement has unfinished business in Contra Costa County. It is the unfinished business of the Civil War—the struggle for black equality and freedom in racist America. Integrated defense guards drawn from the union movement must *clean out* these deadly killers. Whether they wear white sheets or blue uniforms, the murderers must be stopped. For labor/black defense against race-terror!

"Time to Finish the Civil War!" was the popular chant of thousands of black unionists and youth at the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which drove the KKK lynchers out of Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. A Klan march for race-hate and murder was spiked. The protesters took over the Klan's planned route for an anti-racist victory march. On that day black working people took to the streets of that truly Southern city without fear and with a real sense of social power. The Spartacist League is fighting to build a mass integrated revolutionary party to lead workers to political power, to finish the unfulfilled tasks of the Civil War and rid this country of the Klan and cop lynchers and bombers once and for all. ■

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Arrested for Teaching Scabs a Lesson

Defend Watsonville Cannery Strikers!

The rigged scales of bosses' "justice" are coming down on the Watsonville, California cannery workers, who have been on strike for three months. The cops look the other way when violent scabs attack strikers, but after a busload of scabs got what was coming to them at a shopping center in nearby Gilroy on November 11, the cops responded with a mass strikebreaking prosecution.

Eighteen of these mainly Mexican women strikers have been slapped with a variety of charges, some of them serious felony charges such as "possession of stolen property" and "battery," as well as "vandalism" and "disturbing the peace." The cops claim they found a flashlight and a citizens band radio belonging to the Watsonville Cannery seabmobile in one of the strikers' vans.

One of the women strikers arrested in Gilroy told *WV* that police verbally abused the arrested women, calling them "dykes" and threatening to throw them in a cell "with the crazy people." After being handcuffed together and fingerprinted, the women were forced to strip and "take a bath" under the eyes of the sadistic cops.

Felony charges are serious business; they could mean time in the state pen for strikers. The mass prosecution of the Watsonville strikers is reminiscent of the strikebreaking mass trials of California farm and cannery union organizers in the '30s. It comes on top of the outrageous frame-up of striker Amador Bettencourt, who has been in jail for a month and a half with bail set at *$250,000*, on phony charges of throwing a Molotov cocktail at a bus of scabs. Meanwhile the cops are in cahoots with scab and management violence, as in every strike. Not only do they wink at scabs armed with guns, clubs, knives and machetes, but Watsonville Cannery scabmobile driver George Desalles, who pulled a .38-calibre revolver on strikers during the Gilroy clash, is a reserve policeman in the town of Livingston in Merced County (*San Jose Mercury News*, November 12). The labor movement must *act* to defend the courageous strike militants and smash the strikebreaking police frame-ups!

The capitalist press cries its usual tears for the scabs—some of whom

WV Photo

Watsonville strike rally, November 10: Spartacist banner in Spanish says, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!"

landed in the hospital, one with a broken jaw—and the company vehicles that had tires slashed and windows broken. But as striking miners from Harlan County, Kentucky to Morenci, Arizona have pointed out, "Scabbing is dangerous to your health." The strikers—hamstrung by the Local 912 leadership, which preaches "respect" for court injunctions limiting the number of pickets to three per scab pickup site—have been trying to talk the scabs into not entering the struck plants. The ranks are outraged at the timid policy of the Teamster bureaucrats. Patrick Guevara, one of the union pickets at the Gilroy Shopping Center on November 12, told *WV* that when the three pickets approached the scab bus to appeal to the scabs, a company driver started shoving two of the strikers. "That was it," Guevara told us: a few vanloads of strikers piled out to defend their comrades.

It was good that a few scabs got theirs, and we hail the strikers' determination not to let the bosses' injunctions prevent them from defending themselves, as is the duty of every good union man and woman. "Flying squadrons," initiated in the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike led by the Trotskyists, are a basic part of labor's arsenal. But mass mobilizations of California labor are needed, not to "talk" to the scabs and "respect" the injunctions, but to stop them cold. In the absence of a class-struggle strategy to win the strike, the courageous militants who do seek to fight can easily be isolated and picked off by the cops.

Leon Ellis, business agent for Local 912, told *WV* that approximately 220 strikers currently face a variety of charges. When asked what the union is doing to defend its members, Ellis flatly stated that it is prohibited by "federal law" from allocating union funds to defend union members accused of criminal activity. This is grotesque! If you play by the bosses' rules, you lose, and that's exactly where the Local 912 leadership is leading this important strike. So the cops are having a field day harassing and victimizing strikers. The day after the Gilroy bust six more strikers in a van were pulled over, and the cops arrested five, impounded the vehicle, and left a lone woman striker stranded in the dark.

Labor's gotta play hardball to win! Picket lines must mean "You'd *better* not cross!" Spread the strike to *all* the canneries and shut them down tight with mass picket lines built by the area labor movement! Effective, large flying squads must stop the scabs at the plant gates! Labor must hot-cargo the scab goods! Warehousemen, railway workers and truck drivers: let the scab produce rot! Defend the arrested strikers!

Guillermina Rodríguez, a member of the strikers' Fund Committee, told *WV* that contributions for the defense of the arrested strikers can be sent to: Strike Committee, Account No. 00344-04633, Bank of America Watsonville Branch, 567 Main Street, Watsonville CA 95076. Earmark checks "For defense of arrested strikers."■

WBAI...

(continued from page 3)

there the Soviet power was introduced, and a lot of people were killed, a lot of Communist women were killed introducing social progress to other brothers and sisters in Uzbekistan, and so on.

The point is, there are sides. And that [Afghanistan] was the opening shot of Cold War II. What did Carter's so-called "human rights crusade" represent? It was an anti-Soviet crusade. It was designed to morally and militarily rearm U.S. imperialism in the aftermath of the stinging defeat that it suffered in Vietnam. It was humiliated, it was defeated, and good thing for the working class. As a matter of fact, this was a source of anti-colonial insurgencies like in Angola and Nicaragua. But, you know, "poor little Afghanistan" we're hearing today, just like "poor little Finland" in the '40s. But in a situation where that intervention laid the basis for real social progress. Those who want to keep the country in the 9th century...

Lopate: It's really a kind of bigotry to impose what you think is right on a country that has a whole different set of traditions....

Alexander: You want to say that national sovereignty is the be-all and the end-all. And we're of course saying that that's not the case.

Kartsen: What about national sovereignty for the Confederacy? Which believed also in slavery. In Afghanistan, let's be clear, [the mullahs] believe in slavery of women. If anybody wants to support that obnoxious counterrevolutionary concept of slavery of any group of people... We have the Red Army in this particular case enforcing the concept of democratic rights for women in Afghanistan.

* * * * *

Kartsen: The point really is that in Afghanistan, as in the American South, there's a section of the population which has been denied the rights to participate as equal human beings in society. It required the Red Army to beat back the selling of women as slaves, and the exploitation by the [moneylenders], who exploited the young males of Afghanistan to spend the rest of their lives paying money in order to buy their wives. The Soviet Red Army is the force behind defense of the simple basic decency of the right of women to education and freedom and to participate in society as equals. You talk about atrocities. What would have been the Confederacy's conception of atrocities by the Union Army when they invaded Atlanta to free the slaves? On the part of the slaves, and on the part of people who are oppressed, these are acts of liberation.■

L.A. Labor...

(continued from page 12)

most struck supermarkets there are not even token pickets. The union tops have refused to call out the supermarket clerks, who are in the *same union* as the meatcutters—the so-called "United" Food and Commercial Workers Union. Nearly half the clerks have honored the strike in spite of their leaders' treachery, but that still means the other half is scabbing. Call out the clerks!

The supermarket bosses are bragging of the "well-stocked shelves" and "business-as-usual atmosphere" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 November). Labor must shut down all the struck supermarkets and food distribution warehouses with *mass picket lines* that nobody dares to cross. Defy the injunctions and stop the scab operations! Let the mom and pop grocery stores get all the business until the big chains like Vons, Safeway and Lucky knuckle under to the real power of organized labor.

Right now the striking Teamsters and meatcutters are facing the full weight of the capitalist class from their scabherding cops to their yellow press. On the picket lines there has been massive police intimidation, cordoning off sidewalks to let scabs through, and strikers have taken dozens of arrests. Yet tiny groups of four and five pickets still bravely try to stop scab trucks.

And while the cops are trying to terrorize workers, the supermarket bosses are running full-page ads in the papers intended to conjure up images of Mafioso Teamsters leaning on mom and pop at the corner store. Smelling suspiciously of FBI-style "dirty tricks," an anonymous letter to radio stations threatened that a "team of angry people" would poison food at 42 markets "until the current labor dispute is over" (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 November). Remember this is Reagan and Meese country! No contaminated food turned up, but four syringes filled with herbicide were "found." Now the Food Employers Council is melodramatically offering $100,000 for information about the unions' so-called "reign of terror."

Of course, it is the supermarket bosses who are out to wage a reign of terror against the unions. The ranks clearly want to fight. But labor's gotta play hardball to win! Take the struggle out of the hands of the sellout union tops—no secret negotiations with the Food Employers Council! Organize elected strike committees! Turn that court injunction into a scrap of paper through the mass mobilization of the L.A. labor movement! Shut down the L.A. supermarkets!■

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NYC Killer Cops Turned Loose

Outrage Over Michael Stewart Verdict

On September 15, 1983 a man "committed suicide" assisted by eleven transit police beating him in the presence of 40 competent witnesses. He was a young black man named Michael Stewart. On November 24, 1985 an all-white jury found six white transit cops "not guilty." The attorneys for the Stewart family eloquently and bitterly spoke the truth: "The corruption of the criminal justice process in this case is but the latest affirmation of the holding in *Dred Scott*: 'a black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect'."

After an hour in police "custody," the manacled, hog-tied Stewart was brought to Bellevue Hospital with more than 60 wounds on his body. He was already brain dead and in cardiac arrest. Mr. Millard Stewart, a retired transit worker, and Mrs. Carrie Stewart, a retired teacher, were not told of their son's brain death for 17 hours. Hospital authorities willfully lied to the Stewarts. In those hours, the conspiracy to cover up the racist police murder of Michael Stewart began. It culminated inexorably in the verdict two years later. The verdict is a license for New York police to kill black people.

The State Supreme courtroom on November 24 was, as it has been throughout the "trial," divided. On the left side were Michael Stewart's parents and overwhelmingly black supporters of the Stewarts. On the right side sat the cops' "Benevolent Association" brass and supporters—all of them white. When the verdict was read, outraged black spectators erupted with shouts of "Murder!" "South Africa!" "Fascists!" Cops ringing the courtroom rushed them out. The white cops and their supporters broke into applause and cheers. This is "justice" in Reagan's America and Koch's New York.

WV Photo

November 25—Outraged protesters outside NYC Criminal Courts Building.

Outrage has been heaped on outrage throughout the Stewart case. New York City chief medical examiner Elliot Gross dug out Michael Stewart's eyes to remove evidence that the young man had died of strangulation. Gross repetitively lied, changing his story no less than three times about the cause of death. District Attorney Morgenthau worked to keep the case from ever coming to trial at all—which indeed it would not have except for the dedicated efforts of grand juror Ronald Fields. Fields began a real investigation into the killing and charged the D.A.'s office with protecting the police.

When public outcry became so great that the case could no longer be buried, Morgenthau's "prosecutors" conducted themselves as accomplices of the cops' defense team. With the complicity of one judge Jeffrey M. Atlas, a travesty and mockery of any semblance of judicial due process ensued. The "prosecution's" 48 witnesses were permitted to be relentlessly insulted, badgered, abused by the cops' attorneys. The D.A.'s "star witness" was none other than Gross himself, who obscenely gave testimony on the very day he was to appear before the aborted state health board hearing charging him on eleven counts of gross incompetence and negligence, including in the Stewart case. The defense did not bother to

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Victory to Teamsters/Meatcutters Strike!

Labor Must Shut Down L.A. Supermarkets!

Down with Bosses' Injunction! For Mass Picketing!

LOS ANGELES—When Teamsters and meatcutters struck Vons supermarket chain in Southern California on November 4, six other major chains immediately locked out workers in the striking unions, triggering a massive walkout by 10,000 meatcutters and 12,000 Teamsters including drivers, warehousemen and office workers. There is tremendous militancy as the strikers battle scabs and scabherding cops. The strike is rightly seen as a major labor showdown in open-shop Southern California.

The supermarket bosses have declared war on the unions. They want to slash meatcutters' wages by more than $4 an hour, cut the guaranteed eight-hour workday in half and hire low-paid "meat clerks" to do 70 percent of the work performed by the cutters. The Food Employers Council is demanding from the Teamsters the "right" to subcontract to non-union companies, hire new employees at $3 an hour below current scales and prohibit automatic union recognition at new warehouses.

While many of the strikers are Hispanic, the bosses are doubtless counting on thousands of unemployed, especially the desperately poor, undocumented Hispanics, to jump for the new low-paid positions. Labor must answer this by demanding full citizenship rights for immigrant workers. If the unions lose this one, wages and conditions will get worse for everybody in this racist, anti-labor town. As Dick Brass, a retired trucker and union man for 52 years, put it, "This is the hardest line I've ever seen. They're determined to break the union. And if they do that, everybody suffers."

Many L.A. unionists understand what's at stake in this strike. Members of the airline flight attendants union set up their own picket line in solidarity at a

Kelsen/LA Times

Scabherding cops arrest striker at Irvine supermarket.

Vons store, explaining that they had recently fought similar two-tier union-busting attacks. Postal workers have manned picket lines. A rally called by the Harbor Labor Coalition on November 15 drew more than 300 unionists, and could have been far bigger if the union tops had really built it.

However, the effectiveness of the strike has been crippled by the cowardly and legalistic union bureaucracy. They have honored an injunction by the bosses' courts limiting the number of pickets to a token of five per site. And at

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 393 | 13 December 1985

Massacre in Malta—Contra Murder in Nicaragua

Reagan's Terrorists

DECEMBER 9—The world got a taste of Ronald Reagan's "war on terrorism" recently, and 57 innocent people lost their lives. The fiery carnage took place in Malta, but this massacre was clearly made in U.S.A.

Now even more than fear of being hijacked, air travelers are scared stiff of being "rescued." Well they should be—from KAL Flight 007 to Egyptair Flight 648, the rulers of the "free world" have made it clear they consider airline passengers as pawns in their Cold War against the Soviet Union and its "surrogates." And as "Rambo" Reagan, along with his Egyptian and Israeli allies, turn the Mediterranean into a sea of death and destruction, imperialist-backed "contras" are spreading state-supported terrorism from Afghanistan to Nicaragua.

Cambio 16

Sygma

Carnage in Malta: Egyptian commandos sort through bodies of passengers killed in Reagan-inspired assault.

It began as another one of those Near East skyjackings: ten minutes out of Athens airport, the Egyptian airliner was seized by "three to five" hijackers, reportedly members of a "pro-Libyan" Palestinian group. But as the gunmen were collecting passports they approached a plainclothes Egyptian "security guard," who opened fire, triggering a shoot-out in the air. The guard was shot up, possibly along with some passengers, and the rattled kidnappers told the plane to land at Malta. But the nightmare had just begun.

Once on the ground, the hijackers started shooting one passenger every 15 or 30 minutes, demanding fuel for the aircraft which the Maltese government refused. It was cold-blooded murder. Six bodies were dumped off the plane, assumed dead, although most actually survived. At the same time, a number of passengers, mostly women, were allowed to leave, indicating a possible opening for negotiations, or at least to stall for time. But it was not to be—a Reaganite "counterterrorist" operation was already in the works.

Following the hijacking of a TWA airliner to Beirut earlier this year, Reagan told a press conference, "After seeing *Rambo* last night, I know what to do next time." So when the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* was hijacked by a squad of incompetent Palestinian terrorists in October, the celluloid president put his shoot-'em-up fantasies into action. Dispatching fighter jets from U.S. aircraft carriers on station in the Mediterranean, he brazenly ordered the skyjacking of the Egyptian 737 on which the ship hijackers were being spirited out of the country.

Humiliated by the *Achille Lauro* affair, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak decided it was time to "stand tall" like Reagan. (Ironically, the airliner in Malta was the very same craft which a few weeks earlier the Americans had forced down in Sicily!) There would be no negotiations with the hijackers—that would be considered "soft on terrorism." It was time for a bold "anti-terrorist" stroke. As soon as Egyptian commandos landed in Malta, they attacked immediately, not even attempting to surprise the Palestinian hijackers.

Who directly caused the explosion and ensuing fire which led to the deaths of most of the passengers is unclear, though claims that the hijackers threw phosphorus grenades are evidently false. But that is immaterial: the Palestinian terrorists had already shown they were murderers, and the Egyptian commandos made no effort whatsoever to limit casualties. Passengers reported that they entered the aircraft firing indiscriminately. But the results brought cheers from the U.S., which lauded the "firm action."

Secretary of State George Shultz exulted, "the way to get after these people is to get after them with both barrels"—and to hell with the hostages they're supposedly trying to rescue! The slaughter was right in line with Reagan's 1984 National Security Decision Directive 138, calling for pre-emptive and reprisal "counterterrorist" terrorist strikes. It was putting into practice the mercenary slogan, "kill 'em all and let god sort them out." While publicly claiming that the execution of the assault was "an Egyptian action," the White House clearly wanted to take credit for macho "firmness." And it turns out that the Egyptian commandos were accompanied by three U.S. officers, including Brigadier General Robert Wiegand, who trained Special Forces at Fort Bragg (*Washington Post*, 3 December).

This was only the tip of the iceberg of American involvement in the Malta

continued on page 11

For a Bolshevik Party!

South Africa: Black Union Federation Launched

Singing freedom songs and sporting red T-shirts with the slogan, "One country, one federation," 10,000 black South African workers rallied at King's Stadium in the port city of Durban on December 1 to launch the Congress of South African Trade Unions. In founding COSATU, with its half-million members, South Africa's overwhelmingly black proletariat has created its strongest organization in a century of struggle against hideous superexploitation by apartheid capitalism.

From the Witwatersrand mining houses to Wall Street board rooms, the capitalists are well aware that this "super-federation" with 34 member unions covering the mines, harbors, transport, metal industries and retail trade has the power to bring the South African economy to a standstill. Coming after almost 18 months of continuous nationwide revolt, COSATU's birth expressed above all the desire of the black toilers to utterly smash apartheid.

But trade unionism, however militant, is not enough to liberate the non-white masses of South Africa, or even to significantly ameliorate the hellish conditions in which they work and "live." Any serious class struggle against the white supremacist bosses and their police state poses the question of *power*. For the oppressed to emerge victorious from the inevitable civil war, they must be organized and

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AFP

Durban: Delegates cheer the formation of COSATU, the strongest black labor organization in South African history.

Anti-Trotskyist Regroupment Flunks

It was billed as a two-day conference of "Trotskyists and revolutionary socialists," but there was certainly nothing revolutionary about this *anti*-Trotskyist confab. The "unity" conference that wasn't was hrokered by one Steve Bryant, lone U.S. supporter of British ex-Healyite Alan Thornett. (Bryant, who changes organizational affiliation as often as he changes his socks, currently goes hy the handle of Workers Socialist League.) Among the topics listed for discussion were, "What do we mean by Trotskyism? Do we need to expand upon it, re-evaluate it, find new ways to apply it, get rid of some of it?"

For the two dozen turkeys and leftovers that gathered Thanksgiving weekend in San Francisco, this was clearly a rhetorical question. Answering the "unity" call were Harry Turner, now calling himself the "International Socialist League" (after a self-admitted "purely organizational" split from the Morenoite IWP); Margaret Brecht's Trotskyist Organization; Kay Ellens' Spark; Clara Kaye's Freedom Socialist Party; and assorted gadflies like ex-Socialist Workers Party member David Keil, who's made a profession of the rotten-bloc business. There were almost more "organizations" present or invited than people attending.

Most of these Trotskyoid *lider minimos* have spent the bulk of their political lives splashing around in their own puddles. But now that Jack Barnes has openly renounced Trotskyism and expelled scores of old SWP cadres. Bryant et al. want to get in the swim. "What went wrong with the SWP?" was one of the questions up for discussion. There's a lot of ex-SWPers out there, Bryant noted, but their choices for new homes "are all too numerous." The problem for these centrist minnows is that they're not substantial enough to be bait for the bigger fish in the reformist swamp.

Including Barnes' outfit, the "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel now has no less than *four* affiliated groups in the U.S.! But Bryant's appeal didn't net any of them. Among the groups issuing from the SWP purge, Nat Weinstein's Socialist Action is oriented toward a wing of the Bay Area trade-union bureaucracy. The Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) is hopelessly wedded to getting back into the SWP. Socialist Unity has other fish to fry, looking toward "left" social-democratic forces for a fusion with Workers Power and other remnants of the Shachtmanite International Socialists.

In reality, they've all abandoned the Trotskyist position on the Russian question. "What do we really think ahout the USSR today?" was Bryant's appeal to the "Third Camp." The touchstone for this "unity" movement is support for Polish Solidarność' counterrevolutionary hid to restore capitalism. Thereby they abandon the urgent duty for class-conscious workers to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet hloc against the imperialist war drive. Significantly, one of the invited groups was the Russia-hating Revolutionary Socialist League.

The hig unmentionable was the Spartacist League, which in the wake of the demise of Barnes' SWP has become *the* recognized Trotskyist organization in the U.S. The SL is the only left opposition expelled from the SWP to establish itself as a viable international tendency, precisely because of our programmatic consistency. Anyone proposing to seriously discuss Trotskyism and the SWP must come to grips with the SL. But our request for an observer was flatly turned down. You couldn't ask for a clearer exposure of Bryant's empty Trotskyist pretensions.

But then that's not what they were about at all. The conference theme, "Your Trotskyism and Ours," was an obvious take-off on Jack Barnes' speech, "Their Trotsky and Ours," in which he condemns the founder of the Fourth International as an "ultraleft" and rejects the permanent revolution. While we were persona non grata, naturally the "External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency" (now rechristened the "Bolshevik Tendency"), a coterie of embittered ex-members who quit the SL with the advent of the Reagan years, was effusively welcomed. Evidently the criteria for attendance were: 1) you had to be able to pronounce it "Trotskyist" and not "Trotskyite" (that would be too Stalinist); 2) you couldn't be a Spartacist (that would be too Trotskyist).

Just in time for Bryant's "unity" conference *manqué*, the latest *Spartacist* documenting and analyzing the split in the British Healyites appeared. We sold 15 copies, to over half the participants. One of the hapless attendees remarked upon seeing our sales team, "Is this where the real discussion is?" We certainly know where it wasn't. As for the conference, we can only quote Oscar Wilde's remark about the favorite sport of the British aristocracy, fox hunting: a case of the "unspeakable in full pursuit of the uneatable." To that we add, "Bon Appétit." ■

TROTSKY

Defense of the Soviet Union

For Trotsky, defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack was central to the regroupment of revolutionary forces into a new Fourth International, key to defending the gains of the Russian October. Today, this question is, if anything, even more urgent for those who seek to reforge the world party of socialist revolution.

LENIN

Every big war, irrespective of its initial motives, must pose squarely the question of military intervention against the USSR in order to transfuse fresh blood into the sclerotic veins of capitalism.

The indubitable and deepgoing bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state as well as the national-conservative character of its foreign policy do not change the social nature of the Soviet Union as that of the first workers' state. All kinds of democratic, idealistic, ultraleft and anarchistic theories, ignoring the character of Soviet property relations, which is socialistic in its tendencies, and denying or glossing over the class contradiction between the USSR and the bourgeois state, must lead inevitably, and especially in case of war, to counterrevolutionary political conclusions.

Defense of the Soviet Union from the blows of the capitalist enemies, irrespective of the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict, is the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization.

—Leon Trotsky, "War and the Fourth International" (June 1934)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 393 **13 December 1985**

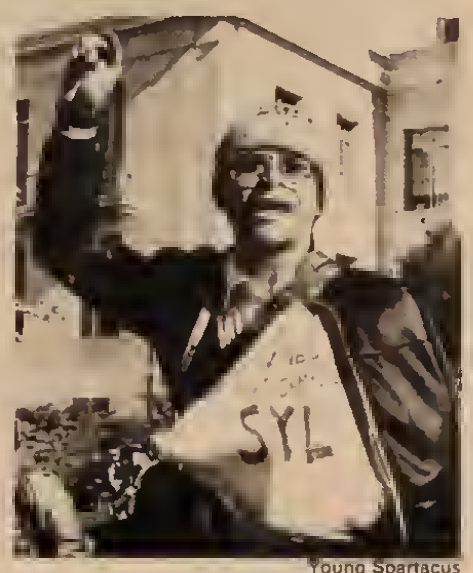
Free Speech Under Attack at Berkeley

All Out to Defend Guillermo Bermúdez!

The University of California/Berkeley, home of the Free Speech Movement, has again taken center stage in anti-imperialist protests, as leftist students fight cop beatings, legal frame-ups and administrative reprisals. In the last year, *hundreds* of anti-apartheid militants, opponents of ROTC and U.S. war moves on Central America have been arrested on trumped-up charges, but so far the UC administration has failed to net even one conviction. Now the university has set up its own kangaroo court, the Office of Student Conduct, as a political purge body to weed out the "troublemakers" and intimidate all opponents of U.S. imperialism.

UC's frame-up of Guillermo Bermúdez, a Hispanic Berkeley student and member of the Spartacus Youth League, is key to the administration's drive to quash political protest. Guillermo was arrested last January for leading a successful protest against Marine recruiters. Fearing that their lying charges that Guillermo assaulted the cops who nearly choked him to death and broke his arm wouldn't stand up in court, the university hauled Guillermo into a star chamber hearing on December 5 in a blatant attempt to pre-empt his trial in the Berkeley municipal courts.

SYL members built a spirited picket line outside this kangaroo court, chanting, "Down with UC's inquisitions! Try the cops, not their victims!" Inside, noted civil rights attorney and counsel for Bermúdez, Howard Moore, charged that the "hearing" was a flagrant violation of Guillermo's constitutional rights. After two hours of debate, the university insisted on their prerogative to determine "legitimate" or "illegitimate" student conduct and moved to continue the hearing on January 30.



Young Spartacus

SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez

Meanwhile, Guillermo's court case is set to go to trial on December 16. All out to defend Guillermo! Pack the courtroom! An important index of support for Guillermo is the nearly $2,000 that has been raised door-to-door in Berkeley. But it will take a lot more than this to beat these charges in court. We appeal to all *Workers Vanguard* readers to make a contribution today. Make checks payable to the Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. ■

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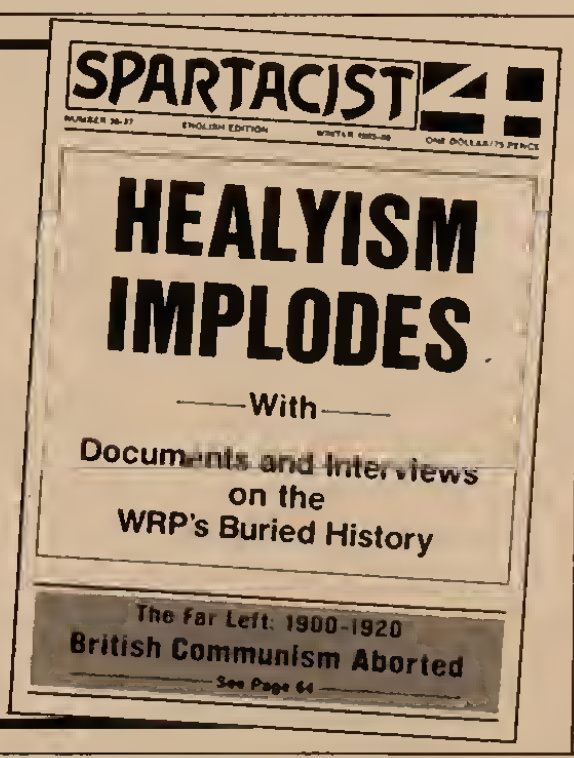

Medical Cuts: Poor Pay with Their Lives

Death by "Dumping" at Oakland's Highland Hospital

OAKLAND, December 7—Sharon Ford is black and poor in Reagan's racist America, and that is why her baby is dead. The Richmond, California woman, nine months pregnant, went into labor December 1. Sharon knew something was going wrong, and she was in severe pain. Her husband rushed her to a nearby private hospital, which refused to admit her. The desperate couple then drove to Oakland's private Merritt Hospital, where doctors confirmed that the umbilical cord was wrapped around the baby.

As Sharon Ford's pain increased, the hospital staff demanded to see an insurance card. Her distraught husband could not find the card in her purse at first, and by the time he did, the hospital's computer had already declared—falsely, as it turns out—that she did not have insurance. So the staff turned the couple away, telling them to go to the county hospital. By the time they got there and the baby was delivered, it was dead.

The obstetrician who made the last-ditch effort to save Sharon Ford's baby at Alameda County's Highland Hospital said, "This was a full-term baby that would have been alive right now if the system hadn't shuffled her around." The baby's father, Lowell Thomas, asked, "Hell, what's my baby's life worth? Seventeen hundred? Eighteen hundred? Surely a life's worth more than that" (Oakland *Tribune*, 4 and 5 December).

Pearman/Oakland Tribune

Highland Hospital house of horrors.

But to America's racist rulers, the lives of black men, women and children are worth less than nothing. While screaming about the "right to life" in order to whip up a reactionary anti-abortion frenzy, they condemn poor children to death every day in the charnel houses called "public hospitals." Fifty years ago black people bled to death because ambulances refused to take them to "whites only" hospitals. In 1985 the color bar comes at the front desk: "Pay now or die."

Racism and Death at Highland Hospital

Alameda County's Highland Hospital is a case in point. While the county is 82 percent white, its acute care hospital is located in the 47 percent black city of Oakland. Premeditated racist murder is the only name for the conscious, deliberate policy of slashing funds for Highland. Administered by the all-Democrat county Board of Supervisors, Highland Hospital is a dumping ground for the poorest and sickest people in the county, a house of horrors where conditions seem like they're out of another century.

Highland has been notorious for years, the subject of 23 county grand jury investigations, but matters have reached crisis proportions in recent months. Last August a State Health Board team descended on the hospital for a surprise inspection. And while the administrators screamed "witchhunt," the inspectors came up with a *38-page* list of atrocities. As a result of complaints by the association of interns and residents and by the SEIU union, top hospital officials were forced out. But the appalling conditions at Highland Hospital are far more than a personnel problem. They're a reflection of the vicious cutbacks ravaging the nation's health care system.

The Health Board report cited filth everywhere, exposed feces and overflowing containers of infectious wastes, intensive care units with no hand-washing facilities. Surgery was performed without vital medical records. A dungeon-like basement "psychiatric court" holds hearings where

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Protest at S.F. General

Black Unionist Fights Jim Crow

SAN FRANCISCO—A major public hospital planned to build a special toilet so that white craftsmen wouldn't have to share one with a black worker. The Deep South during the heyday of Jim Crow? No, it's "liberal" San Francisco under Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein, in 1985. On November 12, Neil Humphrey, an administrator at San Francisco General Hospital, announced plans for a "separate but unequal" bathroom to ensure that Jeff Higgins, a black electrician, would not use the same facilities as the white carpenters and painters.

In response to this outrage, on December 4 some 60 militants including more than a dozen SF General workers struck back, joining in a spirited demonstration outside the hospital called by the Labor Black League for Social Defense. Demonstrators chanted: "Stop racist attacks at SF General—Stop union-busting!" "Down with Jim Crow—No white-only toilets!" and "1, 2, 3, 4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!"

Protesters and the numerous sympathetic onlookers who watched the demonstration from open windows and the hospital balcony cheered as Higgins told the crowd: "In spite of the racist disciplinary warnings that I've been given, we in the Labor Black League for Social Defense are not intimidated. We know that black and working people have never won anything without a fight. And if it's a fight this racist administration wants, it's a fight they'll get!"

Frightened and embarrassed by this show of militancy the hospital bosses have reportedly dropped their plans for

WV Photos

Protest outside SF General Hospital called by Labor Black League for Social Defense, December 4. Inset: IBEW member Jeff Higgins, hospital's only black electrician.

a Jim Crow toilet. But these racists haven't surrendered. They're just retreating. Their new scheme is to add yet a third (!) door to the carpenters and painters bathroom—i.e., the intention is clearly that entrances in these shops will be for whites only! Down with segregation! Down with the SF General brass and their grotesque and obscene racist insults! The unions must immediately undertake a program of training and upgrading of minority workers for skilled positions.

The racism at the city-run hospital has been so blatant that the city Health Commission was forced to call a hearing on October 22. Twenty black hospital workers attended, and witnesses detailed a pervasive pattern of racial slurs, demeaning job assignments, racist suspensions and firings. Several testified that supervisors routinely call them "my little boys and girls." The *San Francisco Chronicle* (23 October) quoted Higgins saying, "They don't want to use the same bathrooms as a black man.... This is South Africa right here in San Francisco."

Among recent incidents at SF General:

• A ten-year black food-service worker with four children was thrown out of the kitchen by hospital police and faces a 15-day suspension for "insubordination and rude and impertinent [!] language"—because he told his white supervisor he wasn't responsible for preparing a particular food item and suggested she take care of it.

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NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.
Our next issue will be dated January 3.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

led by a class-conscious vanguard infused with the understanding that those who labor must rule.

A Bolshevik party in South Africa must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular frontism, counterposing the program of *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now is the time for internationalist revolutionaries—black African, coloured (mixed-race), Indian and white alike—to undertake the construction of communist nuclei, in and oriented toward the workers movement, laying the basis for a racially integrated Leninist workers party.

Black Unions and Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism

During the early 1980s independent black and coloured unions grew explosively and became the main organs of mass resistance to apartheid. However, since the revolts erupted in the black townships in September 1984, the potentially powerful organized black working class has been largely on the sidelines. Commenting on the formation of COSATU, the *New York Times* (1 December) observed:

Work In Progress

Cyril Ramaphosa, leader of union of black mine workers.

> "...in the last fourteen months of unrest, during which 900 people have been killed, community organizations in segregated black townships, rather than labor unions, have been at the forefront of protest. On only one occasion, a year ago, did labor unions mobilize their members, for a two-day work boycott that paralyzed many businesses in Johannesburg."

This is certainly *not* due to any lack of courage and combativity on the part of the ranks and organizers. Nor is it simply because of the labor movement's fragmentation, a weakness which the "super-union" is intended to overcome. It is due to the absence of revolutionary leadership at the head of the workers movement. Union leaders have responded to the greatest crisis of the apartheid state in a generation with a narrow economism, on the one hand, and passive support to petty-bourgeois nationalism on the other.

The formation of COSATU certainly strengthens the economic power of black workers, and for this reason is to be welcomed by communists. But it also underscores the danger that the black working class will be used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. The new federation is demonstrably closer to the liberal nationalist African National Congress (ANC) than were the main union groupings which came together to form COSATU.

Both the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) had deliberately chosen *not* to affiliate to the United Democratic Front (UDF)—an all-embracing popular front bringing together everything from trade unions to sports clubs, religious councils and traders associations—behind which stands the ANC. But at the opening of the COSATU conference NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa declared that workers "have to win the confidence of other classes" and "have to get into alliance with other progressive organizations."

This is fully in keeping with the ANC's long-standing strategy of seeking a deal with the "liberal" English-speaking bourgeoisie represented by Harry Oppenheimer and his Anglo American Corp., the mammoth mining and manufacturing conglomerate. The influence of ANC-style nationalism on COSATU is embodied in its president, the NUM's Elijah Barayi. In his inaugural speech, Barayi delivered a "last warning" to South African president P.W. Botha to "get rid of the pass laws and to withdraw the troops from the townships before the country burns":

> "COSATU gives Botha six months to get rid of passes. If that does not take place we will burn the passes of the black man."
>
> —*Guardian* [London], 2 December

Barayi also called on Botha to resign, to be replaced by imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela. His call for a defiance campaign recalls the pass-burnings of the 1950s against the hated document that brands every South African black person a foreigner and chattel in his own country. That campaign ended in the bloody massacre at Sharpeville in 1960, leading to the suppression of all organized resistance to apartheid for over a decade.

This historic disaster was prepared by a vain belief that the white supremacist regime would bend if defiant protesters were willing to fill the jails. After the Sharpeville massacre the ANC abandoned nonviolence. But whether through guerrilla attacks or lobbying at the United Nations, it still pursues a policy of pressuring the apartheid regime to negotiate its own liquidation. For all his militant talk, Barayi echoed the weepy black liberals like Bishop Tutu when he called on the government to create conditions for peaceful change before it is too late.

Mendel/AFP

Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, defies government ban in Mamelodi, demanding vengeance for martyred anti-apartheid fighters.

If the top leadership of COSATU appears clearly in the ANC camp, those black unions which have remained outside the new federation represent the other main current of petty-bourgeois black nationalism, the Black Consciousness Movement which excludes whites, holding that only blacks can organize blacks. The largest of these groupings is the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), which has been rather tame in the workplace and is affiliated to the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The second main Black Consciousness labor group is the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions, allied with the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which avows a "socialist" program that equates the class line with the race line. AZAPO opposes imperialist liberals like Teddy Kennedy, whom the ANC cultivates, while identifying "socialism" with Zimbabwe's tribally based, neocolonial despotism.

The issue of racial exclusionism in South African trade unions is far more than a tactical question. It is in the proletariat's interest that the union movement be open to all workers—black, coloured, Indian and white. Only *class* organization of the oppressed and exploited can transcend the tribal and ethnic divisions fostered by apartheid in its policy of "divide and rule." Furthermore, dedicated anti-apartheid white South Africans (like the martyred Neil Aggett) have played an important role in building the black unions.

Multiracialism in the South African labor movement points toward a genuinely multiracial South Africa under a black-centered workers government. Indeed, if post-apartheid South Africa is to be anything but a Zimbabwe writ large, there had better be a place for the white minority, with its relatively high level of cultural and technological skills, which can be a valuable resource in the socialist reconstruction of all Africa. But a multiracial South Africa can be built only on the basis of a workers revolution, not classless appeals for brotherly reconciliation.

Danger of Betrayal

The National Union of Mineworkers with 150,000 members is the largest and most important component of COSATU. The half million deeply oppressed migrant black gold miners stand at the heart of South Africa's economy. The NUM is the first black union to really establish itself in the mines, and its development raises crucial questions about the direction of the whole union movement.

The general secretary of the NUM and the leading figure at the founding of COSATU is the articulate, ambitious 33-year-old lawyer Cyril Ramaphosa. After a spell in security police detention for his activities in the Black Consciousness Movement in the mid-'70s, Ramaphosa went on to serve on the board of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by the Oppenheimer empire to promote a black middle class. When Anglo American decided—after a series of bloody wildcat strikes in the mines—to allow the growth of "responsible" unions with which it could bargain, Ramaphosa launched the NUM.

Harry Oppenheimer may have expected the NUM to behave something like a company union, but the practically slave labor conditions in the mining compounds have produced an explosive situation. Class struggle in the Witwatersrand gold fields in recent years has been especially bloody and desperate even by South African standards. The mine workers union has been involved in countless job actions, many of them attacked by police with tear gas, *sjamboks* (whips) and shotguns. If Ramaphosa has remained free while many other black unionists have been jailed, this is not just because he is the kind of "moderate" Anglo American can talk to, but also because he leads a powerful union with a combative membership.

The Ramaphosa leadership has sabotaged that power and militancy. This was sharply revealed in the aborted miners strike last August-September. Coming at a time of mass defiance against Botha's state of emergency and with the international capital flight from South Africa, a *nationwide* gold mine strike could have been a most powerful blow against the apartheid regime. Other unions including the strategic Metal Workers offered to strike in solidarity. The whole world was watching the gold fields. But what happened?

First the NUM dragged out negotiations, complying with every clause of apartheid legislation for a "legal" strike, while thousands of miners were besieged in their hostels and shipped off to the bantustans. Eventually, Ramaphosa signed an agreement with all the mining houses (including Anglo American) save one, and struck only seven mines at the beginning of September. This was presented as a smart move "splitting the bosses." Instead it was the union that was split. The cops and army prepared their forces as if for war, naturally concentrating on the few mines actually struck. The courageous miners who walked out were ruthlessly crushed almost as the strike began.

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Vengeance for MOVE Martyrs!

On December 5, seven months after Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode and the Philly cops burned alive eleven members of the black MOVE group and their children, Louise James, LaVerne Sims and their family buried John and Frank Africa. We have repeatedly denounced and exposed this racist mass murder, at a time when many were criminally silent or obscenely blamed the victims. The Osage Avenue massacre, carried out by a black Democratic mayor, is the symbol of the Reagan years. This bloody state terror of the American ruling class must never be forgotten. *Workers Vanguard* spoke with Louise James shortly after the funeral, and we print below her anguished cry for vengeance.

Now "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode and the City of Philadelphia are *suing* Louise James and Ramona Africa, one of the two survivors of Goode and Reagan's May 13 bombing of MOVE, for "some or all damages that the city may be ordered to pay" (*New York Times*, 29 November). While Ramona Africa remains in jail, while nine other MOVE members, many of whose children were murdered on Osage Avenue on May 13, are still behind bars for defending themselves from the cops' 1978 siege against MOVE, murderer Goode wants his victims to pay for his hideous crime! This is like sending the survivors of the Auschwitz Nazi death camp the gas bill! Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE members!

Louise James: On Thursday afternoon, shortly after the noon hour, LaVerne and I actually looked at, for the first time, the bodies of the two people that we buried. We looked at a torso, our brother, the likes of which I've never seen before and I'll remember for as long as I live. Nothing but charred, burnt, black remains, and I literally mean remains. My son...charred and burned beyond recognition.... We had to look, and we had to see for ourselves what this city had done to our people. As God is my witness, I will not rest ever again until the murderers who did that to my people are put in jail for as long a term as I can get them.... I would have it that they would sit in an electric chair until they die.

And I am talking about every single cop who leveled more than 10,000 rounds of ammunition in that house; about Commissioner Sambor, who supervised that operation; about Leo Brooks, who oversaw as managing director; about Fire Commissioner Richmond who sat on this fence with Sambor and swung their legs while my people burned to death. Where he wouldn't order to put out a fire that he was looking at. I'm talking about Wilson Goode who watched on television! The mayor of a city watched on television! I'm talking about Frank Powell, who dropped that bomb.... God knows I want every one of them to pay, and they have got to pay.

Kanus/NY Post

NYC Killer Cops, "Your Day Will Come!"

An outraged crowd gathered outside a Manhattan courthouse November 24, after an all-white jury let off six transit cops in the racist choke-hold/beating death of Michael Stewart. In the wake of the whitewash verdict, the killer cops are gloating over their victory, while Democratic Party pols and hustlers have moved in to deflect the anger of the black masses into "safe" channels. At a November 26 meeting protesting the verdict, Brooklyn minister Herbert Daughtry's efforts to pacify the crowd were met by angry shouts. Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Manhattan borough president in the recent NYC elections, counterposed a program to *fight* cop terror to Daughtry and others who tie blacks and labor to the capitalist parties. Kartsen summed up the lessons to be learned from the cop lynch mob murder of Michael Stewart: "It's *obvious* that Koch is a racist pig. The real obstacles are the people who say Koch is a racist but have nothing concrete to say about fighting cop terror. All these proposals for empty 'investigations' and impotent 'review boards' just open the way for more bloody lynchings. There is no justice in the capitalist courts. We need labor/black defense against racist terrorists. We demand vengeance for Michael Stewart! Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party! For black liberation through socialist revolution!"■

The effect of this betrayal goes far beyond the mines. As the gold strike loomed, the ANC leadership had scheduled talks in Lusaka, Zambia with a delegation of South African magnates headed by Gavin Relly, Oppenheimer's successor as chairman of Anglo American. Had the NUM waged an all-out strike, this meeting, held in mid-September, would have blown up in the participants' faces. One labor expert hit the mark when he explained that Ramaphosa did not call out the whole union because "he did not want to ruin his relationship with Anglo American" (*New York Times*, 6 September).

The ANC has long looked to this preeminent representative of the "liberal" bourgeoisie to pressure the Pretoria regime. This is the suicidal strategy of the popular front. Anglo American, the biggest superexploiter of black migrant labor in South Africa, which installs secret gas vents in the mine compounds to deal with strikers, is as much an enemy of the black oppressed as the most *verkrampte* (reactionary) Afrikaner Nationalists. The aborted gold mine strike demonstrates graphically how trade-union economism and nationalism combine to derail class struggle against apartheid.

Smash Apartheid!
For Workers Revolution!

While Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders are talking with Gavin Relly and his fellow "progressive" South African capitalists, they are also calling upon the black masses to "make the townships ungovernable." This is the policy of chaos. It can inconvenience the apartheid rulers for a time, but it will not overthrow them. Nor is it intended to: the ANC is pursuing the utopian and reactionary goal of "power-sharing," seeking to pressure the bosses into letting a layer of petty-bourgeois black leaders share in the superexploitation of black labor. The very restless black masses in South Africa today are very far from having an instrument—a revolutionary workers party—for taking power.

Barayi put the authority of COSATU behind the campaign for divestment, another aspect of the policy of chaos, trying to "make the economy ungovernable" by appealing to the imperialist mass murderers of Hiroshima and Vietnam to put the squeeze on their South African allies, to get them to clean up their act. Barayi was faithful to the strategy that led to Sharpeville when he justified divestment saying, "Let us all suffer together; that will force the Government to abolish apartheid" (*Financial Times* [London], 2 December).

But the imperialists have already "disinvested" billions of dollars, pounds and deutschemarks from South Africa, and it has not stayed the hand of the murderous apartheid police state hotchers one whit. For Botha knows that the Wall Street, London and Frankfurt bankers are waiting for the imposition of social peace, even if it is a "peace" of the graveyards, and the billions will flow back seeking superprofits, the golden spoils of apartheid slavery.

The policy of chaos dangerously underestimates the potential repressive power of the white rulers, who are now in considerable disarray and deeply politically divided. If South Africa's rulers cannot govern the segregated black townships, they can still isolate and destroy them. A South African Hitler—and there are plenty of candidates for this role—could seal off the townships, blow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off electricity, food and water...and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of dead would secure "social peace" in South Africa for a generation.

Der Spiegel

Apartheid troops in "hippo" armored personnel carriers terrorize black Soweto. Liberal divestment schemes will not stay the bloody hand of Pretoria.

If the racist rulers in Pretoria have not yet moved toward such a Hitlerite "final solution," they *are* wantonly slaughtering black township dwellers. At a mass funeral in Mamelodi for the latest victims, anti-apartheid fighter Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, defied Botha's banning order and proclaimed: "This is our country. In the same way as you have had to bury our children today, so shall the blood of these heroes we buried today be avenged." Her courageous words speak for all supporters of social justice.

But how will the martyrs of apartheid terror be avenged? Certainly not by calls to make the townships ungovernable, and still less by talks with Oppenheimer/Relly & Co. and appeals to Wall Street to disinvest in South Africa. It is the powerful and combative black proletariat, under the leadership of a Bolshevik party, which will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism and the avenger of its crimes. On that grave will arise a black-centered workers government, the only road to the liberation of black Africa from the chains of neocolonial exploitation and imperialist domination.■

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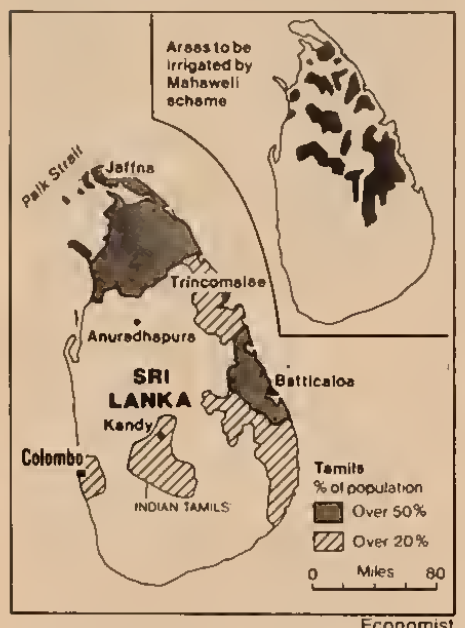
No U.S. War Base at Trincomalee! Defend the Tamils!

Bloody Communal Terror in Sri Lanka

The bloody suppression of the Tamil minority of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) by the racialist mobs and troops of the right-wing government of J.R. Jayewardene feeds the spiraling horror of communalist slaughter on this Indian Ocean island. The victims are innocent civilians among both the mainly Hindu Tamils and the Buddhist Sinhalese majority. Trying to escape bloody government-instigated pogroms of July 1983, when hundreds of Tamils were burned or hacked to death, hundreds of thousands of Tamils fled to the Northern and Eastern provinces. The result was the de facto partition of the island. The government has accelerated this brutal forced population transfer by resettling Sinhalese colonists into formerly Tamil areas, notably around Trincomalee.

The strategic naval port of Trincomalee has emerged at the center of the bloody conflict between Tamils fighting for their liberation and their oppressors, the government of Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP). Recent reports in the Indian press describe air force bombing raids over Tamil areas of



Economist

Trincomalee, helicopter strafing of nearby villages and temples, and naval gunboats strafing coastal villages (*The Hindu*, 13 November). Some 80,000 have fled their homes into squalid refugee camps.

The battle for Trincomalee is not just a matter of national justice vs. oppression. Sri Lanka is separated from India only by the 30-mile-wide Palk Strait. Possession of Trincomalee gave Britain the edge over its rivals in the conquest of India and thus Britain's leading imperial position in the 19th century. Now, U.S. imperialism wants Trincomalee as a key link in the military chain that runs from Simonstown, near Cape Town, South Africa through Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean to the CIA spy post in Alice Springs, Australia and the U.S. war bases in the Philippines. It's all part of imperialism's crusade against the Soviet Union and social revolution around the globe. In a display of military backing for Jayewardene, the U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* and three other ships scheduled a four-day visit to Colombo in November.

Since World War II, the "salami tactics" of Sinhalese nationalism have meant intensifying communal polarization in Ceylon. Under British colonialism, the civil service was run by the "Burghers" (descendants of intermarriages with Portuguese, Dutch and British colonialists), with the Tamils in between, and the Sinhalese hardly represented at all. With independence in 1948, the Europeans were ousted. Within two years the Burghers were squeezed out. Then the policy of "Sinhala only" was introduced to go after the Ceylon Tamils (the Indian Tamils in the hill country plantations having no rights in any case). Now they're going after the Muslims, Christians and all other ethnically/religiously "impure," in the name of this petty-bourgeois socialism/nationalism.

The "socialism" of the populist SLFP was corruption and nepotism, assigning incompetent Bandaranaike nephews to collect the taxes and administer the tea estates. Even Jayewardene's right-wing UNP talks socialism, although his version is more Reaganite. Lately he has been trying to reverse "Sinhala only," since discovering that Sinhala is not a world language in which one can sign contracts for cheap textiles with Frankfurt bankers. He also feels the weight of tens of millions of Tamils across the straits in Tamil Nadu, and the knowledge that New Delhi could annex the island in a simple mopping-up operation. So J.R.'s murderous repression of the Tamil people in Lanka is combined with genuflection toward Rajiv Gandhi's India.

Communal Terror and "Negotiations"

After the massacre by armed Tamils of some 150 Sinhalese civilians at the Buddhist holy city Anuradhapura in May, the Indian government exerted pressure to get negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and Tamil groups. While denying responsibility for this indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) justified it as a reprisal and a demonstration of the ability to strike in the Sinhala heartland. Immediately a mood of dismay and despair at the widening cost of the war did prevail in wide layers of the Sinhalese. This gave Jayewardene, always under pressure from Sinhala hardliners, the opportunity to accept negotiations. But in the longer run the massacre fueled Sinhala xenophobia, and crucially it gave Indian premier, Rajiv Gandhi, the pretext to crack down on the exile Tamil groups and compel them to attend negotiations in Thimpu, capital of the Himalayan principality of Bhutan.

The negotiations between the Jayewardene regime and the Tamil organizations—which run the gamut from the bourgeois parliamentarist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) to the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamileelam (PLOTE) and four other guerrilla groups based in southern India and grouped under the umbrella of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF)—have so far produced only a fruitless cycle of negotiations, truces and renewed massacres. A flimsy "cessation of hostilities" was established on June 18. Throughout the first phase of the negotiations the Sri Lankan government stonewalled, offering nothing but the phony district council proposals earlier put forward as a sop at the Round Table Conference last year. Phase II of the talks lasted barely six days and was terminated on August 19 after the Sri Lankan army massacred hundreds of Tamil civilians in Vavuniya and Trincomalee. The only meaningful "ceasefire" proposal would be the immediate withdrawal of the army and police from Tamil areas, the release of all Tamil political prisoners and the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Wimalasena/The Island

Vehicles entering Colombo searched at police checkpoint.

Jayewardene's Military Buildup

Meanwhile Sri Lanka has been reorganizing, re-equipping and expanding its forces, purchasing fast patrol boats, attack helicopters and transport planes. Despite official denials, anyone riding a bus down Galle Road can see new counterinsurgency aircraft, Italian SIAI-Marchettis, training at the Ratmalana airport outside Colombo. Besides the Israeli advisers and "former" Special Air Service commandos from Britain, Rhodesian pilots and other mercenaries have been hired to handle the new equipment, for which South Africa is reportedly a prime source. With National Security minister Lalith Athulathmudali talking of the need for a 100,000-man armed forces, the UNP government rammed legislation through parliament in one day on October 10 empowering the conscription of anyone over 18 years of age. This draconian act will also serve to legitimize the UNP goon squads/private armies that are in the forefront of the anti-Tamil communalist killings.

For many Tamils the "ceasefire" simply never existed. Only on the Jaffna Peninsula was it reasonably effective—because the army has been beaten back and forced to stay in its few large camps. Fresh atrocities in the Mannar district drove new waves of refugees to India. The mid-August army massacres sealed the fate of the Thimpu talks. Said one Tamil negotiator: "With two massacres in two days, if we resume the talks, our cadres will put a bullet in our hack" (*Frontline*, 7-20 September). The Tamil groups claimed that more than 800 Tamils were killed during the "ceasefire."

But it is around Trincomalee that the main battle has been taking place. "Home Guards," mobs of lumpen criminal elements armed by the government and led by UNP politicians, have rampaged through the town, looting, burning, killing with the tacit and often overt support of the police and armed forces. Even elements of the government now fear these private armies. Tens of thousands of Tamils have fled Trincomalee town, while in a reciprocal process Sinhalese villagers have been driven from areas controlled by the Tamil groups. The government controls the town, but guerrilla groups hold a wide belt to the north along the coast and an area on the south of Kottiyar Bay. Between the end of the Thimpu talks and the institution of a second ceasefire on October 10, several large-scale government operations were mounted, little more than reprisal raids in force, without fundamentally altering the military balance.

The Jayewardene regime has instituted a conscious policy of forced population transfers to drive the Tamils out of economically viable areas. A government plan envisages colonizing 200,000 Sinhalese settlers into areas brought under irrigation by the massive Mahaweli project, areas which were formerly mainly Tamil. Tamils, once a majority in Trincomalee district, have now been reduced to a minority by Sinhalese colonization combined with systematic state terror. Some 200,000 Tamils fled to the Northern and Eastern provinces after the July 1983 massacres, and another 150,000 fled abroad, mostly

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Tamil Information

Tamil victims of state terror in Batticaloa.

U.S. Cold Warriors Fund Fascists

"AFL-CIA" and the French Connection

Libération

CIA "labor" operative and roving AFL-CIO anti-Communist union-buster Irving Brown addresses French union.

PARIS, December 9—Recently the cover was blown on the latest American program of Cold War "dirty tricks." Under the headline, "Reagan's Secret Funds in France," the Paris daily *Libération* (27 November) revealed that—in the last year alone—the United States government has funneled more than $1.4 million to anti-Communist outfits in France (who also happen to be opponents of the Socialist Party government of President François Mitterrand). The French were dismayed: aren't we supposed to be allies? Washington was nonplused: it's all part of the anti-Soviet war drive.

Chauvinists in this most chauvinist of imperialist countries are incensed that France was included on a list of "non-democratic" countries including Chile, Paraguay, the Philippines and Poland; and that the French right wing turns out to be financed with American dollars. But the incident also starkly reveals that in the name of "fostering democracy,"

AP

Reagan-financed UNI thugs in anti-Soviet frenzy during Gorbachev's October visit to Paris.

Cold War II has brought back all the old crap from the days of the McCarthyite "War on Communism." Today it's the crusade against what Ronald Reagan calls the Soviet "evil empire."

In Cold War I, American imperialism's skulduggery went under the rubric of psychological and paramilitary operations. These "psy-ops" included routine bribery, sabotaging strikes, union-busting with gang violence, and much more. The euphemisms change—murder, formerly "termination with extreme prejudice," is now called "neutralization" in the lexicon of the CIA's Nicaraguan "contra" manual, *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare*—but the reality is the same. And it's not restricted to far-off Third World countries, as the *Libération* revelations prove.

Having been burned by previous exposures of CIA spy operations, the Reaganites have turned to using overt/covert conduits. So just as the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries are now financed with "humanitarian aid," they have set up a "National Endowment for Democracy" (NED) to bankroll anti-Communists around the globe. Naturally, these are sensitive matters, and the revelation that right-wing opponents of the Socialist Party government of President François Mitterrand are on the take from Washington was a bombshell in Paris.

The investigative reporters from *Libération* revealed that the American government foundation, created by Congress two years ago to "foster democracy around the world," had provided $830,000 to the French social-democratic union Force Ouvrière (FO), and $575,000 to a little known anti-Communist student federation, the National Interuniversity Union (UNI). UNI is an offshoot of the Civic Action Service (SAC), the Gaullist private army dissolved by the Mitterrand government in 1982. It also has links to Le Pen's fascist National Front.

Of course, this exposé is designed to help the besieged Mitterrand regime, in deep trouble following the "Greenpeace" affair in which French secret agents in New Zealand blew up a pacifist ship, killing one member of the group. FO was the leading opposition union as the government's economic program of "Keynesianism in one country" went down the tubes. And UNI was part of the mass marches for private schools that spearheaded right-wing mobilizations during 1983-84. By embarrassing Mitterrand's adversaries, *Libération* was obviously looking to do a favor for the government. At the same time they were doing a public service.

Created in 1983, the National Endowment for Democracy was granted $18 million by Congress for 1984-85. Almost half of its European budget has been poured into France. Other recipients include the Portuguese UGT social-democratic splinter union, and the Basque ELSA-STV union. The London *Guardian* (9 December) reports that $10,000 in NED funds went to Actors Equity; $129,000 to *Soviet Labour Review*, put out by NTS, a notorious fascist/CIA publishing outlet; and $49,000 to "Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding," the grouping of CIA Labourites around Denis Healey, Roy Hattersley, etc.

The head of the NED is one Carl Gershman, former vice chairman of Albert Shanker's Social Democrats, U.S.A. These CIA "socialists," who acted as red-hunting hatchet men in the AFL and CIO unions during the McCarthy period, today link the Reaganites with anti-Communist Polish Solidarność and West European right-wing social-democratic unions. The money is channeled through the AFL-CIO's "Free Trade Union Institute," and brokered by none other than the sinister Irving Brown, described in Philip Agee's authoritative *CIA Diary* (1975) as the "principal CIA agent for control of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions."

UNI: the "Anti-May '68"

The National Interuniversity Union was formed by the Gaullist SAC in 1968 to combat "the Marxist offensive in the universities." UNI is affiliated to the World Anti-Communist League, that grisly cabal of fascist murderers, Asian tinpot dictators and Latin American death squads. During the 1983-84 demonstrations over private schools, they marched to the obscene racist chant of "Throw the Arabs into the Seine!" This October UNI campaigned against the visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, demonstrating with the National Front and "captive nation" exiles, pasting up more than a million "Gorbachev-Gulag" stickers.

The *modus operandi* of these ultra-rightist shock troops was seen in a November 1984 incident at Nanterre, the campus where the '68 student revolt was born. Seventy UNI members led by helmeted, armed National Front thugs destroyed a poster display belonging to the Communist-led CGT union federation, beat up a leftist militant and scrawled racist graffiti on the walls. At Nanterre, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), known for the principled position of "no platform for the fascists," have been in the forefront of the fight against the UNI. In October the LTF issued a leaflet calling for mass action to stop these thugs from imposing a reign of racist terror; the UNI responded with an anti-communist hate sheet in the purest Black Hundred tradition.

On December 4, at a forum at Nanterre on "DemocraCIA and Fa$cism," LTF spokesman William Cazenave explained how the FO union and UNI protofascists got together at the Yankee dollars trough: "What ties it all together is, 1) anti-Communism, and 2) Solidarność." For in France, support for the Polish "union" favored by Reagan, the pope, Frankfurt and Wall Street bankers, fascists, Mitterrand Socialists and social democrats alike has been the linchpin for the formation of a "*union sacrée*" (holy alliance) around the anti-Soviet war drive.

The same day as the LTF forum, Mitterrand met in Paris with General Jaruzelski while anti-Communists—from the "socialist" CFDT and "social-democratic" FO union federations to pseudo-Trotskyists like LCR honcho Alain Krivine—joined with representatives of Solidarność in exile demonstrating against the Polish leader. When they accidentally crossed paths with a march by the CP-led CGT labor federation, this anti-Communist cabal began chanting "CGT—KGB" and "Communists—assassins." Joining them was the actor Yves Montand, a former Stalinist fellow traveler who has gone over to support for the murderous Nicaraguan contras.

FO: Four Decades on the CIA Payroll

Stung by the scandal that they were funding a notorious fascist-linked group in France, the National Endowment for Democracy "suspended" funds to UNI. But links to fascists, such as protection and later CIA importation of Nazi butchers like Klaus Barbie, has been the stock-in-trade of anti-Soviet Cold Warriors since the beginning. No one knows this better than Irving Brown, the "foreign minister" of the American labor bureaucracy who runs the federation's overseas operations in 83 countries. The AFL-CIO's international budget is $43 million, almost as much as their entire $45 million domestic

continued on page 8

WV Photo

SL protests opening of New York office for counter-revolutionary Solidarność "union" at Albert Shanker's UFT headquarters, September 1981.

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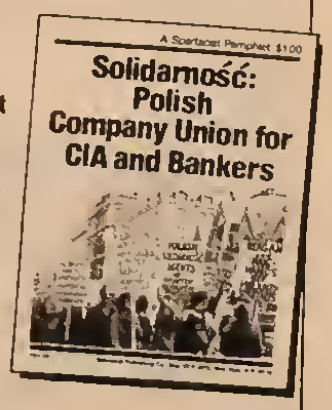

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Victory to Pratt & Whitney Strike!

EAST HARTFORD, Connecticut, December 9—Six hundred workers from three striking Pratt & Whitney plants, joined by representatives of other local unions, picketed the giant military and commercial aviation company's large plant here today. Pickets from the North Haven, Middletown and Southington plants, comprising 5,000 strikers, hit the bricks a week ago.

Pratt & Whitney (P&W), a subsidiary of United Technologies, already runs non-union plants in Maine and Georgia and is out to gut the International Association of Machinists (IAM). Over 8,500 jobs at P&W have been slashed in the last five years. At East Hartford, management installed watchtowers with one-way glass around the perimeter of the plant and began hiring strikebreakers. This key plant, with 7,700 hourly workers (only 4,500 of whom are in the union) must be *shut down tight* for the strike to win.

Lennahan/The Hartford Courant

Pickets jeer scabs at struck Pratt & Whitney plant in Middletown, Conn.

But the "business as usual" unionism of the IAM tops has got the strikers in a jam. Workers at all four plants rejected P&W's insulting "final" offer—which included benefit takeaways and a two-year wage freeze—and voted to strike. But the tally at East Hartford fell just short of the IAM's undemocratic constitutional requirement of a two-thirds majority, after non-members were allowed to attend pre-strike meetings, "join" the union, and vote against a strike! Workers leaving the plant to cast their ballots were met by a Santa Claus promising a $300 Christmas bonus if they stayed on the job.

Despite promises of a "wall of pickets" here today, IAM officials parted the pickets (spread out over seven gates) every time a scab drove into the plant. After deciding Friday to give most hourly workers today off, P&W has vowed to operate the plant on all shifts for the remainder of the week. District 91 officials are scheduling only "spot" picketing. Picket lines mean don't cross! Remember how PATCO's throat was cut when IAM president William Winpisinger refused to shut down the airports and sent Machinists across those picket lines.

All of labor has a stake in the victory of the P&W strikers. Up against one of the Pentagon's largest suppliers, with Reagan hell-bent on his "Star Wars" crusade against the Soviet Union, the IAM strikers need class-struggle solidarity *in action*. Mobilize labor throughout the Northeast to build mass picket lines to stop the scabs! Victory to the Pratt & Whitney strike! ■

"AFL-CIA"...

(continued from page 7)

expenses. And the tab for these operations does not come from union dues—it's paid for almost exclusively by the United States government.

Brown told *Libération* of his ties to Force Ouvrière head André Bergeron going back to 1947 when these Cold War operatives engineered the FO split in an attempt to break the power of the CGT. This CIA operation involved the use of Mafia thugs and mass firings of militant unionists. A *L'Humanité* (17 January 1981) article pointed out how Brown, in cahoots with Bergeron and the "socialist" Gaston Deferre, broke the 1950 dock workers strike in Marseille, firing 900 Communist dock workers who had struck (finally) against war materiel being sent for the French colonial war in Indochina.

Asked by *Libération* why the Reaganites would finance FO, Brown replied, "Because the CGT apparatus is still there and it can destroy France." In fact, the Stalinist misleaders of the CGT were part of and supported the Mitterrand popular front government, including by sabotaging strikes (e.g., the Talbot auto workers). They reluctantly left their ministerial seats only when they risked revolt by their working-class base fed up with the government's anti-labor austerity policies.

As for underwriting UNI, Brown aggressively responded, "Why not? UNI is a democratic union.... There's all sorts in UNI, but in American unions you have the Mafia (laughs).... The democratic forces which fight against... Gorbachev and the Gulag must be supported." Left-wing unions, he said coyly, have "other support." The "difference between democracy and dictatorship," Brown added, "is that we do things openly, while no one can prove where the money of the CGT comes from."

Libération replied, "Not that open, since in a confidential note addressed to the chairman of the Endowment, it's stated that the finances in France must remain secret...." Brown blew up, demanding to know how they got the letter, then abruptly cut off the interview, threatening: "What's your job, journalist or cop?... If *Libération* publishes this story, the paper will be definitely [black]listed."

Special Polish "rollback" edition of Irving Brown's Free Trade Union News.

Class-Struggle Unionism vs. Cold War Labor Fakers

While the revelations about American dollars financing the French right-wing opposition caused quite a commotion, it seems that not everybody on the left is opposed to such "democraCIA." The CGT and CP, no doubt fearing someone would accuse *them* of receiving money from Moscow, declared that the exposé was an "attempt to destabilize fighting unionism" (*Libération*, 28 November)! The Socialists and various "far left" groups are protesting the CIA money in France, but *only* in France. They object to having been put on the same list as "undemocratic" countries like Poland. They *can't* fight the NED/CIA "psy-ops," because they're *for* dollars going to Polish Solidarność. They have lined up with their own bourgeoisie—and with Reagan—in this crucial battlefield of the anti-Soviet Cold War.

The pseudo-Trotskyist PCI of Pierre Lambert has been silent on the Reagan dollars. This is not so strange when you consider that, as recently as 1980, several dozen of their members were paid FO functionaries—including Lambert himself—and the number has undoubtedly increased since then. For the last 15 years at least, the Lambertists have regularly voted for Bergeron's report at FO conventions—giving political support for this CIA tool. In 1983-84, the PCI pulled all their supporters out of the teachers union—until then one of the only French unions which had not succumbed to a Cold War split—and took them into Force Ouvrière, putting the finishing touches on Irving Brown's wrecking job.

Gamma

Reagan and Mitterrand. U.S. imperialism and social democrats in Cold War alliance against Soviet Union.

Lutte Ouvrière, another fake-Trotskyist outfit, actually came out and defended FO's American "subsidy": "What's being paid off is the 10 percent of anti-communism that there is in FO.... It's not even sure that this foundation wants something from FO in exchange for its subsidy" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 30 November). Even the backward workers appealed to by LO know better than that: "you don't get something for nothing," "whoever pays the piper calls the tune," etc. Thus these workerists excuse the integration and subordination of the unions to the imperialist state.

The international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, has consistently opposed the sinister machinations of the "AFL-CIA." In the U.S., the Spartacist League and its union supporters have fought for two decades against CIA "labor" fronts like the American Institute for Free Labor Development. The Militant Action Caucus in the telephone workers union (CWA) exposed the AIFLD's attempts to smash Communist unions in Chile, which paved the way for the bloody 1973 Pinochet coup, and demanded that the CWA break all ties with this Trojan Horse of imperialist penetration. In France, the LTF denounced CIA funding of Mitterrand's cohorts in the Portuguese Socialist Party, which ten years ago acted as the spearhead of reaction against the "revolution of the carnations."

The iSt took the lead in denouncing the millions of CIA dollars sent to finance Polish Solidarność via the AFL-CIO and various West European social-democratic unions (as well as the Vatican bank). When this Polish yellow "union" came out for "free trade unions" and "free enterprise" in East Europe (also calling for the Polish economy to be controlled by the IMF bankers' cartel!), the SL/U.S. demonstrated outside a Solidarność press conference at the offices of Albert Shanker's teachers union, demanding "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" More recently, as Irving Brown has been working overtime to "capture" the emerging black trade unions in South Africa, we have warned that his "aid" is the kiss of death to independent workers struggle.

From Chile to El Salvador, from Poland to France, the labor lieutenants of international capitalism do their best to subvert class-struggle unionism. As usual, the social democrats are in the "ideological" front lines of the anti-Soviet Cold War drive (now joined by their *anti*-Trotskyist camp followers). The Stalinists want to wish it away with their "détente" pipe dreams. The fight against the Irving Browns thus falls to the authentic Trotskyists, who uniquely stand for the political independence of the working class and have fought the anti-Soviet war drive down the line. ■

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 6)

to Tamil Nadu in south India.

This massive displacement of the Tamil population from the South posed a dramatically changed reality. As we wrote (*WV* No. 381, 14 June):

> "The international Spartacist tendency has consistently upheld the Tamils' right of national self-determination.... Before July 1983, however, we argued against the exercise of that right, in favor of united working-class struggle to redress Tamil oppression in the context of the struggle for socialist revolution within the existing unitary island state. But with the events of July 1983 the historic social balance shifted....
>
> "The massive murderous repression of the Jaffna Tamil people and the escalating outbursts of government-instigated violence against the Tamils ...has brought to the forefront the struggle for Eelam. Therefore our socialist perspective of a struggle for a Ceylon workers state is expressed now in the slogan of federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka. At the same time we recognize—as the Tamil nationalists, who place their hopes on pressure or intervention from capitalist India, do not—that the only real hope for the Tamil minority to wrest anything from the Lankan regime proceeds through the spreading to the south of resistance to the rapacious government...."

No Faith in Capitalist India!

In recent months the Tamil liberation fighters have received a sharp lesson in the real content of the Indian government's "friendship" with the cause of Tamil Eelam. The Rajiv Gandhi government cracked down on the activities of the armed struggle groups in India, forcing them to close their camps. They then were frogmarched to the Thimpu talks, where ENLF delegates were prevented from meeting outsiders or making phone calls. India declared that a settlement would be based on "the framework of a united Sri Lanka." Angered at the effrontery of the Tamils in walking out at Thimpu and at their not responding sufficiently dutifully to Rajiv's beck and call, the Indian government unceremoniously deported three top Tamil leaders on August 23.

But the Gandhi regime miscalculated the depth of popular support for the Tamil cause in Tamil Nadu. With opposition politicians eager to seize the opportunity, within 48 hours there were massive demonstrations and work stoppages. Demonstrators carried placards saying "Down with Rajiv Gandhi!" Gandhi's ally, the Tamil Nadu chief minister M.G. Ramachandran, was compelled to call a one day holiday/fast to control the upsurge. Quickly two of the deportations were rescinded.

Ever since Indira Gandhi was assassinated by avenging Sikhs, there has been speculation of a rapprochement between India and U.S. imperialism, and indeed that a pro-imperialist negotiated settlement of the war in Lanka might be the first act of this reconciliation. The Nehru/Gandhi dynasty's "anti-imperialist" credentials have rested on India's diplomatic alliance with the Soviet Union and its anti-American posture. Now with Rajiv playing footsie with U.S. imperialism and pushing capitalist modernization, many Indian leftists and Tamil militants are speculating that India has "gone over to imperialism." Of course the Indian capitalist class has always been wedded to the world imperialist system, but the possibility of new alignments has set the subcontinent vibrating. Rajiv's modernization drive is bound to stimulate the centrifugal forces that always threaten the fragile unity of India.

The fact that the Indian government's reputation is now linked to a negotiated settlement in Sri Lanka poses new threats to the cause of liberation of the Tamils. Immediately the Indian government demanded further concessions by the Sri Lankan government. A new proposal by the J.R. regime allows for provincial councils with perhaps some powers over the crucial areas of land and police. The Northern and Eastern provinces are to be treated as entirely separate units. This is a long way from recognizing the right of Tamil self-determination and their legitimate right of Tamil Eelam. As long as the army, with its notoriously ill-disciplined and communally motivated ranks, occupies the Tamil areas and the "Home Guards" are not disbanded no ceasefire is likely to hold.

While many Tamil militants have been dismayed, angered and disillusioned by India's role, their leaders continue to curry favor with the Indian ruling class. The bourgeois parliamentarist TULF together with the PLOTE group have continued to cooperate closely with the Rajiv Gandhi government and watched smugly as the Indian authorities cracked down on the other groups. PLOTE has been rewarded for its subservience by being the only group allowed to freely maintain its camps in India. One of the deportees, S.C. Chandrahasan, oiled the way for his return with appropriate genuflections: "We will support all efforts by Rajiv Gandhi to settle the ethnic problem. India is our only hope." The ENLF as a whole called Rajiv "a well-wisher."

But the Indian bourgeoisie, both in New Delhi and its Tamil regional counterpart in Madras, are the enemies of liberation. The treatment of India's own national and ethnic minorities, exemplified by the brutal massacre of the Sikhs, bodes ill for those who place their confidence in Gandhi's concern for the rights of the oppressed Tamils of Lanka. With good cause, J.R.'s war minister Athulathmudali says, "As far as India is concerned, there is a lot of faith and trust now" (*India Today*, 30 September).

There is growing fragmentation, disorientation and despair among the Tamil militants. The TULF and PLOTE have happily gone along with the negotiating process. Within PLOTE internal dissidence has been ruthlessly

Lanka Spartacist

Hundreds of Tamils were hacked or burned to death in July 1983 pogroms.

squashed, with kidnappings and murders. In the ENLF, the so-called "Marxist-Leninists" of EROS and the EPRLF have been more willing to toe the line of Gandhi's negotiations. Combativity among the guerrillas has been directed into more communalist killings and internecine fighting. On September 3 elements in or around the ENLF murdered two TULF ex-members of parliament, one a supposed leftist, official of the Lanka-Soviet friendship society and father of a PLOTE leader.

In the camps in Tamil Nadu, money is extorted from refugees by some groups, while others have got themselves tangled in drug trafficking. Recently 30 armed youth looted the most famous Hindu temple in Jaffna. From protesting against the negotiations and for the release of political prisoners, Jaffna demonstrators now demand the return of goods looted from their temple, even

Reuters

Rajiv Gandhi with Sri Lankan war minister Athulathmudali.

asking the hated police to help. The Jayewardene regime will and no doubt is seeking to exploit these sordid, degenerative aspects of the situation, which carry the seeds of vicious caste conflict. And with the negotiations, the outline of a traitorous sellout deal can be seen, with the TULF/PLOTE policing Jaffna, while India seals its coast and the army goes after the ENLF and Tamils in the Vanni and the Eastern Province.

Murderous Logic of Nationalism

In the last year Tamil nationalist forces have undertaken an ominous shift in tactics. Whereas previously they prided themselves in scrupulously avoiding Sinhalese civilian targets and struck only at the occupying military and police forces, there are now repeated incidents of senseless massacre of innocent Sinhalese villagers, fishermen, women and children. The petty-bourgeois nationalist Tamil organizations have come to mirror the worst Sinhala chauvinism of the traditional Ceylonese left parties with their own murderous logic of racialism and nationalist communalism. Marxist revolutionists, who base themselves on the morality of internationalist class struggle, abhor racialism in all its forms, and find deeply repugnant the terror methods of gangsterism employed by those who fight in the name of social justice.

The increasing indiscriminate communalist response among the Tamil fighters fuels Sinhala chauvinism. Jayewardene's own dictatorial appetites are nurtured by mounting communalist hysteria among the Sinhalese. And his principal opposition within the Lankan bourgeoisie, Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), has formed a "National Front" with the powerful Buddhist religious hierarchy and the petty-bourgeois communalist MEP. The UNP narrowly won a recent by-election where the SLFP campaigned over the "plight" of [Sinhalese] refugees" and "A vote for the UNP is a vote for concessions to the Tamils."

Of course, for the SLFP this appeal to Sinhala chauvinism comes naturally: the party first reached prominence with the racist "Sinhala Only" campaign which denied language rights to the Tamils in the mid-'50s. This did not, however, deter the reformist Communist Party and Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP—often falsely described as "Trotskyist") from joining the SLFP in a popular front government, and hailing Mrs. B's bloody massacre of the 1971 uprising of Sinhala youth led by the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front).

The JVP, for its part, has moved from its earlier eclectic leftism to virulent Sinhala chauvinism. One Prins Gunasekera, known as a front man for the JVP, has joined the National Front. The government's continuing ban on the JVP reflects above all its fear of popular unrest. Recently, they have begun arresting Sinhalese supporters of a dissident JVP group claimed to be cooperating with the Tamil fighters.

The "New" Samasamaja Party (NSSP), a warmed-over "left" version of the LSSP with ties to the misnamed Militant tendency in the British Labour Party, meanwhile denounces the JVP for "ultra-leftism" (!) and tries to obscure the chauvinist character of the National Front, describing it only as a "front among a section of the SLFP, Sinhala petty bourgeois radicals and the pro-JVP elements," no doubt hoping to leave an opening through which to crawl into the popular front of Sinhala racialism.

Class Struggle vs. Communalist Slaughter

The communalist frenzy is not the only pressure on the bonapartist Lankan government. With tea prices now joining the slump in tourism, textile exports and migrant worker remittances, the economy teeters downward. Recent new government austerity measures include plans to close down all unprofitable (i.e., most) nationalized corporations. To pay for the ballooning military budget, which has increased tenfold in eight years, the UNP regime is further squeezing the masses with increased taxes on liquor, cigarettes, train fares, and postal and telephone services.

But the Lankan working class, Sinhala and Tamil alike, have shown a willingness to resist. The largely female Sinhala workforce of the textile plants around Colombo have defended themselves with a wave of militant strikes over the last year. And the hideously oppressed Tamil plantation workers of the upland tea estates, denied even the limited citizenship rights of the Jaffna Tamils, have fought the regime. On November 7, some 25,000 plantation workers struck to protest the arrest of four students by the police. The crucial demand for full citizenship rights for the plantation Tamils has long been overlooked by the nationalist Tamil groups.

At bottom, the Sinhala communalism which the government itself instigates and seeks only to control is intended to prevent a popular revolutionary upsurge and the *class* unity of Sinhala and Tamil. Class struggle can halt the reactionary spiral of racialist slaughter. But that requires a revolutionary party armed with the program of Lenin and Trotsky, with the strategy of permanent revolution to overthrow capitalism. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka have earned a reputation as the only consistent defenders of Tamil national rights among the Sinhalese; they have won recognition as well for their militant support for the struggles of Sinhalese women textile strikers. The SL/L was born out of the only wing of the Ceylonese left which courageously stood up against the popular front betrayals that prepared the way for Jayewardene's dictatorial regime.

The traditional leftist parties have bequeathed an ugly legacy of class collaboration and Sinhalese chauvinism: as partners in Mrs. B's popular front government their hands were bloodied with the violent suppression of the 1971 youth uprising. The petty-bourgeois Tamil nationalists, indifferent to the plight of the plantation Tamils and scornful of the prospects of joint struggle with Sinhalese workers, pander to the Indian bourgeoisie. And the murderous cycle of communalist terror continues to deepen.

The only just solution demands the forging of a Leninist vanguard which can unite Tamil estate workers, Sinhalese textile workers, Jaffna students and Muslim villagers—all the diverse layers oppressed by capitalism—into a common revolutionary movement based on the methods of class struggle and the power of the strategic proletarian sectors. Such a Leninist vanguard must be based on a perspective of *proletarian internationalism*. The fate of the Lanka masses is inextricably linked to that of the mighty Indian proletariat. Only socialist revolution throughout the subcontinent can hold forth promise for the future; only international revolution can forever end the rule of capital that breeds the bloody horror of communalism. ■

Highland Hospital...

(continued from page 3)

drug-stupefied patients plead for their freedom before inquisitors in white suits; psychiatric patients have been released wearing only pajamas or a sheet.

Women have been sterilized without their consent, or after signing a form in a language they didn't understand. While 43 percent of all babies delivered at Highland are born to women who do not speak English, interpreters are unavailable at night or on weekends in the maternity wards. Pregnant women requiring anesthesia for childbirth are dragged from the ninth floor to the basement during delivery. One obstetrician, Dr. Lisa Keller, told of delivering twins—one of them in a dangerous breech position—in the elevator and the hallway during transfer. For breaking the code of silence, Keller was sacked.

Highland Hospital resembles nothing so much as the Alameda County jails, where pregnant women, overwhelmingly prostitutes or drug addicts, victims of this society, have been forced to withdraw from drugs "cold turkey," suffering horrible convulsions and miscarriages. One aborting woman was brought to an emergency room in handcuffs and leg irons. In another recent case, authorities at the Santa Rita Jail held a woman for three days after a miscarriage before allowing her to go to a hospital to have the fetus removed.

While exposures of atrocities at Highland have brought scandal after scandal, all the politicians give a damn about is who gets to the trough first to "administer" the additional funds they hope to squeeze out of the outcry. Take infant mortality: *80 percent* of the babies delivered at Highland are born with complications, chiefly low birth weight. The county Board of Supervisors has requested a $350,000 federal grant to study the causes: for these cynical politicos, starving black and Hispanic babies are just another pork barrel. The cause is obvious: poverty and oppression leading to malnutrition of the mothers. As Ed Church of the East Bay Perinatal Council put it, "If you generated 10,000 jobs in Oakland, I guarantee you the infant mortality rate would drop" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 9 August).

Death by Dumping

Sharon Ford was "dumped." Dumping is what happens to you these days if you go to a private hospital and you can't pay: even if you have a life-threatening condition, they pack you off to the charity wards and poor house county hospital. There has been a nationwide epidemic of dumping as a direct result of Reagan's "cost-cutting" slashes in Medicaid and Medicare programs. And now the administration is pushing a bill to eliminate the token requirement that hospitals which have received federal building funds provide a "reasonable" amount (i.e., any) free or low-cost care to the poor.

Dumping is nothing new, but the number of "indigent" patients transferred has increased five to ten times in the past two years for many of the largest public hospitals, said Jerri Dallek, an attorney with the National Health Law Program in Los Angeles. "People are arriving at the public hospitals after being kicked out of private hospitals comatose, with heart wounds, covered with burns—just incredible stuff" (Oakland *Tribune*, 10 November). And the victims are overwhelmingly from minorities: a May 1984 study found that 58 percent of patients whose lives were endangered by transfers were non-whites.

The situation is particularly acute in California due to recent changes in the MediCal program. In 1982 the state handed over to the counties responsibility for the 15 to 20 percent of the population with no medical insurance. An article by Peter Aleshire in the Oakland *Tribune* (17 November) noted that "two facts are now clear about the consequences" of this move: "First: The move saved the state about $100 million per year. Second: Many of the working poor and unemployed have paid with their lives for the reform."

The horror stories abound. In February of this year a 32-year-old black man, Eugene Barnes, was killed by the refusal of a number of Bay Area hospitals to treat him for a knife wound in the head (see "Medical 'Care,' U.S.A.," *WV* No. 374, 8 March). In April, Maria Ceja, a 42-year-old Hispanic mother of three, died because no hospital in Alameda County provides open-heart surgery for MediCal patients. American capitalism has created a system of "economic triage" in which the rich go to private hospitals, and poor blacks and Hispanics suffer "death by dumping."

Bay Area workers, minorities must mobilize to protest the *racist murder* going on at Highland Hospital, demanding a massive increase in medical funding. At an October 1 Alameda County Board of Supervisors meeting, Hursey Baker, a spokesman for the Labor Black League for Social Defense, testified:

> "As a modest proposal, I would put forth a recommendation that people be bused to Walnut Creek until this hospital is made a safe place for black people and working people to receive decent health care."

Walnut Creek is a mostly white suburb with a well-equipped, well-staffed hospital.

As Reagan (with bipartisan Congressional support) drives up the military budget for war against the Soviet Union, the budget ax of his killer cuts comes down on the necks of the minorities, the aged and infirm, the poor and working people. And while Reagan proposes, Democrats in city halls around the country dispose of the victims. In countries like the Soviet Union and Cuba, a planned economy provides free medical care for all. But in the United States it's cash on the barrelhead. The affluent get taken care of, and the rest can take their chances.

The "magic of the marketplace" means that black infant mortality is twice that of whites; in the desperately impoverished black ghettos, the rate of death for babies under one year is higher than in Cuba. Among adults nearly 60,000 black Americans die each year because of higher rates of disease and death for minorities in this racist country. It will take a socialist revolution to give all children the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. ■

S.F. General...

(continued from page 3)

• Another ten-year black worker in housekeeping, told by his supervisor that "you and your people just can't do the work around here," became so upset he suffered a high blood pressure attack. Rushed to Mission Emergency Hospital, he was told his problem was "psychological."

• While black workers make up 48 percent of Hospital Workers Local 250 members at SF General, they have been hit with 68 percent of the disciplinary orders in the last six months. Union business agents have been hauled off the premises by hospital police.

Stop Union-Busting at SF General!

Jeff Higgins, a member of IBEW Local 6, was harassed for daring to use the same toilet as the white skilled tradesmen at the hospital. A racist carpenter told Higgins the bathroom was for "carpenters only" (while admitting publicly that he had let other tradesmen use the toilet). The racist tried to lock Higgins in the bathroom when he used it. Following the October 22 Health Commission hearing, where Higgins' testimony drew a powerful response from black workers in the audience, the administration ruled that the toilet must be kept open. But on November 12 the administration came up with its "solution": a Jim Crow toilet for the "electricians"—i.e., the *black* one. Meanwhile Higgins, San Francisco General's only black electrician and one of only two black tradesmen, has been singled out for discipline for standing up for the rights of the black workers.

"My story is not unique, but sadly typical for black and minority workers here," Higgins told the December 4 rally. "And it is typical because the administration has a deliberate policy of using racism, speed-ups and disciplines to drive black workers and union members out of the hospital, out of this city. The racist Democratic Party Feinstein administration hates blacks, hates unions, and wants to make San Francisco one big open-shop town.... [The Democrats] are the ones who went after the unions in 1976. It was during their administration that we got Operation Zebra."

Mayor Dianne Feinstein, then a city Supervisor, won her spurs as a strike-breaker during the 1976 strike by municipal craft workers. The 1974 Operation Zebra, a racist police "stop and search" sweep, targeted blacks throughout the city. It was "Dixie Dianne" who ordered the Confederate flag flown in the city's Civic Center, and twice had it put back up last year after the Labor Black League and Spartacist League tore it down. After Ritchie Bradley tore it down, Jeff Higgins burned that banner of slavery and race-terror, and finally it stayed down for good. Last August, when the Labor Black League organized a demonstration to stop the hanging of South African anti-apartheid fighter Benjamin Moloise, the SF cops showed up with a police van prominently displaying a Nazi swastika. Once again the Spartacist League vigorously exposed this provocation.

But the wave of racist atrocities continues. Recently a young black man, Timothy Lee, was lynched in Concord. The police lied, claiming it was "suicide" when the talented 23-year-old design student was found strung up by a strap in the overwhelmingly white, Klan-infested suburb on November 2. Denouncing the futility of seeking state and FBI "investigations," SL spokesman Martha Phillips proclaimed, "What's needed is integrated workers defense

WV Photo

April 1984: Jeff Higgins (left) burns Confederate flag of slavery, in action called by SL/SYL and Labor Black League.

guards to go out into Concord and clean out those race-terrorists!"

The Labor Black League for Social Defense was formed in the aftermath of the successful Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that brought out 5,000 mainly black unionists and youth and *stopped* the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. The LBL calls for mobilizing the masses of black and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression in capitalist America.

The Feinstein administration is making the hospital the cutting edge of a drive to make the racially and ethnically diverse city a white-only yuppie paradise. The Democrats are the enforcers for Reagan's budget cuts slashing medical and social services, which have hit hard at public hospitals like SF General, the scene of a scandal over deficient medical care in 1984. "They have to rob the money...out of the pockets of black people and working people to pay for their insane war drive against the Soviet Union," said Phillips.

Older employees remember when the cafeteria at San Francisco General Hospital had segregated eating areas. But black workers have made it clear that *they will not go back to Jim Crow!* The Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues have a class-struggle answer to the racist status quo. As Phillips told the demonstrators:

> "We need a new party in this country, not Dixiecrats and Republicans, we need a workers party. A workers party with a clear program to get rid of the racist corrupt capitalist politicians and to establish a workers government. Now that's not going to come through the voting booth. It's going to come on the picket line, in the work place and in hard political battles. We say that the Spartacist League is the nucleus of that party. We say let's finish the fight that John Brown started in 1859. Let's win black freedom, and that means: Forward to the third American Revolution!" ■

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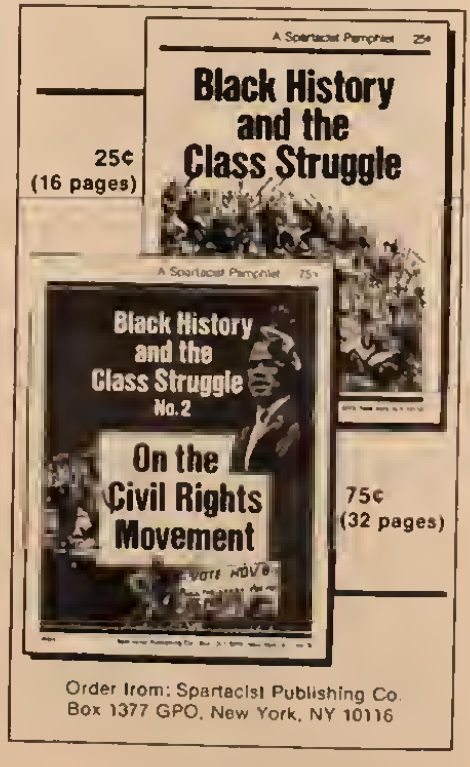

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Reagan's Terrorists...

(continued from page 1)

massacre. The C-130 transport planes carrying the Egyptian commandos were escorted to Malta by three jets from the U.S. aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* in the Mediterranean. Muharak originally requested assistance from the American "Delta Force" counterterrorist unit. They were on the way, but there's every reason to believe that—if they had arrived in time—this humbling killer elite would have done as bad or even worse than the (U.S.-trained) Egyptians. During the Teheran hostage crisis their signal contribution was to abandon American helicopters in the Iranian desert.

Now Washington is talking about stationing such "special forces" in Europe, so the U.S. can be on the scene the firstest with the mostest and really get into playing global gendarme. The Army's Delta Force, Navy SEALS, Green Berets and Rangers are the same outfits that spearheaded the U.S. invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada. And it's already officially confirmed (*New York Times*, 4 November) that the CIA has similar plans for dealing with Libyan dictator Qaddafi. The U.S. openly underwrites coup attempts, bomb attacks and military aggression from Egypt with impunity. Yet for all of Qaddafi's megalomaniacal posturing and his undoubted hand in Near East hijackings and assassinations, if he even tried to pull off a terrorist stunt against the White House like Reagan and Shultz order every week now, the U.S. really would "begin bombing in five minutes"—no joke.

American industry is otherwise going down the tubes, but the U.S. is certainly still "Number One" in the export of international terrorism. Vengeful losers of the "Rambo" stripe, Reagan and his coterie of Dr. Strangeloves embody the death agony of the imperialist order. To their "allies" and vassals, Washington has delivered the following *diktat*: act as the kill-crazy, anti-Soviet sociopaths we are, or die. Take Mubarak's regime—a repulsive bonapartist state which ruthlessly shoots down unarmed student

Abbas/Gamma

Delta Force in action: wreckage of bungled American "rescue" mission lies in Iranian desert.

demonstrators and housewives protesting the price of bread. But this regime does not go around looking to provoke bloody massacres, so its handling of the *Achille Lauro* affair was pretty straightforward. And except for Leon Klinghoffer, the lives of scores of crew members and passengers were saved.

Washington was furious. Cairo had not responded in a sufficiently bloodthirsty fashion. The U.S. wanted blood for the billions it has been pouring into the Egyptian military. So it leaned on Muharak and it got blood. The hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* and Egyptair Flight 648 were acts of indiscriminate and indefensible terrorism—anathema

Imperialist "Rambo"-mania.

to socialist revolutionists. But these desperately suicidal missions are the weapons of the weak in the face of daily state-sponsored terror and massacres by the United States and its allies in the region (e.g., the Israeli bombing of PLO headquarters in Tunisia). The U.S. imperialists and their Zionist partners have not just a few automatic weapons and hand grenades at their disposal, but a mammoth arsenal—including nuclear weapons—of state power.

Summa Contra Reagan

Reagan's "antiterrorism" is nothing but deadly state terrorism. Indeed, funding counterrevolutionary terrorists around the world is a key element of U.S. foreign policy, aimed at slamming the Russians up against the wall. The November summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was a cynical ploy, playing on the Kremlin's "détente" delusions and convincing lily-livered liberals that Reagan can talk "peace," in order to get more money for his dirty wars. And it works—Congressional "doves" voted for first-strike MX missiles on the grounds that they were just a "bargaining chip" for disarmament negotiations; and the $27 million down payment for the contra war in Nicaragua was sold as humanitarian aid.

While most of the media was blabbering about a "Geneva spirit," the *Wall Street Journal* (22 November) was more up front. In an editorial, "Down From the Summit," it urged Reagan to get back to "reality [which] consists of continuing regional conflicts, such as the one in Angola." Reagan let the cat out of the bag, openly admitting to a White House plan to fund Savimbi's "contras," backed by the South African apartheid regime, no matter what Congress does: "we all believe that a covert operation would be more useful." As columnist Stephen Rosenfeld noted, Democratic "doves" and Reaganite "hawks" are united in the anti-Soviet war drive:

> "Congress was slow to react, but by last summer it was aboard programs meant one way or another to aid guerrillas in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Cambodia and Angola: the 'Reagan Doctrine'."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 29 November

Now the White House is trying to escalate last summer's "humanitarian" aid to the Nicaraguan contras into military credits for these mercenaries. Early this month the CIA hit men managed to shoot down a Sandinista helicopter with a surface-to-air missile, and are now using this terrorist act as an argument for overt weapons aid. The present law, notes Shultz, permits a "fast vote" for military credits in the case of a "new situation" in Nicaragua (*New York Times*, 7 December). Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams claims to have discovered such a shift, in the form of Cuban advisers fighting alongside Nicaraguan troops.

Such reports are pure CIA invention, inspired by the Hitlerite technique of the Big Lie. Unfortunately, neither Soviet bloc troops nor international brigades from Western countries are fighting alongside the Nicaraguan troops. While the U.S. falsely claims that Managua is exporting revolution, the fact is that Washington is exporting *counterrevolution*, bankrolling the Somozaist "dogs of war" who repeatedly strike at peasant cooperatives and other economic "targets" in a terrorist war that has produced more than 8,000 deaths since 1981. We say: "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in Central America! SAM-7s to Salvadoran leftist rebels and hundreds of SAM-8s to defend Managua from Reagan's terrorists! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!"

Terror and Counterterror

The "New Right" nuts now "in control" in Washington have turned the White House into "A Conservative Madhouse," in the words of columnist Russell Baker (*New York Times Magazine*, 24 November). In addition to run-of-the-mill neoconservatives, Baker identifies new neoconservatives (under 30), antique neoconservatives (devotees of Chiang Kai-shek), knee-jerk conservatives who "smell heresy and betrayal on every side," and bang-bang conservatives who "love everything that kills and want the Pentagon to go ahead and build it, no matter what it costs, whether it works or not." Anybody who dissents, he notes, "is probably a Soviet agent."

Fackelman-Miner/The White House

Soviet leader Gorbachev and Reagan in Geneva, as While House chief of staff Donald Regan hovers.

In short, the Birchite lunatic fringe of the 1960s has become the political mainstream in Reagan's America. Their program is to fight terror with "counterterror"...and if there is no terror, then it must be invented. The upper echelons of the administration and the federal bureaucracy have been flooded with ultraright ideologues, notably from lobbies like the Committee on the Present Danger. Committee members include vice president George Bush, former National Security Council member Richard Pipes, top "arms control" negotiator Paul Nitze, CIA director William Casey, Secretary of the Navy John Lehman, former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, assistant defense secretaries Richard Perle and Fred Iklé.

This is the same crowd who opposed the 1970s "détente" with the Soviet Union as a betrayal, lobbying Congress to block the SALT II treaty even after President Carter had signed it. Neoconservative godfather Irving Kristol recently threatened at a conference of the Committee for the Free World that an "ideological reformation" must be forced on the Russians by inflicting military defeat. A series of "small defeats," in Angola, Afghanistan, Cuba and Nicaragua, could "shake the Soviet regime," he promised (*New York Times*, 25 November). This inevitably recalls Richard Pipes' declaration, at the beginning of the Reagan years, that "Soviet leaders would have to choose between peacefully changing their Communist system...or going to war."

With "hang-bang," "knee-jerk," "new-neo" and "antique-neo" conservatives now in power, Washington is gearing up for counterrevolutionary war on the Soviet Union. But this war drive, the U.S.' attempt to recover from its humiliating defeat in Vietnam a decade ago, is a *bipartisan* effort of the partner parties of American capitalism. Nowhere is this clearer than over Nicaragua, where Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow induced Democrats to join Republicans in voting for "humanitarian" contra aid. Blankets are already being turned into bullets only six months later, and of course this CIA army of former Somozaist mercenaries was getting U.S. military aid right along, Congressional prohibition or not. Over Cambodia and Afghanistan, liberal "doves" have been voting hundreds of millions to bankroll anti-Soviet guerrillas for years.

The Reaganites screamed about Soviet "barbarism" over the KAL 007 plane shot down over the most sensitive Soviet military bases in the Far East. But it was the Reagan administration which sent the more than 200 passengers to their fiery death, hostages in this cold-blooded Cold War spy provocation! Of course there was no protest from American imperialists in November 1983 when Jonas Savimbi's "freedom fighters" shot down an Angolan airliner, killing all 126 aboard the flight. And the Western press only published denials when Islamic rebels shot down an Afghan civil passenger plane this fall (*New York Times*, 9 September). From the MOVE massacre in Philadelphia to Nicaragua and the Near East, wanton mass murder is the M.O. of "democratic" imperialism.

In the aftermath of Geneva, Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has sought to portray the meeting with Reagan as a harbinger of peaceful coexistence. Not a chance: the gang in Washington is determined to regain nuclear superiority, in order to dictate their political will to the Kremlin (as well as the lesser imperialist and neocolonialist powers). But despite the debilitating effects of nationalist-reformist Stalinism, Gorbachev is not blind. On the eve of the summit the *New York Times* (15 November) reported:

> "Mikhail S. Gorbachev's America is a land controlled by wealthy capitalists and conservative business interests.
>
> "Right-wing forces dictate Government policy and would never permit a lasting improvement in relations with the Soviet Union.
>
> "A profit-hungry military-industrial complex is the real force behind the development of space-based weapons."

The *Times*' mocking description is all too true. The reactionary rulers of this country are playing a dangerous game of nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union in order to reassert the global domination of U.S. imperialism. Working people in this country had better take power away from the international terrorist maniacs in the White House before they carry out the ultimate "preemptive strike." Ever since Reagan busted PATCO labor has taken it on the chin. We need some good old-fashioned class struggle. To unleash the power of labor it is necessary to break with the Democrats, and build a revolutionary workers party. The only possibility of a future, whether for Nicaraguan peasants, Harlem tenants, South African black miners, or innocent airline passengers, lies in a socialist revolution, here and worldwide. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1985 SUBJECT INDEX

11 January to 13 December 1985 (Issues Nos. 370-393)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1985, from issue No. 370 (11 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 393 (13 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  South Africa: Razor's Edge, #376, 5 Apr. (1, 8, 9)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 376, 5 April 1985, beginning on page 1 and continuing on pages 8 and 9.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  POLICE—See also **Civil Liberties: Cases, Bermúdez; Philadelphia MOVE Massacre.**

  means that articles on police can also be found by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategories **Cases** and **Bermúdez** and by going to the subject head **Philadelphia MOVE Massacre.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names. General articles about the ostensibly revolutionary left in the U.S. are listed under **LEFT ORGANIZATIONS.**
- Specific defense cases (e.g. the SL's suit against the FBI) are listed under **CIVIL LIBERTIES.** Articles which deal with the intersection of American blacks with the U.S. legal system (e.g. Geronimo Pratt) are listed under **CIVIL RIGHTS,** while general articles on the black question are listed under **BLACK QUESTION.**
- Generally events in any given locality within the U.S. are listed by their subjects. This year, because of the high degree of intersection of events in New York City, all articles on the city generally, the elections, the housing question and the police are listed as subcategories under **NEW YORK CITY.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C:	Correction	S:	Series
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